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THE TUDOR TRANSLATIONS

EDITED BY

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XXIX

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THE CHRONICLE OF
FROISSART

TRANSLATED OUT OF FRENCH BY

SIR JOHN BOURCHIER
LORD BERNERS

ANNIS 1523–25

With an Introduction by
WILLIAM PATON KER

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THE CRONYCLE OF FROISSART

CAP. CCCXXVII

1378

Of the orgulous wordes that the Romayns sayde at the electyon of the newe pope agayne. And howe the warre renewed bytwene the French kyng, and the kyng of Naverre.

OF the dethe of this pope, the cardynalles were right sorowfull, for they saw well howe the matter shulde nat goo well to passe: for they had thought if that pope had lyved, to have dissimuled amonge the Romayns for two or thre yeres, and at the laste to have brought the see apostolyke into some other place than at Rome, at Napoles, or at Gennes,[1] out of the daunger of the Romayns: but the dethe of the Pope brake their purpose. Than the cardynalles went agayne into the conclave in greater daunger than they were in before, for the Romayns assembled them togyder agayne before the conclave, and made semblant to breke it up, and to slee them all, if they dyde nat chose a pope acordyng to their myndes, and cryed to the cardynalles, and sayd, Sirs, advyse yowe well: if ye delyver us a pope Romayne we be content, or els we woll make your heedes reeder than your hattes be. Suche wordes and manasshes abasshed greatly the cardynals, for they hadde rather a dyed confessours than martyrs. Than to bryng themselfe out of that daunger and parell, they made a pope, but he was none of the colledge of cardynals, he was archbysshop of Bare,[2] a great clerke, who greatly had traveyled for the welthe of Holy Churche. With his promocyon of popalyte, the Romayns were apeased, for the cardynall of Genne

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[1] *Genoa.*

[2] *Bari.*

CAP. CCCXXVII

Of the orgulous wordes that the Romayns sayde at the electyon of the newe pope agayne.

put out his heed out at a wyndowe of the conclave, and sayd on hygh to the people of Rome, Sirs, apease you, for you have a pope Romayne, and that is Bartylmewe des Angles, archbysshop of Bare. The people aunswered all with one voyce, Than we be content. The same archebysshoppe was nat as than at Rome, I thynke he was in Napoles. Than he was incontynent sent for, of the whiche tydynges he was ryght glad, and so came to Rome; and at his comyng there was great feest made to hym; and so he had all the ryghtes that parteyned to the papalyte, and was called Urban, the Sixt of that name. The Romayns had great joy: his creacyon was signifyed to all the churches of christentie, and also to emperours, kynges, dukes, and erles; and the cardynalles sent worde to all their frendes, that he was chosen by good and trewe electyon; howbeit, some of them repented them after, that they had spoken so largely in the mater. This pope renounced all graces gyven before, and so dyvers departed fro their countres and places, and went to Rome to have grace.

Now let us leave somewhat to speke of this mater, and lette us retourne to our princypall history of the besynesses of Fraunce.

Ye have harde right well here before, howe the kyng of Naver, who hadde to his wyfe the Frenche kynges suster, for the love of the one and of the other, it was sayd and purposed, that the herytage of the chyldren of the kyng of Naver, the whiche was fallen to them by the ryght of their mother, that the French kyng their uncle, by the succession of his suster, ought to have power therof in name of the chyldren, seyng the chyldren were in his kepynge, wherby all the lande that the kynge of Naver helde in Normandy, shulde be in the French kynges hand, as long as his nephewes were within age. Of all these maters the kyng of Naver doughted greatly, for he knewe well the usage and custome of Fraunce. Than he advysed him of two thynges: the one was to sende the bysshop of Panpilone,[1] and sir Martyn Car,[2] into Fraunce to the kynge, desyring hym hertely, that for good love and favoure to send him his two sonnes, Charles and Peter, and if it pleased him nat to send hym bothe two, than at lest to sende him his sonne Charles, bycause he was towardes a treaty for a maryage for him, with the doughter

[1] *Pampeluna.*

[2] *de la Carra.*

CAP. CCCXXVII
Of the orgulous wordes that the Romayns sayde at the electyon of the newe pope agayne.

of the kyng of Castell. The second thing was, natwithstandyng that he sent thus into Fraunce, yet secretly he sent also into Normandy, to visyte and to refresshe the castelles there pertaynyng to hym, to thentent that the Frenchmen shulde nat take them into their handes; for he feared if they had them ones in their possessions, he shulde nat have them agayn whan he wolde: and so he sent two valyaunt men of armes Naveroyse, in whom he had great trust, the one called Peter Basylle,[1] and the other Ferando, into Normandy, for the sayd entent. The fyrst messangers went into Fraunce, as the bysshop of Panpylone, and sir Marten Car, who spake with the kyng at great leysar, right humbly recommaundyng the kyng of Naver to him, desyringe in his name, that he wolde sende to hym his two sonnes. The kyng answered and sayd, he wolde take advyse and counsayle in the mater. And so after, they were answered in the kynges name, the kyng beyng present, and the two chyldren also, his nephewes, how that the kynge loved them right entierly, wherfore they coulde nat be better in no place, and that the kyng of Naverre ought to be content, rather to suffre them to be in Fraunce with the kyng their uncle, than in any other place; and also the kyng wyll in no wyse depart fro them, but kepe them aboute hym in their estate, as the chyldren of a kyng, and lyke his nephewes; other answere the messangers coude nat have. And in the meane season that these messangers were in Fraunce, Peter of Basylle, and Ferando, arryved at Chyerbourge, with great provisyon, the whiche they putte in dyvers places, in townes and castels of the kyng of Navers, in Normandy. And so they visyted in the kynge of Navers name all the countie of Evreux, and made newe officers, and sette in people at their pleasures. And so retourned agayne into Naverre, the bysshoppe of Panpylone, and sir Marten Carr, and shewed the kynge howe they had spedde in Fraunce. The kynge of Naver was nat very gladde of that tidynges, whan he coulde nat have his owne sonnes, and so began a great hatered in his hert towarde the Frenche kynge, the whiche he wolde gladly have shewed if he had might; but the puyssance of himselfe was nat so great to greve the realme of Fraunce, without helpe and ayde of some other realme, so he suffred all these maters, tyll he had

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[1] *Le Bascle.*

CAP. CCCXXVII

Of the orgulous wordes that the Romayns sayde at the electyon of the newe pope agayne.

better cause to speke, and more displeasure done to hym, than he hadde as than.

The Frenche kyng and his counsayle were well enformed, that the kyng of Navėr had newe revitayled his castels and townes in Normandy, but they knewe nat for what entent. The same season thenglysshmen made a secret army on the see of two thousand men of armes, but they had no horse with them, of the which army the duke of Lancastre and the erle of Cambridge were chefe capitayns: this the Normans reported surely to the French kyng: and this armye came on the costes of Normandy, but they coulde nat tell to what parte they wolde drawe unto. Some in Fraunce thought that the kynge of Naver had caused them to come into Normandy, to delyver to them suche castelles as he had there; wherfore it was sayde to the kynge, Sir, go hastely, and be lorde of those castels before, for ye may happe to tary to long, for if the Englisshmen have them, they may do moche hurt to the realme of Fraunce, for it shall be one of the best entrees that they can have, if they were lordes in Normandy, of the cyties, townes, and castels, belongyng to the kyng of Naver. The same season there was taken in Fraunce, two secrataries of the kyng of Navers, a clerke and a squyer: the clerke was called Peter of Tertre, and the squyer James of Rue, and they were brought to Parys to be examyned. And so moche it was knowen by theym of the secrettes of the realme of Naverre, howe they were determyned to have done domage to the kyng, or els to have poysoned him; so they were condempned to dye, and execucyon was done at Parys, beheeded and quartred. These tydynges multyplied so on the kyng of Naver, that the Frenche kynge sware that he wolde never attende to none other thynge, tyll he had ryd Normandy, and taken into his possession, for the behoffe of his nephewes, all the townes and castelles that the kyng of Naver helde there. So dayly ther came sore informacions to the Frenche kyng, agaynst the kynge of Naver: also it was sayde openly, that the duke of Lancastre shulde gyve his doughter Kateryn to the kynge of Naver, and so by that meanes the kyng shulde gyve to the duke of Lancastre all the hole countye of Devreux. These wordes were lightly beleved in Fraunce, for

Of the orgulous wordes that the Romayns sayde at the electyon of the newe pope agayne.

the kyng of Naver was but lytell trusted among them. So than the same tyme the French kynge came to Rohan,[1] and there assembled a great army of men of warre, wherof the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, were chefe capitayns, and they all met togyder before a towne called Lyseux, a cytie in Normandy, parteynynge to the kyng of Naver. And these two lordes had the two sonnes of the kyng of Naver, Charles and Peter, to shewe to them of the countrey, that the warre that they made was in the name of the two chyldren, for their herytage that was fallen to them by the ryght of their mother, and howe that the kynge of Naver had no right to kepe them. But the moost parte of the men of armes, were so joyned in love with the kyng of Naver, that they coude nat departe out of his servyce: and also the Naveroyse that were there assembled, suche as the kyng of Naver hadde sent thyder, caused his warr to be the more easyer and fayre.

CAP. CCCXXVIII

Howe the Frenche kynge ceased all the lande of the kyng of Navers.

THE Frenche kyng sent commyssioners to Mountpellyer, to cease the lande and seignorie into his handes, the whiche the kyng of Naverr helde. And whan these commyssioners, that is to say, sir Wylliam of Dormans, and sir Johan Merger,[2] were come to Mountpellyer, they sente for the moost noblest persons of the towne, and shewed them their commyssions. They of Mountpellyer obeyed, for they myght do none otherwise: for if they had nat obeyed, it had ben yvell for them, for the duke of Anjowe, and the constable of Fraunce, were in the countrey with a great armye, and desyred nothynge so moche as to have had warre with them of Mountpellyer. Ther were taken prisoners two knyghtes of Normandy, who were before governours of the countre under the kynge of Naver, and also sir Guy of Gravell,[3] and sir Lyger Dergesy,[4] who taryed in prison a long tyme after. Thus the towne of Mountpellyer, and all the barony was become Frenche.

[1] *Rouen.*

[2] *Le Mercier.*

[3] *Gauville.*

[4] *Orgessin.*

CAP. CCCXXVIII

Howe the Frenche kynge ceased all the lande of the kyng of Navers.

Nowe let us returne to the French army that was in Normandy, and shewe howe the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver sped. They came before Evreux, and layd siege therto; they of the garysons parteyning to the kyng of Naver, closed fast their garysons agaynst the Frenchmen, for they were nat in mynde soo soone to yelde them up. Whan the kyng of Naver understode that the Frenchmen had taken the possessyon of Mountpellyer, and of all the countre, and that great nombre of men of armes were in the countre of Evreux, pillyng and beatyng downe his townes and castelles, he hadde dyvers ymaginacyons and counsayls with them that he trusted best; finally it was concluded by his counsayle, that he coulde have no conforte, without it were by the Englysshmen. Wherfore it was concluded, that he shulde sende a sufficyent personage, with letters of credence to the yong kyng of Englande, and to his counsayle, desyrynge to be alyed with hym, and he to swere fro that day forwarde, to be good and trewe to the Englysshe parte, and to putte into their handes all suche forteresses as he helde in Normandy. And to do this message he commaunded a clerke to go, in whom he had great trust, called mayster Paschall, and sayde to hym, Maister Paschall, go your wayes into Englande, and do so moche that ye may bring me good tidynges, for fro hens forthe, I wyll be alyed with the Englysshemen. This clerke dyde as he was commaunded, and made hym redy, and toke shyppyng, and sayled so long that he arryved in Cornwall, and than rode forthe tyll he came to Shene, besyde London, where the kyng of Englande was; and so he spake with the kynge, and recommaunded the kyng of Naverr his mayster to hym. And so there the kynge made hym good chere: and there was present the erle of Salisbury, and sir Symond Burle, who toke on him to speke, and to gyve him his aunswere for that tyme, and sayd: Sir, on suche a day the kyng wyll be at London, and than send for all his counsayle, at whiche tyme ye shall be herde. And so at the day assigned, mayster Paschall shewed to the kyng, and to his counsayle, theffect of his message, and spake so sagely that he was well herde. And he was answered by the counsayle, that the kynge of Navers offre ought nat to be refused; howebeit, to make so

Howe the Frenche kynge ceased all the lande of the kyng of Navers.

great alyance as the kynge of Naver desyreth, it behoveth than that he come hyder into Englande in his owne proper person, to thentent that he may be herde speke hymselfe, wherby the mater shulde take the better effect. And so with that answere mayster Paschall departed, and returned into Naver, and shewed the kyng all that he had done, and how it behoved hym to go into Englande himselfe, and to se the yong kyng of Englande, and to speke himselfe with hym and his counsaile. Than the kyng of Naver answered and sayd, I am content to go theder. Than he made redy for him a shyp, called the Lyne, the whiche wolde go on the see with all maner of wyndes without parell. And so the kyng of Naver toke this ship, and entred into the see with a prevy company; howbeit, he had with hym sir Marten Carr, and mayster Paschall, and sayled so longe that he arryved in Englande.

CAP. CCCXXIX

Of the alyences that the kynge of Naver made with the kynge of Englande: and howe the Frenche kynge had men of warre in dyvers places.

A LYTELL before his departyng, the Frenche kynge had the kyng of Naver in great hate, and knewe covertly by some of the king of Navers house, all the secretnesse bytwene hym and the kyng of Englande, and howe that kyng Henry of Castell had defyed him, and made warre agaynst him. The kyng of Naver left at his departynge behynde him, the vycont of Chastellon,[1] the lorde of Lestrade,[2] father[3] to Vyen, and the Bascle, and great nombre of men of warr, as well of his countre, as of the countie of Foiz, to kepe the fronters agaynst the Spanyerdes.

And whan he was in the see, he hadde wynde at wyll, and arryved in Cornwall, and so rode to Wyndsore, where as kynge Richarde and his counsayle were, who receyved hym with great joye, for they thought the better to spede of his lande in Normandy, and specially of the castell of Chierbourc, wherof thenglysshmen desyred greatly to be lordes. The kyng of Naver shewed sagely to the kyng of Englande

[1] *Castelbon.*

[2] *Lescun.*

[3] *Pierre de Béarn.*

CAP. CCCXXIX
Of the alyences that the kynge of Naver made with the kynge of Englande.

the cause of his commynge, and he was well herde and so well conforted, that he was content. I shall shewe you howe this treatie went bytwene these two kynges. One thyng there was, the kynge of Naver shulde fro thensforthe alwayes be true Englysshe, and shulde never make peace with the realme of Fraunce, nor with the kynge of Castell, without the knowledge and consent of the kyng of Englande; and if the kyng of Englande, or any of his men, by their puyssance, coude gette any townes or castelles, that the kynge of Naver ought to have in Normandy, agaynst the Frenchmen, that the same townes or castels shulde abyde for ever to be Englysshe, the soverayntie ever reserved to the kynge of Naverr. The whiche thynge the Englysshmen praysed moche, bycause they thought by that meanes they shulde have a fayre entre into Fraunce, thorough Normandy. And the kyng of England shulde sende the same tyme a thousand speares, and two thousande archers, by the ryver of Gyronde, to Burdeux, or to Bayone, and the men of armes to entre into Naverr, and to make warre agaynst the kyng of Castell, and nat to departe fro the kyng of Naver, or out of his realme, tyll he hadde made an ende of his warre with the Spanyerdes. And the men of warre so ones entred into Naver, the kynge of Naver than to pay them their wages, and to stuffe them sufficiently, acordyng after the same rate that the kynge of Englande was wonte to paye his men of warre. Dyvers treaties and alyaunces were there made and ordayned, and also written, sealed, and sworne to be kept on bothe partes: and there were named suche as shulde go into Normandy, and suche as shulde go into Naver. And bycause that the duke of Lancastre and the erle of Cambridge were nat at this treatie, it was ordayned that this treatie shulde be sent to them sealed, to thentent that they shulde make hast to entre into Normandy. The duke of Bretayne was present at this treatie.

King Charles of France, who was right sage and subtell, and soo he well shewed hymselfe as longe as he lyved, he was well enfourmed of the armye of Englande: yet he knewe no certentie but by suspecte, whyder they wolde drawe into Normandy, or els into Bretayne. And for dout therof, he helde many men of armes in Bretayne, wherof the lorde

Clysson, the lorde de Lavall, the vycount of Rohan, the lorde of Beaumanoyre, and the lorde of Rochfort, were capitayns, and had besieged Breest by bastydes, and none otherwyse, wherfore they might vitayle Brest whan they lyst. And in the towne was capitayne a valyant squyer of Englande, called James Clerke. And bycause the Frenche kyng knewe well that the kynge of Naverr was alyed with Englande, and thought surely that or his returne he wolde entre into some treatie with his adversary the kyng of Englande, and douted of this armye thus on the see, lest they shulde take lande in Normandy, and entre into the castelles parteyninge to the kyng of Naver: therfore he sent hastely to the lorde Coucy, and to the lorde de la Ryverr, that they shulde, as shortely as they coulde, get by fayrnesse or by foulnesse suche castelles as were belongynge to the kynge of Naver, and specially suche as were nere to the see syde. He knewe well that Chyerbourge wolde nat easelye be wonne; howbeit, by lande they coude nat revitayle it nor refresshe it with men, out of the basse marches of Bretayne and of Normandy.[1] And so for the Bretons, sir Olyver Clysson was capitayne; and for the Normayns, sir Divoye,[2] and sir Percyvall.[3]

CAP. CCCXXX

Of the siege that the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, layd to Carentyne; and of the castelles and townes that the kynge of Naverre lost in Normandy.

THE lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, besieged Carentyne with great puyssaunce; and they of Carentyne hadde as than no capitayne of name, nor had nat sithe the deth of sir Eustace Dambreticourt, who dyed ther; he had been capitayne ther foure yere. So they hadde no conforte nor counsayle but of themselfe, and they sawe well agaynst them a great nombre; and also the admyrall of Fraunce, sir Johan of Vyen, and the admyrall of Spaygne, and with them a great nombre of menne of warre

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[1] *affin que par terre chiaus de Chierebourcq ne se peussent ravitaillier li rois de France envoia grant gens d'armes des basses marces de Bretaigne et de Normendie.*

[2] *d'Ivry.*

[3] *Perceval d'Esneval.*

CAP. CCCXXX

Of the siege that the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, layd to Carentyne.

before Chyerbourge. They knewe nothynge of the treatie of the kyng of Naverr, nor howe he hadde spedde in Englande, and they were dayly assayled two wayes, the one by armyes, and the other way by wordes, for the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, wolde gladly have had the towne of Carentyne. And at last they dyde so moche that they had it by treatie, and so it was gyven up to the obeysance of the Frenche kyng, the right reserved of the true enherytoure, who was the kyng of Navers sonne. In all treaties, the lordes of Fraunce acorded to reserve the chyldes right, for they cared nat, so they might have the townes and castels in their possessyon. Thus they had Carentyne, and put therin newe men of warre: and than departed, and went to the castell of Molineux,[1] and within thre dayes they had it by treatie: and than they wente to Conches, and lay by the fayre ryver of Dorne,[2] whiche rynneth to Cane,[3] and ther they taryed tyll they knewe the myndes of them of Conches, and so they yelded up by treatie. The lorde of Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, had alwayes with them the chylde of Naver, whiche helped moch their mater. Ever whan any yelded up to the French kyng, or to his commyssioners, it was ever in the treatie by condycion, that they might depart whan they lyst, and whyder they wolde. Suche as departed, went no farther but to Evreux, wherof Done Ferant, Naveroyse, was capitayne.

After the conquest of Conches, they departed and went to Pasc,[4] and ther made assaut, and dyvers hurt on bothe parties, but the same day it was yelded up, and so the castell became Frenche. And finally, all that ever the kynge of Naver had in Normandy, excepte Evreux, and Chyerbourge, was yelded up, and become French. And whan they had wonne all castels, and small holdes, and that all the countre was under their obeysaunce, than they went and layed siege to Evreux; and ther be and were wonte to be of olde usage, the moost strongest Naveroyse in all Normandy; and they of Devreux never loved perfitely none other lorde but the kyng of Naver. So Evreux was besieged right puissantly, and endured a long season, for within was Ferando capitayne, who dyde many a feate of armes with his owne handes.

[1] *Moulineaux.*

[2] *Orne.*

[3] *Caen.*

[4] *Pacy.*

The same season the kynge of Naverre was retourned into his owne countre, and trusted some what to have been ayded by the Englysshmen; howebeit, they dyde hym no profyte, as apered. For the duke of Lancastre and the erle of Cambridge hadde the wynde agaynst them to come into Normandy. And alsoo the armye that was made in Englande, of the foure thousande men of armes and eyght thousande archers, assoone as they were come to Hampton, they entred into their shyppes, before the feest of saynt Johan the Baptyst, and so departed; and they founde at Plommouthe the erle of Salisbury, and sir Johan of Arundell, who shulde have gone into Bretayne, to have refresshed them of Brest, and of Hanybont, but they coulde have no wynde before. And so they entred into the duke of Lancasters army, and toke lande in the Yle of Wight, where they taryed a longe space to here tidynges, outher out of Bretayne, or oute of Normandy. Than they herde tidynges howe the army of Fraunce was one the see, wherfore they sent sir John of Arundell, with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers to Hampton, to eschewe all the parels that might fall by the see.

CAP. CCCXXX
Of the siege that the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, layd to Carentyne.

CAP. CCCXXXI

Of the men of warre that the duke of Anjou retayned agaynst thenglisshmen, and of the siege that the Spanyerdes helde before Bayone.

BICAUSE of this, the Frenche kyng thought to provyde for remedy to resyst his enemies, for it was shewed him by the Normayns, that the Englysshmen were on the se with a great puyssance, but he coude nat tell whyder they wolde go. Than he sent a specyall commaundement through out his realme, that every man, knightes and squyers, shulde be redy apparelled for the warre, to go and to come where he commaunded them. In lykewise the duke of Anjou had all that season retayned men of warre on all sydes, to the entent to have layde siege to Burdeux; and in his company was his brother the duke

CAP. CCCXXXI

Of the men of warre that the duke of Anjou retayned agaynst thenglisshmen.

of Berrey, and the constable of Fraunce, and all the flour of chivalry of Gascone, Auvergne, Poictou, and Limosyn. And the better to come to his entent, and to have the more nombre of men of warre, by the consent of the kyng his brother, he had gathered in Languedoc to the somme of two hundred M. frankes; howbeit, he coude nat do his enterprice in that season, for the kyng sent for the duke of Berrey his brother, and for the constable of Fraunce, and for all other barones, suche as he thought shulde do hym servyce. For well he knewe that the Englysshmen were on the see, but he wyst nat whyder they wolde drawe; and though this enterprice in Laquendoc were broken, yet the poore men that hadde payed great sommes of money for that entent, had nat their money agayne.

The same season the kyng of Castell, with xx. thousande Spanyerdes and Catelayns, helde siege before Bayone, and ther lay all the wynter; and many a feate of armes was there done, bothe by lande and by water, for Radigo de Roux,[1] and Dampe Ferrant of Castell,[2] Ambrose Bouchenoyr,[3] and Peter Bascle,[4] lay at ancre before Bayone, with two hundred vessels, and dyde moche trouble to them of Bayone. Of the whiche towne there was capitayne, a valyant knight of Englande, called sir Mathewe Gorney: his wytte and prowes conforted them of the towne greatly; howbeit, some sayd of them that were within, that the Spanyerdes had had their entent at length, yf a dethe had nat fallen among them: for ther fell suche a mortalyte in the hoost, that of fyve ther dyed thre. And kyng Henry of Castell had there with hym a nygromancer of Tollet,[5] who sayd that the ayre ther was so envenomed and corrupted, that ther was no remedy, but that they were all in great danger and parell of dethe; and bycause of that doubt, the kynge dyslodged and brake up the siege; but the Spanyerdes and the Bretons the same season had wonne abrode in the countrey, dyvers castels and small holdes, and so entred into them. And the kyng of Castell went to Colongne,[6] and sent hys constable to laye siege before Panpylone, with x. thousande Spanyerdes, in the whiche cytie the vicounte of Chastellon, and the lorde of Lescute, and the Bascle were, with two hundred speares, who greatly toke hede for the

[1] *Ruy Diaz de Rojas.*

[2] *Fernando de Castro.*

[3] *Boccanegra.*

[4] *Pedro de Velasco.*

[5] *Toledo.*

[6] *Corunna.*

cytie. And the kyng of Naver, who was newly returned out of Englande, was at Tudela, abydynge dayly for suche socours as shulde have come to him thens, as it was ordeyned. For the kyng of Englande and his counsayll had ordeyned to have come thyder, the lorde Nevyll, and sir Thomas de Termes,[1] and they were at Plommouthe, and there about, with a thousande men of armes, and two thousande archers, to thentent to have come to Burdeaulx; howbeit, they coulde have no passage at their desire; but the great army of Englande, with the duke of Lancastre, toke landyng at saynt Malo in the Isle, the whiche was anone knowen. Than departed for their houses, the vicount of Bellyer, sir Henry of Malatrayt, and the lorde of Combre,[2] and so they came and entred into saynt Malo, with two hundred men of armes, wherof the capitayne Morfouace was greatly rejoysed, for els they had been in great daunger.

CAP. CCCXXXI Of the men of warre that the duke of Anjou retayned agaynst thenglisshmen.

CAP. CCCXXXII

Of the issues and journeys that the Englisshmen made in that season in dyvers places in Fraunce, and also of the piteous dethe of Yvan of Wales.

SIR JOHAN ARUNDELL, who was at Hampton, with two hundred men of armes, and four C. archers, hard by his men, who had ben taken[3] on the see in a shyppe of Normandy, howe the duke of Lancastre, and his army, hadde so scoured the havyns of Normandy, that there were no Frenchmen on the see. Than incontynent he ordeyned four great shippes, charged with provisyon, and so entred into his shyppe, and sayled tyll he came into the haven of Chierbourc, where he was receyved with great joy; and at that tyme the castell was in the kepynge of the Naveroyse: but than they departed, savynge Peter Bascle, who aboode styll; he was capitayne there before, and so taryed with the Englysshmen. Chierbourc was nat likely to be wonne without famyn, for it is one of the strongest castelles in the worlde, and hath dyvers fayre issues; so sir Johan Arundell taryed there a fyve dayes, and revitayled the

[1] *Trivet.*

[2] *Combourg.*

[3] *par gens qui furent pris.*

Of the issues and journeys that the Englisshmen made in Fraunce.

castell, and than departed agayne to Hampton, for there he was capitayne.

Nowe let us speke of the siege of saynt Malo.

Whan the Englysshmen entred fyrst into the Isle of saynt Malo, they founde there many vesselles of Rochell, charged with good wyne: the merchauntes had anone solde the wyne and the shyppes burnt. Than they layde siege to saynt Malo, for they were men ynowe so to do, and the Englisshmen spred abrode in the countrey, and dyde moche hurt, and they that moost comonly kept the feldes was sir Robert of Courbes,[1] and sir Hughe Brone,[2] his nephewe, who knewe right well the countre, and the chanon Robersarte with them; dayly they rode forthe, somtyme they wanne, and somtyme they lost. So they wasted and brent all the countrey about saynt Malo: and the duke of Lancastre, and the erle of Cambridge, his brother, and their army hadde vitayle plenty, for there came to them ynoughe out of Englande. So before saynt Malo there were dyvers assautes, and marveylously well defended, for ther were ryght good men of warre within, wherfore they were nat easy to be conquered. They of the hoost caused to be made dyvers mantels of assaute, and they had a foure hundred gonnes layed rounde about the towne, the whiche greatly constrayned them within. Among dyvers assautes, ther was one marveylous ferse, the whiche endured a hole day: therat were dyvers Englysshmen slayne and sore hurt, for they within defended themselfe so valiantly, that they lost nat a man. There was slayne a knight of Englande, called sir Peter Lestume,[3] for whose dethe the duke and his brother were right sore displeased.

And as ye have herde here before, Yvan of Wales lay at siege before Mortayne, in Poitou, in four bastydes, of the which towne the lorde of Lestrade was capitayne. The fyrst bastyde where as parte of the siege lay, as at the syde of a rock, before the castell of Geron one the see,[4] the whiche bastyde Yvan himselfe kept; the seconde was bytwene the water and the castell, lowe before a posterne, so that none coude entre nor issue therat; the third bastyde was on the other syde of the castell; the fourth was in the church of saynt Legar, halfe a leage fro the castell. By these foure

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[1] *Knolles.*

[2] *Broit.*

[3] *l'Estrange.*

[4] *sur le bord de la riviere de Garone.*

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bastydes they within Mortayne were sore constrayned, bycause of the lenght of the siege, for it endured a yere and a halfe, so that they within had nothyng to lyve by, nor showe on their fete, nor confort nor socoure apered none to them fro any parte: wherfore they were sore abasshed. This siege thus enduryng before Mortayne, there issued out of the realme of Englande, and out of the marches of Wales, a squier, a Walshman, called James Lambe. He was but a small gentylman, and that well shewed after, for a very gentylman wyll never set his mynde on so evyll an entent. Some sayde, or he departed out of Englande, he was charged and enfourmed by some knyghtes of Englande, to do the treason that he dyde. For this Yvan of Wales was gretly behated in Englande, and in Gascon, bycause of the captall of Beufz, whome he toke and helped therto before Soubyse, in Poictou; for after he was taken, the Frenchmen wolde nat delyver hym agayne by no meanes, nother for raunsome nor for exchaunge. Yet the erle of saynt Poule was offered for him, and golde and sylver, but it wolde nat be taken; and whan he sawe that, for pure melancholy he dyed in the Temple at Parys, wherof all his frendes had great displeasure. This Walsshe squier, James Lambe, the same season arryved in Bretayne, and dyd so moche, that he came into Poictou, and ever as he went he named hymselfe to be servaunt to Yvan of Wales, for he spake good Frenche: sayeng, howe he was come out of Wales to speke with Yvan. And so he was anone beleved, and was conveyd by them of the countre, to Mortaygne, where the siege was. Than he wente wisely to Yvan, and shewed hym in his owne langage how he was come out of his countre to se hym, and to do hym servyce: Yvan, who thought none yll, lightly beleved him, and gave hym moche thankes for his comynge, and sayd, howe he wolde right gladlye have his servyce. And than he demaunded of him tidynges of the countrey of Wales; and he shewed him trewe tidynges, and untrewe, for he made him beleve howe all the countre of Wales wolde gladlye have hym to be their lorde. These wordes brought this James greatly in love with Yvan, for every man naturally desyreth to go into their owne countres, and to here therof, so that Yvan made him his chamberlayne: and this James every

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day more and more aquaynted him so with this Yvan of Wales, that he had nat so moche trust in no man, as he had in him. So moch this Yvan loved this James Lambe, that it was his distructyon, and the more pytie, for he was a good and a valyant man of armes, and was somtyme sonne to a prince of Wales, who kyng Edwarde of Englande caused to lese his heed, the cause why I can nat tell; and so kyng Edwarde ceased into his handes all the provynce of Wales. And this Yvan in his youthe came into Fraunce, and shewed all his trouble to kyng Philyppe, than beyng Frenche kyng, who kept him styll about him as long as he lyved, and was as one of the chyldren of his chambre, with his nevewes of Alenson and other: and in lykewise so dyde kyng Johan. And than he bare first armes, and was at the batell of Poicters; howbeit, he was nat there taken: it had been better for hym, that he had ben ther slayne. And whan the peace was made bitwene the kynge of Englande and the Frenche kynge, than this Yvan wente into Lombardy, and there contynued in warre; and whan the warre began agayne bytwene Englande and Fraunce, than he returned agayne into Fraunce, and bare himselfe so well that he was greatly praysed and wel beloved of the Frenche kyng, and with all the lordes.

Nowe lette us speke of his ende, the whiche I am lothe to do, savynge to shewe truely what fell in that tyme.

This Yvan of Wales hadde an usage beyng before Mortayne at the siege, that gladly in the mornyng whan he was up and redy, he wolde come before the castell, and sytte downe and kembe his heed a good long space, and syt and beholde the castell, and the countrey about, beynge out of doute or feare of any thynge. And lyghtly there went none with him but this James Lambe; and often tymes he made him redy, and none but he, wherby at last came his endyng day. On a mornyng betymes, whan the wether was fayre and clere, and the nyght had been so hote that he coulde nat slepe, howebeit, he rose and dyd on him but a syngle jacket and his shyrte, and a mantell or a cloke above, and so went thyder as he was wonte to go, and sate hym downe, and this James Lambe, with hym, every man beynge in their lodgynges aslepe, for it was early in the morning, and ther was made but lytell watche, for they thought themselfe sure of the castell. And whan Yvan was sette on an olde stocke of wode, he sayd to James, Go to my lodgyng and fatche my combe, for I wyll refreshe me here a lytell season. Sir, quoth he, it shall be done. And so he wente and came agayne with the combe: and as he was comyng, I trowe the devyll entred into hym, for besyde the combe, he brought with hym a lytell javelyne of Spayne, with a large heed of stele, and with the same strake this Yvan as he sate, clene through out the body, so that he fell downe starke deed. And whan he hadde done, he left styll the dart in his body, and so went his way, and drewe under covert of the castell, and soo came to the barryers and was let in, for he made signes to enter, and so he was brought before the Soudyc of Lestrade. Sir, quoth he, I have delyvered you of one of the greatest enemyes that ye had. Of whom is that, quod the Sowdic. Of Yvan of Wales, quoth James. And howe so, quoth the Soudic. Thus, quoth James, and so shewed him all the hole mater, as ye have herd before, fro poynt to poynt. And whan the Soudyc herde that, he shaked his heed, and behelde him right felly, and said, A, than thou hast murdred him, knowe for trouthe, all thynges consydred; savyng but that this dede is for our profyte, it shulde cost the thyne heed: but sithe it is done it can nat be undone agayne. Howebeit, it is a great domage of that gentylman to be so slayne: we shall have rather blame therby than prayse.

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This was the ende of Yvan, or Owen, of Wales, wheder ye wyll, all is one, slayne by great unhap and treason, wherwith they of the hoost whan they knewe it, were ryght sorie and displeased, and so was every man that herde therof, and specially kyng Charles of Fraunce, who greatly complayned his dethe; howebeit, he coulde nat amende it. And so this Yvan was buryed in the church of saynt Leger, where as he hadde made a bastyde, halfe a leage fro the castell of Mortayne, and all the gentylmen of the hoost were at his buryeng, the whiche was done ryght honourably. Howebeit, for all that the siege helde styll before Mortayne, for there were good knyghtes and squiers, Bretons, Poictevyns, and Frenchmen, who had greatter desyre to conquere the castell than they hadde before, and thought never to departe thens tyll they had wonne it, or elles reysed by puyssance, they wolde so fayne have ben revenged of the dethe of Yvan of Wales; and so they lay styll without any sawte gevynge, for they knewe well they lacked vitayle within the castell, and none coulde come to them.

Nowe let us leve to speke of the siege of Mortayne, and returne to the siege before saynt Malo, and fyrst to speke of the siege of Evreux, and howe they dyd that lay there.

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Howe they within Evreux yelded themselfe Frenche, and of the two hoostes assembled togyder before saynt Malo.

THE siege beyng before Evreux, the lorde of Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, who were soverayns of the hoost, herde oftentymes tidynges fro the French kyng, for he lay at Rohan,[1] as nere to his men as he myght: for he thought to have Evreux shortly out of hande, outher by force, or by composicion: for he perceyved well how the Englisshmen began to waxe strong in Bretayne, wherfore he wolde have all his men of warre to drawe thyder, to reyse the siege before saynt Malos, and to fight with the Englysshmen. These two lordes before Evreux aquyted themselfe ryght valyantly, for every daye they made assaute, and also sente many treaties to the burgesses of the towne, shewynge them howe they suffred themselfe to be greved without reason, and mynysshe their goodesse, and suffre their houses in the countrey to be beaten downe and brent: for their naturall lorde was there without with them, Charles of Naver, to whom the herytage of the countye of Evreux was fallen, by reason of the dethe of the countesse his mother; and counsayled them nat to holde the erroure and opynyon of the folysshe Naveroyse, and suche other as Ferando is, who careth nat to lease them all; for besyde their ryghtfull quarell, they sayd they wolde never departe thens tyll they had the castell at their wyll, and if they had it by force,

[1] *Rouen.*

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Howe they within Evreux yelded themselfe Frenche.

they shulde have no mercy, and the towne newe peopled with strangers. Such offers, wordes, and manasshes, were shewed to them of Evreux, and every day they were assayled. Than they within began to doute, for there apered to them no maner of comfort; than they sayde one to another, We se well that the Frenche kynge desyreth nat the countre and castell of Evreux for hymselfe, but for his nephewe, Charles of Naverre; than they fell in treatye with the lorde Coucy. Whan Ferando knewe that the burgesses of the towne fell in treatye, he kept hymselfe within the castell, and wolde nat come out, nor be at none of their treatyes; finally, they of the towne and countre yelded up, their lyves and goodesse saved, and receyved Charles of Naverre for their lorde. And than they besieged Ferando within the castell; than he began to entreate, so that if they wolde suffre him and his to depart without daunger, he wolde yelde up the castell. The lordes were content. Than they departed out of the castell, and so were brought to Chyerbourc. After the conquest of Evreux, all the capitayns of the hoost drewe to Rohan, where the kyng lay to here tidynges, for well he knewe that thenglysshmen laye at siege before saynt Malos, in Bretayne. The kyng receyved them joyfully, and specyally the lorde Coucy, and the lorde de la Ryver, bycause they had so well spedde. These lordes abode styll in Normandy, and were styll retayned in wages.

The French kyng, who all this season lay styll at Rohan, hadde sure knowledge howe the Englysshmen had puissantly besieged saynt Malos, and howe they within were sore constrayned, and every day enpayred; he thought he wolde be lothe to lese his men, and the good towne of saynt Malos, for if that had ben ones Englisshe, he thought Bretayn sore weaked on that syde. Therfore to resyst the Englisshmen the kyng had made a great assemble, for none durst disobey his commaundement, as to sytte styll at home; and so the kynge sent his two bretherne thyder, the duke of Berrey, and the duke of Burgoyn, the erle of Alenson, the erle de la Marche, the Dolphyn of Auvergne, therle of Guefe,[1] sir Johan of Bolayne,[2] and many other great barones and knyghtes of all countreys. Also the kyng commaunded his constable, sir Bertram of Clesquy, that he shulde nat be behynde. The

[1] *Genèves.*

[2] *Comte d'Auvergne.*

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Howe they within Evreux yelded themselfe Frenche.

constable wolde nat dysobey, but went forthe with a great company of men of armes, of Poictou, Anjou, and Towrayne. Also ther was the two marshals of Fraunce, and the marshall of Blenvylle;[1] also there was sir Olyver of Clisson, the lorde of Leon, and all the barons of Bretayne. They were a x. thousande men of armes, and in the feldes mo than a hundred thousande horse; they lodged ever as nere togyder as they coulde, but bytwene them and the Englisshmen there was a ryver and an arme of the see. And oftentymes whan the see was ebbed, some knyghtes and squiers wolde go and do dyvers feates of armes with their enemyes in the playne ryver. There was never suche assemble made in Bretayne before, for if the Frenchmen were puyssant, in lykewise so were the Englisshmen, and eche parte thought to fyght, for every day they shewed themselfe in the felde, with baners and penons waveryng with the wynde; it was great pleasure to beholde them. The Frenchemen wolde come downe to the ryver syde, and make semblant to fyght, and wolde say, Beholde yonder our enemyes, anon the see wyll ebbe: if they woll come over, we wyll se them come fight: but it semythe they have no wyll therto, they feare the fortunes of batayle; we thynke their chiefe governours wyll nat suffre them to adventure to fyght with us in playne batayle.

This fasynge and mustryng was dayly bytwene them. So on a day the erle of Cambridge sware and sayd, that if ther were any mo suche assembles, that if they wolde nat come and fyght, that he wolde go over and fyght with them, whatsoever fell therof. Than on a day the vowarde, with the constable of Fraunce, who sawe well howe the Englysshmen were hote and hasty, ordayned on a season all his batayls on the sandes, as nere to the ryver as they coulde, all a fote. The erle of Cambridge whan he sawe their maner, sayd, They that love me folowe me, for I wyll go and fyght with them; and so dasshed into the water, the whyche as than was lowe, but the fludde was comynge, and so came just to the ryver syde with his baner. Than the Englisshmen began to shote agaynst the Frenchmen, and the constable of Fraunce drewe abacke and all his people, and went back into the felde, who thought veryly that the Englisshmen

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[1] *Ossi fisent li doi maressal de France, li marissaux de Blainville, et li marissaux de Sansoirre.*

wolde a come over the water: they wolde gladly have caused them to have done so. The duke of Lancastre, with a great batayle, was redy to have folowed his brother if he had sene there hadde bene nede, and sayd to Gerarde of Brees,[1] a squier of Heynaulte, who was by hym, Gerarde, beholde my brother, howe he adventureth hymselfe; it semeth howe he sheweth ensample to the Frenchemen, howe he wolde fayne fyght with them, but it semeth they have but small wyll therto. Thus they contynued, and no deades of armes done on nother party; the fludde began to ryse; than the Englisshmen drewe abacke out of the river, and went to their lodgynges, and the Frenchmen in lykewyse to theirs.

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Howe they within Evreux yelded themselfe Frenche.

In suche musters and assembles, the siege durynge, there was done dyvers feates of armes. The Frenchmen kept well their fronter, so that the Englisshmen durst nat passe the ryver. And soo it was, that dyvers tymes more hygher in the countre, certayne knyghtes and squiers Bretons, suche as knewe well the countrey, rode abrode in certayne companyes, and passed the ryver by gydes, and often tymes encountred with the Englisshe foragers, and some tyme they fought, and some overthrowen; some tyme they wan and sometyme lost, as adventures of warre often tymes falleth. The siege thus endurynge, the lordes of Englande more dilygently to attayne to their purpose, they concluded to make a myne, and so therby to entre into saynt Malos; for otherwyse they thought they coulde nat get the towne, it was so full of good men of warre, and so well furnysshed with all ordynance and artyllery, the whiche helped them merveylusly well. Also thenglisshmen nigh every day, were fayne to be armed and to assemble togyder to abyde batayle, if the Frenchmen wolde have come forwarde; wherfore they had no leyser to make any assawtes to the towne but with their gonnes, wherof they had great plenty, which troubled them sore within the towne. So they advysed the place to make their myne and set mynours awarke.

Nowe lette us a lytell space leave spekyng of this siege, and speke of the siege of Mortayne in Poictou.

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[1] *Obies.*

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Howe the Englysshmen came, and reysed the siege before Mortayne.

YE have harde before of the dethe of Yvan of Wales, and howe he was slayne, and howe the Bretons and Poictevyns were styll at the siege before Mortayne; and sir James of Mountmore, sir Percyvall Deynevall, Wylliam of Mountcountour, and sir James of Surgeres were capitaynes, and wolde nat leave the siege, for the dethe of Yvan of Wales, who was their soverayne capitayne: they had great desyre to revenge his dethe on them of the forteresse. Also ye have herde howe sir Thomas Trivet, sir Wylliam Scrope, sir Thomas Berton,[1] sir Wylliam Sendrue,[2] and a great nombre of men of armes and archers, were ordayned to go into the marches of Burdeaux, for the reskewe of them of Mortayne: and sir Mathewe Gornay, who was at Bayon, and was dayly occupyed therabout in the marches agaynst the Gascons, and suche as helde forteresses there. These sayd four knyghtes and their companyes had layen at Plomouthe vii. monethes, and could have no wynde to serve them to go into Gascoyne, wherof they were ryght sore displeased; but they coulde nat amende it. Also ye have harde howe the lorde Nevyll of Englande was ordeyned with a great nombre of men of armes and archers, to go and comforte the kyng of Naver agaynst the Spanyardes, for he was ordeyned to be seneshall of Burdeux; and so he founde all these other men of warr styll at Plomouth; and eche of them were glad of other. And anon, after the lorde Nevels comyng, they had wynde at wyll; than they toke shippynge and sayled towardes Gascoyne, and so they were in one flete a sixescore vesselles and xl. barkes; there myght well be a thousande men of armes and two thousande archers. And they hadde no let on the see, but good wynde, and so they entred into the haven of Burdeux, the even of Our Lady in Septembre, the yer of our Lorde a thousand thre hundred lxxvii.

Whan the Bretons and Poictevyns that laye at siege

[1] *Abingdon.*

[2] *Cendrins.*

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Howe the Englysshmen came, and reysed the siege before Mortayne.

before Mortaygne sawe suche a flete of shippes passe by, makynge great feast and brunt, and sownynge of trompettes, they were ryght pensyve, and they within the castell ryght joyfull, for they hoped well than to be shortely reskewed, or elles their enemyes to have batayle: for they thought surely they were nat come thyder for nought, but for to do some great feate of armes. Than sir James of Mountmore and the capitaynes of the hoost drewe toguyder to counsayle, to determyne what was best for them to do. Than they repented them of the forsakyng of the treaty that was offred them before: for but a lytell before the Soudic of Lestrade offred to rendre up the forteresse, so they myght departe to Burdeux, their lyves and goodes saved: but the Frenchmen wolde nat therof. So than they sent a haraulde to the castell, shewyng them howe they were content to receyve their treatie. The Soudic answered, howe they were than in no mynde to fall to no treatie, for their socour was come, wherfore they wolde frely departe or abyde at their pleasure: so the siege lay styll. The lorde Nevyll and his company came to Burdeux, and they were joyfully receyved of sir Wylliam Helman, seneschal of Landes, sir Johan of Multon, mayre of the cytie, and of the archbysshop there, and of the burgesses, ladyes, and damozelles. The lorde Nevyll was lodged in the abbey of saynt Andrewes, and so was seneshall of Burdeux. Than anone after he made an assemble of knyghtes and squiers Gascons, suche as helde of the Englisshe parte, so that he was a four thousande: and he ordeyned shyppes and vesselles on the ryver of Garon, and so departed fro Burdeux to go and reyse the siege before Mortayne. Anone these tydynges were knowen in the Frenche hoost, howe thenglysshmen and Gascons were comyng downe the ryver of Garon to reyse their siege, or elles to fyght with them. Than the capitayns drewe to counsayle, and all thynges considered, it was thought they were nat able to abyde that puyssance; wherfore it was determyned that they shulde rather lese the tyme that they hadde spent, than to put themselfe into a farder daunger and parell; and so sowned their dislogyng without any thyng doyng farder, and so drewe into Poictou. But all departed nat, for a certayne Bretons and Walshmen that

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were parteynynge to Yvan of Wales, sayd, howe they were able to abyde all the worlde, and to kepe the fortresse of saynt Leger; and so they entred into it, and drue in all their artyllary.

The knightes of Englande and Gascon, who were comynge with full sayles in barges, by the ryver of Garon, they rested at thentre before Mortayne, and so toke lande lytell and lytell; and as they landed, they put themselfe in order redy to assayle the fortresse of saynt Leger, wherin the Bretons were: and so at the first comyng ther was a sore assaut; and whyle they were at the assaut, the lorde Nevyll sent a haraude to Mortayn to the Soudic, to knowe howe he dyde. The haraude dyde as he was commaunded, and brought worde agayne how they dyd right well, but that they had no showes on their fete. The assaut before saynt Leger endured well thre houres and wan nothing, but had dyvers of their men sore hurt, and so lodged them that night. And it was their myndes nat to depart thens tyll they had wonne that holde, and were sore displeased that the lord of Montmore and the other French knightes had nat ben within the fortresse of saynt Leger: but they were wiselye departed and left ther the Bretons.

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Howe the Englysshmen recovered dyvers castelles on the Frenchmen in Burdeloys.

AND in the next mornyng the lorde Nevyll and the knightes of England ordayned to gyve assaut to saynt Leger, and so sowned their trumpettes to the assaute, and aproched to the fortresse, and there began a sore assaut. The fortresse stode so on a rocke that none coude easely aproche therto, and on the wekest syde ther were dyvers great dykes, so that none coude easely aproche. The assaylers traveyled sore, and wanne but lytell, but dyvers of their men were sore hurt and some slayne: than thassaut ceased, and it was thought best to fyll the dykes, to have the more advantage to gyve assaut; so with great payne the dykes were fylled. Than the Bretons that were within seyng that, douted more than they dyde before, and good reason why, and so fell to entreat. The Englysshmen, who had great mynde of the kyng of Navers busynesse, and also thought to delyver certayne fortresses in Burdelois, holden by the Frenche Bretons, agreed to their treatie; and so the holde of saynt Leger was gyven up, so that they within departed whyder they lyst, their lyves and goodes saved. Thus saynt Legers was Englysshe: and than the lordes wente to the castell of Mortayne, and founde the Soudic of Lestrade in the same case as the haraud had reported to them before: so than they were refresshed of every thyng that they neded, and the castell newe furnysshed with men; and than they retourned agayne to Burdeaux the same way they came, by water by the ryver of Garon.

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Howe the Englysshmen recovered dyvers castelles in Burdeloys.

Whan they were come agayne to Burdeaux and refresshed, in the meane season they had knowledge that a sixe leages thens ther was a barone that helde a fortresse called saynt Mauberen,[1] in a countre called Medoc, who dyde moche hurt in the countre. Than thenglysshe lordes charged all their provisyon on the ryver of Garone and all their artyllary, and than toke their horses, aboute a thre hundred speares, and so came by lande to saynt Mauberen. And ther were of Gascoyns with the lorde Nevyll, sir Archambalt of Grayle, the lorde of Rousy,[2] the lorde of Duras, and the lorde of Ternon:[3] and whan the barones and their companyes were come before saynt Mauberen, they toke their lodgynge, and incontynent gave assaut, the whiche was feirse and terryble, for the Bretons within were good men of warre, and their capitayne was one called Huguelyn,[4] by whom they were ruled. This first assaut dyde the Bretons but lytell hurt: than thenglysshmen drewe to their lodgynge: the next mornynge they reysed up their engyns to cast stones, and to breke downe the toppes of the byldinges in the towre; the iii. day they ordayned to gyve a sore assaut, sayeng how those rybaudes shulde nat longe endure agaynst them. There was a sore and a feirse assaut, and many a man slayne and hurt; ther were never men that better defended themselfe than the Bretons dyde. Howebeit, finally seyng no confort comyng fro no parte to them warde, they fell in treatie, for they sawe well their ennemyes wolde nat departe

[1] *Saint Maubert.*

[2] *Rauzan.*

[3] *Petiton de Curton.*

[4] *Virelion.*

Howe the Englysshmen recovered dyvers castelles in Burdeloys.

thens tyll they hadde them at their pleasure, thoughe they shulde lye longe there therfore: so the treatie toke suche effect that they gave up saynt Mauberen, and departed with their goodes without domage, and so they went into Poictou or whyder they lyst. And whan the lorde Nevyll was lorde therof, he newly repayred the forteresse and furnysshed it with newe men and artillary, and sette therin Gascoyns to kepe it. A squyer of Gascoyne, called Peter of Brasyas,[1] was capitayne there. And than the lorde Nevyll returned to Burdeux. And dayly he herde how the siege endured before Panpilone, in Naver, the whiche was besieged by the chylde of Castell; but they herd no certayne tidynges of the kyng of Naver, nor also the kynge of Naverr herde no worde of them, the whiche greatly displeased hym.

Nowe let us retourne to the besynesse in Bretayne and in Normandy, and speke of the siege of saynt Malo.

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Howe the myne made by thenglisshmen agaynst saynt Malos was lost, and the siege reysed.

BEFORE the towne of saynt Malo ther was a sore siege, and many a soore saute gyven, for thenglysshmen had well a four hundred gonnes, who shot night and daye into the fortresse and agaynst it. And the capitayne within, called Morfouas, a valyant man of armes, set all his mynde to the defence of the forteresse, and by the good counsayle of sir Henry of Maletrait, of the lorde Combore,[2] and of the vycont of Bellere, dyd so valyantly, that they toke all that tyme but lytell hurte. In the countre, as ye have herde before, was all about the floure of Fraunce, as well of great lordes as other; they were to the nombre of xvi. thousande men of armes, knyghtes and squyers, and well a hundred thousande horses, and gladly they wolde have fought with thenglisshmen: and in lykewise the Englysshmen wolde gladly have done the same, if any parte coulde have founde any advauntage; but that thynge whiche brake their purpose oftentymes was a ryver that was bytwene them, so that whan the fludde came ther coude none passe

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[1] *Presiacq.*

[2] *Combourg.*

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Howe the myne made by thenglisshmen agaynst saynt Malos was lost.

over, so that none of them might come at other. And alwayes the myne went forward, and they within were in great dout. Ye may well knowe that in suche assembles it coude be non otherwyse, but that the foragers of eyther partie somtymes met in the felde, for ther were expert knyghtes and squyers of bothe parties, and many a feat of armes done, and some overthrowen. These myners wrought sore day and night under the erth, to thentent to come into the towne that way, and to make a pane of the wall to fall, so that their men might entre. Of this myne, Morfouace and they within douted gretly, for they knewe well by that they myght be lost; they cared for none other assaut but for that, for their towne was well furnysshed with vitayls and artyllary to kepe it for two yere yf nede were; but they had great thought how to breke this myne. So long they thought theron and traveyled therabout, that at last they came to their ententes, and by great adventure, as many thynges falleth in warre. The erle Richarde of Arundell shulde have kept the watche one night, with a certayn with him of his owne men; and therle toke no great hede of that was his charge, so that they within saynt Malos knewe therof by their spyes or otherwyse; and so whanne they sawe it was tyme, on trust of the watche they departed secretly out of the towne, the hoost beyng aslepe. And so they came without noyse makynge to the place wher as the myne was a makynge, and the myners had nigh made an ende of their warke. Than Morfouace and his company beyng redy to do that he was come for, at their ease and without defence brake the myne, so that some of the myners came never out, for the myne fell downe on them. And whan they had done, they sayde they wolde awake the watch that was next the towne, to thentent that the hoost shulde knowe howe valiantly they had done; and so they entred into the one syde of the felde, cryeng their cryes, beatyng downe of tentes and lodgynges, and sleynge of men, so that the hoost began to styrre. Than Morfouace and his company withdrewe them into saynt Malos, without hurte or danger; than the hoost began to assemble, and the duke had great marveyle what it might be, and demaunded what it was: than it was shewed him, that in that defaut of the watche

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Howe the myne made by thenglisshmen agaynst saynt Malos was lost.

their myne was lost the same tyme. Than the duke of Lancastre sent for therle of Arundell, and he was sore rebuked for this adventure; but he excused himselfe as well as he might; howbeit, he was therwith sore ashamed, and hadde rather have spent a hundred thousande frankes, than it shulde have so fortuned.

Thys adventure thus fallen, and their myne broken, than the lordes of the hoost drewe to counsayle, to knowe what were beste for theym to do. Than they behelde eche other, and sawe well howe they had lost their season, the whiche was nat likely to be recovered agayne; and to begyn a newe myne, they thoght they shuld never bring it to an ende, for the tyme passed and wynter drue on. So they determyned, all thynges consydred for the best, to dysloge and to retourne into England agayne: and it was than ordayned, that every man shulde dyslodge and go to shyppe; their flete laye styll at ancre in the haven of saynt Malo. Anone every man was disloged and into shippe, and had wynde at wyll, and so sayled towarde Englande and aryved at Hampton, and ther toke lande; and ther they knewe that sir John Arundell, capiten of Hampton, had gone to Chierborc, to refresh the garison ther. Thus brake up thenglishe army, and every man drue to his owne house, and some repassed the see and went into their owne countreis. Than the comons of Englande began to murmure agaynst the noblemen, sayeng howe they hadde done all that season but lytell good, and specially bycause saynt Malos was so escaped, wherfore the erle of Arundell hadde but lytell grace nor love.

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Howe sir Olyver of Clesquy was taken by them of Chierbourge.

ANONE, after the departure of the Englysshmen fro saynt Malo, and that the Frenchemen had refresshed newlye the towne and the castell, than the constable of Fraunce and the Bretons determyned to go and lay siege to Chierbourc, wherof sir Johan Harlston was capitayn, and

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had with hym dyvers knightes, bothe Englysshe and Naveroyse. And the hole host of Fraunce went nat thyder, for there departed the duke of Berrey, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Burbone, the erle de la Marche, the Dolphyn of Auvergne, and all the great lordes, and sent their men into their countreis. And dyvers of them went to Rohan, to se the kynge, who receyved them right joyously; and a thre hundred speares of Bretons and Normayns wente to Valonges, a thre leages fro Chierbourge, and there made their bastydes. And they knewe well that sir Johan Arundell had newly refresshed Chierbourc, and they supposed that he was as than bytwene Chierbourge and Valonges: on that syde ther were highe wodes and forestes, that endured to the cyte of Coustances; so they of Chierbourg might yssue out and ryde aboute the countrey whan they lyst, for they had in this wode a way so sore hedged on bothe sydes, that whan they were ryding there coude none aproche to them: this Chierbourge is one of the strongest castels of the worlde. They that were in the garyson of Valonges were right sore displeased in that they coude do no domage to the Englysshmen that so haryed the countre. Than sir Olyver of Clesquy, brother to sir Bertram, came fro Catyminy,[1] and rode throughe the wode, and advysed Chierbourg right nere, to thentent to se if ther might be any siege layde therto; howebeit, he thought at leest if he might gette the towne, the whiche stode higher than the castell, he shulde do a great enterprice; for than he thought he might so fortify the towne, that none shulde yssue out of the castell but to their great domage. Sir Olyver persevered styll in this purpose, and toke with hym a fyftene speares and guydes, suche as coude surely bring hym throughe the wodes; and so in a mornynge he departed fro Valonges, and came through the woodes, tyll he was agaynst Chierbourg. And the same day and tyme sir Johan Arundell was come into the towne out of the castell, and a squyer of Naver, called Johan Coq, with hym, to the entent to shewe him the towne; and ther he herd tidynges howe the Frenchmen were come thyder to advyse the place. Sir, quoth Johan Coq, I have herde howe sir Olyver of Clesquy, brother to sir Bertram, hath past the wodes, and hath advysed this towne;

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[1] '*à catamini*' *1495*='*à le couverte*' (*Kervyn de Lettenhove*).

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Howe sir Olyver of Clesquy was taken by them of Chierbourge.

Sir, for God sake, let us pursue hym; Sir, I warrant to bringe you suche a way that he shall not escape us, but that he shall fall in our handes, and so they shall be conquered lytell and lytell. By my faythe, quod sir Johan Arundell, I am content. And so they armed them secretly, and toke with them a two hundred speares, and so entred into the wodes wher as the Frenchmen rode the same day, and knewe nothyng eche of other. And whan sir Olyver had well advysed the towne, the whiche he sawe was right stronge, and in a place impossyble to be besieged, than he withdrue, and toke the way towarde Valonges, the same way he came; and he hadde nat rydden the space of two leages, but that sir Johan Arundell and Johan Coq came streyght on them, they were so well gyded, and cryed on them, Our Lady of Arundell. Whan sir Olyver herde that crye, and sawe them redy to mete hym, he wysshed himselfe agayne in Valonges: thane he mounted on a good courser, thynking to save himselfe by fleynge, for he sawe well there was no tyme nor place to fight for his advantage: so his men entred into the thycke of the woode, some here some there, they wyst nat whyder, but a fewe of them kept togyder. Johan Coq, lyke a valyant man of armes, folowed in the chase after sir Olyver so nere, that finally he toke hym prisoner, and a ten or xii. other were ther taken. And the resydue saved themselfe in the woodes, and so gate to Valonges whan they might, and ther shewed sir Wylliam of Bordes and his company howe they had spedde by reason of a busshement, and howe sir Olyver of Clesquy was taken, wherof all they that were ther were soore displeased; howbeit, they coude nat amende it. Than sir Olyver was ledde into the castell of Chierbourg, and he was shewed howe he shulde pay for his raunsome x. thousande frankes. These tidynges were anone knowen bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, and so the mater abode styll long in the same estate.

Sir Olyver of Clesquy was prisoner a longe season in Chierbourge, in the kepyng of Johan Coq of Naver, who toke him: yet sir Johan of Arundell had the profyte: and afterwarde sir Olyver made fynance for hymselfe, and for all those that were taken with him; but it was a long space first. And whan the garison of Chierbourg was well refresshed, than sir

Johan Arundell departed and went agayn to Hampton, wherof he was capitayne. Ther abode styll in Chierbourg with sir John Harlston, capitayne there, dyvers knyghtes of Englande, as sir John Coplande, sir John Bulle,[1] sir Thomas Bygorne,[2] and dyvers other knyghtes and squyers; and they and other toke so good hede to the fortresse that it toke no domage.

Howe sir Olyver of Clesquy was taken by them of Chierbourge.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of Chierbourc tyll tyme come therto agayne, and let us speke of sir Johan Nevyll, seneshall of Burdeaulx, and of his company, sir Thomas Tryvet and other, and howe they persevered.

CAP. CCCXXXVIII

How the chylde of Castell and the Spanyerdes lay at siege before Panpilone, and of suche castelles as the Englysshmen conquered out of the Frenchmens handes.

THE lorde Nevyll beynge at Burdeux, was well enfourmed howe the chylde of Castell, with a great nombre of Spanyerdes, had layde siege to the good towne of Panpylone; and the vycont of Chastellon, the lorde of Lescute, and Raymon of Ramesen, and dyvers other were within. And they coude here no certayne tidynges of the kyng of Naver, wherof they hadde marveyle, but they supposed shortely to here fro hym. The countremen of Burdeaux and therabout desyred the lorde Nevyll nat to departe out of the countre, nor to suffre none of his men of warre to departe, as long as the Frenchmen had any fortresses in the countre; and specially they complayned of the fortresse of Bersac,[3] the whiche, they sayde, dyde moche sorowe in the countrey. Than the lorde Nevyll demaunded what nombre of Bretons ther were within Bersacce, and it was shewed him a fyve hundred fightyng men. Than he called to hym the seneshall of Landes and sir Wyllyam Scrope, and sayde, Sirs, take with you a two or thre hundred speares and as many archers, and go your way and loke on them of Bersac, and do so moche as to delyver the countre

[1] *Burley.*

[2] *Pickworth.*

[3] *Barsac.*

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How the chylde of Castell and the Spanyerdes lay at siege before Panpilone.

of them, and than we shall attende to a greatter mater. The two knightes wolde nat disobey, but so toke two hundred speares and as many archers, and passed the ryver of Garon, and so rode towarde Bersac: and the same season they of Bersac were oute abrode rydinge, to the nombre of sixscore speares, all along the ryver of Garon, to thentent to se if they might fynde any shyppe: and their capitayne was one of Pyergourt, called sir Bertram Raymon, a good man of armes. And so within a litell leage of Bersac they encountred the Englysshmen. And whan this sir Bertram sawe that he must nedes fight, he was nat affrayed, but ordred his men in good array; they were nere all Gascoyns: and so the Englysshmen came on them with their speares couched and spurres to their horses. And at the first comynge ther were dyvers overthrowen of bothe parties, and many a feate of armes done; howebeit, finally the Frenchmen coude nat endure thenglysshmens dedes, also they were mo in nombre and chosen men; insomoch that all they of the garyson of Bersac were slayne or taken, but fewe that scaped. And ther was taken sir Bertram Raymon and sir Wylliam Hemon,[1] and than they rode to Bersac. And whan they of the garison sawe that ther men were taken and slayne, they were sore abasshed, and so gave up the forteresse, their lyves saved: so thus Bersac became Englisshe, and than they returned to Burdeux.

The same day was the night of Alsayntes, the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lxxviii. that thenglysshmen entred into Bersac, and the same day the kyng of Naver came to Burdeux or any man wyst. And he was receyved ryght honorably and well lodged at his ease, and all his men. And than he was demaunded of the tidynges in his countre, and of the Spanyerdes, and he answered plainly, that the Childe of Castell had besieged Panpylone with great puyssance, so that they that were within the cyte were sore constrayned. Than he desyred them, acordyng to the apoyntment made by the kyng of Englande, that they wolde helpe to confort his people and to reyse the siege. The knightes of Englande offred themselfe, and said, how they were in good mynde so to do, so that by their neglygence the siege shulde nat be unreysed, and so ordayned therfore and said to the kyng,

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[1] *et fu pris messires Bertrans Raimons et prisonniers d messire Guillaume Helmen.*

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How the chylde of Castell and the Spanyerdes lay at siege before Panpilone.

Sir, returne you into your owne countre, and make a speciall assembly of your men, and we shall be ther at a day apoynted, and let us assemble togyder, and so we shal be the stronger; your men also knowe the countre better than ours do. He answered and sayd, Sirs, ye say well, and thus it shal be done. And so the thirde daye after, he departed and toke the way by the see syde, for ther was about Bayon and Daxe in Gascone certayne fortresses holden by the Bretons. So longe the kynge of Naver rode, that he came to the towne of saynt Johans,[1] and ther he abode.

In the meane season, whyle the kynge of Naver made his vyage to Burdeux, and taryed there and retourned agayne, John of Castell, son to the kyng of Spayne, and the constable of the realme of Castell, who were chefe of that warr, who was called Dome Peter of Morich,[2] they helde the siege before Panpylone, with a great nombre under them. With them ther was therle Done Alphons, therle of Medyna, therle of Manos,[3] therle of Ribydie,[4] Peter Ferant of Salesque,[5] and Peter Gonsart of Modesque,[6] and dyvers other knightes and squiers of Castell. And the Spanyerdes, as they came towarde Panpylone, they had taken and brent the towne of Lornich,[7] and the cytie of Vien[8] besyde Groynge.[9] There was never a lorde in Naverr that durst apere before them, but every man kept his owne holde. All this knewe right well the kyng of Naver, for alwayes he had messangers comyng and goyng; but he coude nat remedy it without the helpe of thenglishmen. The lorde Nevyll, who was at Burdeux, sent thyder by the kynge of Englande and his counsayle, he knewe right well the liage and alyance that was made bytwene the kynge of Englande, and of Naver, yet he faynted and was slacke in the acomplysshing therof.[10] All this he thought in hymselfe, and so called to hym sir Thomas Tryvet, a right valyant knight, and sayd, Sir Thomas, ye knowe well howe we were sent hyder to take hede of the fronters of this countre, and to put out our enemyes, and also to confort the kyng of Naver, who hath ben here with us, and hath shewed us the nede that he hath: ye were present whan I promysed him how we shulde serve him, wherfore it behoveth us so to do, or els we shal be blamed; wherfore dere frende and lover, I ordayne you

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[1] *Saint Jean Pied de Port.*

[2] *Manrique.*

[3] *Noroña.*

[4] *Ribadeo.*

[5] *Velasco.*

[6] *Mendoça.*

[7] *Lerin.*

[8] *Viana.*

[9] *Logroño.*

[10] *si falloit bien qu'il accomplist à son pouvoir.*

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to be chefe governour of that warre, and that ye take a sixe hundred speres, and a thousande archers, and go into Naver: and I wyll abyde here in these marchesse, bycause I am seneshall of Burdeux, and have the charge therof commytted me by the kynge of Englande, and therfore I wyll take hede of suche adventures as shall fall, for as yet the countre is nat all rydde of our enemyes. Sir, quoth sir Thomas, ye do me more honour than I am worthy, I shall gladly obey you as it is reason, and shall aquyte me in this vyage to the best of my power. Than the lorde Nevell sayd, Sir, I am well conforted by that ye ar wylling to go.

Within a lytell space after, sir Thomas Tryvet departed fro Burdeux, and toke the way to Daxe, in Gascoyne, and with him ther was sir Wylliam Condone,[1] sir Thomas Berton,[2] sir John Affull,[3] sir Henry Paule,[4] sir Wyllyam Croquet, sir Loys Malyn, sir Thomas Fourque, and sir Robert Haston,[5] all Gascons,[6] with a great nombre. Whan all these men of warre were come to the cytie of Daxe, than they herde tidynges that the kyng of Naverre was at saynt Johns du Pye du Port, and there made his somons of men of warr, wherof they were right gladde. In the cytie of Daxe, there was a capitayne an Englysshe knight, called sir Mathue Gorney, uncle to sir Thomas Tryvet, who receyved his nephewe right joyfully, and all his company, and ayded to lodge theym at their ease. Thentent of sir Thomas Tryvet was, nat to have rested, but to have kept on his way to the kyng of Naverr. But than sir Mathewe sayd, Fayre nephue, sythe ye be here with suche a puyssance, it behoveth you to delyver this countre of a certayne Bretons and Frenchemen, who kepeth well a xii. fortresses bytwene this and Bayone; for if ye leave them behynde you, they wyll do us this wynter moche trouble; and sir, if ye do this, the countre wyll can you moche thanke; and sir, I desyre you do it. Sir, quoth sir Thomas, and I wyll do it. And than he sette every thyng in order, and so came before a forteresse called Mountpyn, the whiche the Bretons helde, and therin was a capitayn a squier of the countie of Foyz, called Tayllerdon. Assoone as these men of armes were come thyder, they made a sore assaut, and so the fortres was taken, and all that were within slayne, excepte the capi-

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[1] *Cendrins.*

[2] *Abingdon.*

[3] *Fallesley.*

[4] *Paveley.*

[5] *Ashton.*

[6] *Andrieus Handerach et Mouret de Plaisac, gascons.*

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tayne, who was taken prisoner; than the castell was newe furnysshed with newe men. And after they went farther to another castell, called Caroyllat, kept also by the Frenche Gascons; and so these men of warre gave assaute therto, but they fayled at that assaut of winnynge of it, and so dislodged; and the next mornynge they made so feirse assaute, that by force they wan it, and all slayne that were within, except the capitayne, who was a Breton Bretonant, and was called Yvonet Aprisydie, and he was delyvered to the Englysshmen as prisoner, and the castell brent. And than they passed farther, and came before another fortresse called Besenghen,[1] and therin was capitayne a squyer of Gascoyne, called Roger of Morlac; the Englysshmen were two dayes there or they had it, and that was by treatie, so that all that were within departed without domage, and went whyder they lyst.

Than fro thens they went to Tassegnon, a castell standyng a thre leages fro Bayone, and there layd siege. And whan they of Bayone herde howe the siege was layde there, they were right joyfull, and so came to the siege a v. hundred men of the towne, with speares and pavesses, and brought with them the greatest engyn that was in Bayone. They of the fortresse had done so moche trouble to them of Bayone, that they desyred nothyng so moche as their dystructyon: but for all their strength they coulde nat have get it, and the advyse and helpe of the Englysshmen had nat ben. They lay there xv. dayes or they had it, and yet whan they had it, it was by treaty, so that all that were within went their way without any domage, and wer brought in savegard to Bregent,[2] whiche helde of the French parte. Than they of Bayon bought the castell for thre M. frankes, and after beate it downe, and caryed all the stones to Bayone, and there these men of warr were well receyved, and had every thyng that they desyred, payeng therfore.

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[1] *Benesse.*

[2] *Bergerac.*

CAP. CCCXXXIX

How the Spanyerdes departed fro the siege of Panpylone, and howe the Englysshmen arryved in Naver, and howe they dyde.

THE kyng of Naver, beyng at saynt Johns towne, was right sore troubled and dyspleased in his mynde, that thenglisshmen taryed so longe, for his countrey was in great parell. Surely the cyte of Panpylone had ben won by the Spanyerdes, if the wysdome and good kepyng of the vycont of Chastellon had nat ben, who was capyten ther, with two C. speares Gascons, but his wyse order kept them fro parell. In the towne of Tedula,[1] in Naver, was capitayne, sir Perducas Dalbret; and in the cyte of Myranda, was capiten, therle Pulloys,[2] and with hym sir Roger his brother: and in another strong towne in Naver, called Arkes,[3] was capitayne, a knyght of Cateloyne, called sir Raymon of Bageth.[4] In trust of these capitayns, the kyng of Naver held him at saynt Johns towne, but all the countre was wasted and overrynne with enemyes, for none kepte the feldes, but the Spanyerdes, and they knewe well, that at length by long siege, the cyte of Panpylone shulde be wonne or yelded up; but they had no wyll therto, for the vycount of Chastellon, the lorde Lescute, Wyllyam of Paux,[5] toke so good hede, that they feared no danger. So at last the Spanyerdes began to waxe wery, for wynter drewe on about saynt Andrewes tyde, and their vitayle began to fayle and waxe scante. It had fayled sorer and the vycount of Roquebertyn had nat ben, for he refresshed them with threscore somers laden with vitayls, elles their vitayls had fayled them by Alhalowtyde. Than the kyng of Naver sent a knyght of his, called sir Peter of Bascle, to the Englysshmen, prayeng them to make hast, for he thought they taryed over long, seyng their promyse and his nede togyder. The knight dyde so moche, that he came into the marche of Bayone, and founde the Englisshmen before a castell called Poulant,[6] there he dyde his message. Than sir Thomas Tryvet sayd, the castell that he lay at ones won, he wolde do nothyng

[1] *Tudela.*
[2] *Pailhas.*
[3] *Los Arcos.*
[4] *Bagha.*
[5] *Pans.*
[6] *Pouilhau.*

tyll he came into Naver, and so badde the knyght on that promyse to retourne. And than he departed, and the castell within two dayes after was gyven up by treatie, and they that were within departed, and the castell newe refresshed with newe men. Than the countre was well in peace; howebeit, there were styll lytell fortresses kept in churches and mynsters, the whiche dyde hurt in the countre, but they had no great puyssaunce. So the Englysshmen wolde tary no lenger, but sayd, they wolde go into Naver, and reyse the sege before Panpylone, or els fight with the Spanyerdes.

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How the Spanyerdes departed fro the siege of Panpylone.

Sir Thomas Tryvet, and sir Mathewe Gorney, and all their men, retourned to Dax, and ther taryed four dayes, and than departed and toke the way to Naver; but sir Mathewe Gorney retourned to Bayone with his owne men, to kepe the countre, and to conquere some smale forteresses that the Bretons kept. So long sir Thomas Tryvet journeyed, that he came to saynt Johns du Py du Port, where he founde the kyng of Naver, who receyved them right joyously; the knightes lodged in the towne, and the men of warre about in the countre. Before that tyme the kyng of Naver had somoned all maner of men to assemble at the cyte of Myranda; ther was none that wolde resyst agaynst the kynges commaundement, but so every man prepared himselfe to go to Panpylone, to fight with the Spanyerdes. Tidynges came into the hoost, howe that thenglysshmen with great puyssance were with the kyng of Naver, at saynt Johns towne, to the nombre of xx. thousande men of warr. Than the capitayns drewe togyder to counsaile, to se what was best for them to do, outher to abyde the kynge of Naver, or els to withdrawe backe. This counsayle was long, for some of the capitayns wolde that thenglisshmen shulde be byden, and some other sayd nay, bycause they were nat strong ynough to abyde them that were fresshmen, for theymselfe were sore traveyled by reason of the long siege. And so finally they concluded to dyslodge, and every man to drawe to his owne countre. And the moost that enclyned them to departe was, ther were some valyant knightes used in armes said, that it was nat agaynst their honour to departe, consydring that kyng Henry of Castell, beyng in his owne countre, had sent a xv. dayes past for his sonne to

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breke up the siege. So thus the Spanyerdes dysloged and departed, and set fyre in their lodgynges, and so drewe towardes Groyng, and to saynt Domynikes, in Castell. And whan they within Panpylone sawe them depart, they were right joyfull, for they had nat ben at all tymes at their ease.

Tidynges came to the kynge of Naver, and to thenglysshmen, beyng at saynt Johans towne, howe the Spanyerdes were all goone into their owne countrees, and by semyng, they were therwith sore displeased, for gladly they wolde have fought with the Spaynyardes; and so they dyslodged and went towarde Panpilon, and ther they founde the vicount of Chastellon, the lorde Lescute, and other, who receyved them joyfully. And whan they had refresshed them there a two or thre dayes, than they determyned to departe, and go and lye in garysons, to be at more large, for the mountayns in Naver arre ryght colde in wynter, bycause of the great snowes. So than it was ordayned that the Englisshmen shulde go and lye at Tudela, and the lorde Lescute at Pont de la Royne, and the erle of Pulloys, and sir Roger his brother, to go to Corell, and the lorde Chastellon, to Mundon. Thus these men of warre departed, and the kynge of Naver abode styll in Panpylone, in his owne palys, and the garysons of Naver were kepte in peace, without doynge of any thynge, for in the wynter they wolde nat ryde abrode. In lykewyse all the Spanyardes departed, and kynge Henry went to Cyvell, and with him his wyfe and his chyldren. Sir Thomas Tryvet and his company, beynge at Tudela, remembring howe he had done nothyng sythe he came into Naver, and he had worde by his espyes howe the Spanyardes were departed and withdrawen, than he thought to ryde towarde Spaygne, somwhat to enploy his tyme, and to deserve his wages; and so secretely he gathered togyder a certayne nombre of men of armes and archers, and he sent worde therof to the erle of Pulloys, and to sir Roger his brother, who came to him with two C. speares, and thre hundred pavesses. They assembled togyder at Tudela, so that they were a vii. C. speares, and xii. C. archers, and as many of other brigantes. And so they charged on somers great plentie of vitayls, and departed and loged on

Christmas evyn in a fayre medowe, by a ryver syde, at the fote of the mountain, called mount Caue,[1] the whiche departed thre realmes, Naver, Castell, and Aragone: and on the other syde of the mountayn, was a countre, called the Vale of Sorie. The same day was a marveylous hote day for that tyme of the yere.

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Howe the Englysshmen and Naveroyse ran into the realme of Spayne, and of the pillage that they gat there.

AND whan they hadde dyned, they went to counsayle, to knowe if they shulde do any thyng that day or nat, bicause it was Christmas evyn, seyng they were entryng into the lande of their enemyes. Than it was determyned that they shulde ryde at night, so that by the mornyng on Christmas day, they might be redy to scale the cytie of Vale de Sorie. This counsayle was kept, and every man made him redy to the same entente; and it was ordayned, that there shulde goo to do this enterprice, but thre hundred speares, and the resydue, with all the fotemen, shulde lye styll ther as they lay, tyll the mornyng, that they had worde howe their company had spedde. Therle Pulloys, with a C. speres, and sir Thomas Tryvet, and his company, they had gydes to bring them thyder, and they shulde ryde in foure companyes, the more secretlyer to do their enterprice, and the more easly to come to their ententes; and so about two houres within night they armed them and lept a horsbacke, and had no trumpettes, but the capitayns and gydes knewe well wher they shulde mete agayn. And so they mounted the hyll, and were in a fayre playne, and sodenly ther fell suche an hayle and snowe, that it was marveyle, for all the grounde was covered with snowe, and so they rode tyll the morning or they coude fynde eche other. This unhappy wether for the Englisshmen fell well for them in the cyte, who toke no hede of that bushment, for they were nat ware therof: for if thenglisshmens apoynt-

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[1] *Mochales.*

ment had kept at their houre apoynted, they had nat fayled to have wonne the towne.

Howe the Englysshmen and Naveroyse ran into the realme of Spayne.

Whan sir Thomas Tryvet sawe that he had fayled of his purpose, he was sore displeased in his mynde, and so gathered togyder his company as well as he might. Than they tooke newe counsayle, and so dranke and eate a lytell, and after dyner, whiche was but shorte, sir Raymon of Balgette, Naveroyse, was chosen, with a fortie speares, to go and rynne before the towne, to drawe oute some of the genyciens that were within. And so the knight rode before the cytie and came to the barryers, and there was a great scrimysshe, for the genyciens, who were a two hundred, yssued oute and began to shote, and to cast at the men of armes, who ever lytell and lytell drewe backe, to bringe them farther of fro the towne. They had yvell handled those men of armes, if their busshment had nat drawen forward, but they came feirsly with their speres, and strake in among them, and bete them downe: many were slayne and driven into the towne agayne, to their great domage. Than they closed their barryers and gates, and mounted to the walles, for they wende surely to have had assaut, but thenglysshmen thought to retourne by day light; and so they retourned agayne to their lodgyng, wher they founde the rest of their men, and so lay there that night. And the next mornyng, whiche was saynt Stephyns day, they drue to a towne called Quasquam,[1] in Naverre,[2] and there they founde the kyng of Naver, who was come thyder on Christmas day. But as the Englysshmen came to Quasquam, the same day they brent certayn vyllages, and specially they brent and robbed a great vyllage called Nygret.[3]

[1] *Cascante.*

[2] *Normandy* P.

[3] *Agreda.*

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Howe the peace was made bytwene the kyng of Spayne, and the king of Naver; and of the dethe of kynge Henry of Spayne, and of the coronacyon of Johan his sonne.

TIDYNGES came to kyng Henry of Castell, who was at Cyvell, in the hert of his realme, howe that the Englisshmen had brent the towne of the Vale de Sorie, in makyng of warr for the kyng of Naver, wherof he was sore displeased, and sware it shulde be amended. Than he wrote letters to John of Castell his sonne, that he shulde make a somons throughout his realme, and to assemble toguyder the noble men, sayeng, howe he wolde be shortely in Spayne, to revenge hym of the kyng of Naver, for the excesse that he had done to hym. The chylde of Castell wolde nat disobey the commaundement of the kyng his father, but sent out his commaundement, and so drewe to hym all maner of men of warre. And in the same meane season, sir Thomas Tryvet thought to assemble a certayne nombre of men of warre, and to go to the towne of Alpharo, in Spayne. And so he dyde, and departed in an evenynge fro Quasquam, and fro the kynge of Naver, and had with hym but one hundred speres of chosen men of armes; and so by the nexte mornyng they came within a lytell leage of the towne, and there they made their busshement. And sir Wylliam Sendrine was sent to rynne before the towne, and Andrewe Andrac,[1] and with them a ten speares. And so they came to a lytell ryver or broke, the which went streight to the towne, and so passed it with great trouble, and Andrewe Andrac made their horses to leape over, and so came to the barryers; than there began great noyse in the towne, and sownyng of trumpettes. The men of warr within the towne assembled togyder, and opyned their gates and barryers, and yssued all out, and so began to scrimysshe, and of the sayd ten speares, ther were but two of them that was past the ryver, and so they retourned whan they sawe the people comyng to them warde, and so made their horses

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[1] *Handax.*

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agayne to leape over the broke. Whan they of the towne sawe there were so fewe of their enemyes, and knewe nothyng of the bushment, they folowed fast after, and so past the ryver a lytell above, wher as they knewe the passage, and so chased the tenne speares to their busshment. Than sir Thomas Tryvet and his company came forthe, cryeng their cryes, and bare many of them to the erthe. To say trouthe, the Spanyerdes coude nat longe endure, and so retourned as well as they might, but ther were but fewe that were saved, but outher they were slayne or taken. The fray was great in the towne, and thenglysshmen beleved that at the first comynge to have had the towne, bycause there men were discomfyted: but they fayled of their purpose, for the women saved the towne. For assone as their men were issued out and were past the ryver, they closed their barryers and gates, and mounted up to the walles, and made semblant to defende themselfe. And whan sir Thomas Trivet sawe the order and maner of them, he sayd, Beholde yonder the good wyves of the towne what they have done, let us retourne agayne, for we canne do nothyng there. And so they returned and passed agayne the lytle broke, and so went to Quesquam, and ledde with theym their prisoners. Of the whiche dede sir Thomas Tryvet had great thanke, laude and prayse of the kyng of Naver.

And a fyftene dayes after that they had made this journey before Alpharo, the Spanyerdes came into the feldes with a twentie thousande horsmen and fotemen, in great wyll to fight with the Englysshmen. And whan the kyng of Naver herde therof, he came to Tudela, and sir Thomas Tryvet and his company with hym. And than he sente for all them of the garysons of the realme of Naver to come to him; they wolde nat disobey his commaundement, for they desyred nothyng els. And the Spanyerdes taryed for nothyng, but for the comynge of kyng Henry, who as than was departed fro Cevyll, with a great nombre, and so came to saynt Dominykes, and ther rested and lay in the felde. Whan Johan of Castell knewe that the kynge his father was come, than he went fro Alphare to saynt Dominykes, to the king his father. The entent of the Spanyerdes was to have goone to ley sege to Tudela, and to have closed in the kynge of

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Naver, or to have fought with hym. Of all this the kyng of Naver was well enformed, and knewe well he was nat of puyssaunce to abyde batayle agaynst kynge Henry, for he had a xl. thousande men, a horsebacke and afote.

Bitwene kynge Henry, and the kynge of Naver, ther were certayne noble men of bothe realmes, prelates, and barons, who ymagined the great parell and domage that might fall to bothe parties, if any of them shulde slee other. Than they entreated bytwene the parties, to have a respyte of warr bytwene them, to have the more leysar to entreat; and so they toke great payne with goyng and comyng bytwen the parties, or they coude bring about their entent, for the Englisshmen were a two thousande, and were feirse agaynst the Spanyerdes, and counsayled the kynge of Naver to batayle. On the other syde the Spanyerdes were a great nombre, wherfore they sette but lytell by thenglysshmen nor Naveroyse, therfore it was harde to bringe this treatie to a good effect. They that had the busynesse therof toke moche payne and labour; at last a respyte was taken bytwene them, to endure sixe wekes, to thentent in the meane season to entreat for a full peace. Their entent was to make, yf they myght, a maryage bytwene the chylde of Castell, eldest sonne to kyng Henry, and the doughter of the kyng of Naver, wherby the peace shulde the surelyer contynue, to the whiche the kynge of Naver was well agreed, bycause his doughter shulde be so highly maryed.

And moreover, the prelates and barons of both parties, thought also to mary the kyng of Navers son, to kyng Henryes doughter; in so moche that this treatie toke effect, so that kyng Henry shulde sende to the Frenche kynge, desyringe him to suffre Charles of Naver, who was in his kepynge, to come into Naver. And so he dyde; at his desyre the Frenche kynge sente him: and so for the performance of this treatie and mariage, the kyng of Naver shulde lay in pledge for the space of ten yere to kyng Henry, the towne and castell of Lestoyll,[1] the cytie and castell of Tudela, the towne and Castell de la Garde: and that kyng Henry shulde yelde and rendre to the Englysshmen, sir Perse Courtney, who was prisoner, and the lorde of Parre,[2] Gascoyne. All these thynges were done, sealed,

[1] *Estella.*

[2] *Lespare.*

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confyrmed, accorded, and sworne, to be kept stable and ferme for ever, bytwene these two kynges, and their realmes: and whiche of them that ever shulde breke this peace by any maner of wayes, shulde rynne in the sentence of the Pope.

Whyle these treatyes were thus in makyng, the kynge of Naver, who was bounde to the Englysshmen in the somme of xx. thousande frankes, to acquyte hymselfe agaynst them, he sent the vycont of Chastelon into Arragon, to the kynge there, to borowe of hym the sayd somme of money; and he to have in pledge therfore, his good townes of Panpylone, and Myrando, the quenes towne,[1] Corell, and saynt Johans towne. Thus the Englysshemen were payed and delyvered, and so departed fro the kynge of Naver, and went to Burdeux, and fro thens into Englande. And the maryage was made bytwene Charles of Naver, and kyng Henrys doughter, called Jane, a right fayre lady.

The same yere dyed kyng Henry of Castell, and his son John crowned kyng, and so he was kynge by accorde of the prelates and barons of the realme of Spaygne, of Castell, of Cevyll,[2] of Galyce, and Candonne,[3] and they all sware to him faithe and homage for ever. Than there began a warre bytwene the kynge of Portyngale, and kyng Johan of Castell, whiche endured long, as ye shall here after. Nowe lette us retourne to the busynesses of Fraunce.

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Howe the lorde of Langurant was wounded to dethe, and howe the capitayne of the garyson of Boutvylle was disconfyted, and the castell yelded up Frenche.

YE have herde here before, howe the lorde of Mucydent was tourned Frenche, and was a yer or more at Parys, tyll at last he was wery, for he had thought to have founde the Frenche kyng otherwise towarde him thanne he was. Wherfore he was angrye in his mynde, and so repented hymselfe in that he was tourned Frenche, sayeng

[1] *Puente la Reyna.*

[2] *Cecyll* P.

[3] *Cordova.*

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howe it was for feare rather than for any other thyng, and so thought to steale fro Parys, and to go to his owne countre, to yelde himselfe agayne Englysshe, for the servyce of the kyng of Englande pleased him moche better, than the servyce of the Frenche kyng. And as he hadde advysed so he dyde, and gave knowlege to all them that he knewe, except his owne servantes, howe he was sicke, and kepte his lodgynge; and so in an evenyng he lept on his horse unknowen, and toke but thre persons with hym, and so departed fro Parys, and rode toward his owne countre, and his men folowed after him lytell and lytell. And so longe he rode that he came to Burdeux, and there he founde sir Johan lorde Nevyll, seneshall of Burdeux, to whome he shewed all his adventure, and so became agayne Englysshe, and sayde, howe he hadde rather be false of his faythe to the French kyng, than to his naturall lorde the kyng of Englande. Thus the lorde Mucydent abode Englysshe as long as he lyved, wherof the duke of Anjou was sore displeased, and said and sware, that if ever he coude get hym, he shulde lese his heed: wherof the lorde Mucydent was well enfourmed, and thought to kepe himselfe ryght well out of danger.

All this season the lorde of Langurante was styll Frenche, who was an experte knight, and dyde moche hurt and trouble to suche landes as parteyned to such lordes as were become Englysshe, as the lorde of Rosen,[1] the lord of Duras, and the lorde of Mucydent; wherwith these thre lordes were sore displeased, and so set all their myndes howe they might slee him, for he was utterly their enemy. This lorde of Langurant rode forthe on a day with xl. speares, and came nere to an Englysshe forteresse, called Cadylhatte,[2] of the herytage of the Captall of Beufz, and his bretherne Gascoyns. And so the lorde Langurant made there a busshment of his company, and sayd, Sirs, tary you styll here, and I wyll go and ryde to yonder forteresse alone, and se if any wyll issue out agaynst us. And so he rode forthe, and came to the barryers of the castell, and spake to the kepars, and demaunded where was Bernard Courant, their capitayne, and sayde: Shewe hym howe the lorde Langurant is here, and desyreth to juste with hym a course: yf he be so good a

[1] *Rauzan.*

[2] *Cadillac.*

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Howe the lorde of Langurant was wounded to dethe.

man, and so valyant in armes as it is sayde, he wyll nat refuse it for his ladyes sake: yf he do, it shall tourne hym to moche blame, for I shall repute whersoever I go, that for cowardnesse he hath refused to ryn with me one course with a spere. Than a squyer of Bernardes answered, and sayd, Sir Langurant, I have well herde your wordes; Sir, and ye wyll suffre a lytell, I shall go and speke with my maister; if ye wyll abyde, I warrant you ther shal be no reproche in him of cowardnesse. I wyll tarye, quoth the lorde of Langurant. Than the squyer went, and founde his maister in a chambre, and ther shewed him all the wordes, as ye have herde before. And whan Bernard herde that, his hert began to swell for yre, and sayd, Gette me my harnesse, and sadell my horse, he shall nat go refused. Than incontynent he was armed, and mounted on his horse, and toke his targe and his speare, and opyned the gate and the barryers, and issued out into the felde. And whan the lorde Langurant sawe him comyng, he was rejoysed, and couched his speare lyke a good knyght, and so dyde Bernarde, and dasshed to their horses; they were bothe well horsed, and they hytte so evyn bothe, that their sheldes fell in peces; and in the passyng by, Bernarde sholdred sir Langurantes horse in suche wyse, that the lorde fell out of the sadell. And whan Bernard sawe hym on the erth, he was ryght joyfull, and tourned shortely his horse to him. And as the lorde Langurant was risynge up, Bernarde, who was a bygge and a valyant squyer, toke hym by the bassenet with bothe his handes, and drewe it so sore to him, that he reysed it of his heed, and so dyde cast his bassenet under his horse fete. The lorde of Langurantes men beynge in the busshement, sawe all this, and than they brake out, and were comyng to rescue their maister and lorde; and Bernard, who sawe them comynge, drewe out his dagger, and sayde to the lorde Langurant, Sir, yelde you my prisoner, rescue or no rescue, or els ye are but deed. The lorde Langurant, who trusted on the rescue of his men, spake nat a worde agayne. And whan Bernarde sawe that, he was enflamed with fervent yre, and douted leest he shulde lese the more for the lesse, and so strake the lorde Langurante on the heed, whiche was all bare, in suche wyse, that he brake the skoll into the brayne;

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and than he dasshed to his horse, and entred into the barryers, and than alyghted and made him redy to defende himselfe, if nede were. And whan the lorde Langurantes men were come to hym, and founde him wounded to dethe, they were right sorowfull, and so toke and caryed hym as well as they might into his owne castell, but the next day after he dyed. Thus it befell that season of the lorde Langurant.

Howe the lorde of Langurant was wounded to dethe.

The same season there was a dede of armes done in Rocheloys. For Helyot of Playsac, a gentyll squyer, and a valyaunt man of armes, capitayne of Boutvyll, an Englysshe garyson of sixscore speares, Englysshe and Gascoyns, who pylled sore the countre, and ranne nigh every day before the towne of Rochell, or els before the towne of saynt Johns Dangle: and they helde these two townes in suche feare and doubte, that they durst nat issue out but by stelth, wherof the knyghtes and the squyers of the countre were right sore displeased, and thought one day to provyde for remedy, or els to be slayne or taken by their ennemyes in the felde. And so on a day they assembled in the towne of Rochell, about two hundred speares, for that was the towne that moost comenly Helyot of Playsac, and his company, dyde moost hurt unto: ther were of Poyctou, and of Xaynton, the lorde of Thowars, the lorde of Puissance, sir James of Surgeres, Percyvall of Coloygne, sir Raynolde of Gomers, sir Hugh of Vyvon, and dyvers other knightes and squyers, havyng gret desyre to fight with their ennemyes. And these capitayns knewe by their spyes, that Helyot of Playsac was abrode, and was comynge to apere before Rochell, to gette ther some pray: than all these lordes and knyghtes went out of Rochell in the evenyng, well armed and on horsebacke, and so toke the feldes; and at their departyng they ordayned that in the next mornyng they shulde put out into the feldes all their catell at adventure: and it was done as they devysad. And in the next mornyng Helyot of Playsac, and his company, came before Rochell, to the barryers, and some of their company gadered togyder all the catell they coude fynde, and made them to be driven by them of the countre before them. And they hadde nat driven this catell the space of a leage, but that the Frenchmen, a ii. C.

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Howe the lorde of Langurant was wounded to dethe.

speares, came sodaynly on them on a wyng, of whome the Englisshmen were nat ware, and so came in at the speares poyntes amonge them: so at their first metynge ther were many cast to the erthe. Than Helyot of Playsac sayde, Afote, Afote, every man, let us nat flye, and let our horses go: if the day be ours, we shall have horses ynowe, and if it be agaynst us, we shall have but a small losse of our horses. Ther Helyot and his company alighted afote, and put themself in good order. In likewise so dyd the Frenchmen, for they feared the sleyng of their horses. Ther was a sore batayle and longe endured, for they fought hand to hand: ther was done many feates of armes, many a one taken and rescued agayne; finally the Poictevyns and Xayntons had the vyctorie, and their enemyes disconfyted, and nighe all slayne or taken, but a fewe that scaped, and the pray of catell agayne rescued, and Helyote of Playsac taken prisoner, and led to Rochell. Anone after this adventure these lordes of France wente to the castell of Boutvyll, whiche was anone taken, for it was easy ynough to wynne, for ther was none within to make any defence. Thus was the castell of Botvyll Frenche, wherof all the countre had great joye, and Helyot of Plaisac was prisoner a long space after.

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Howe the Frenche kynges messanger was let of his vyage into Scotlande, and of the debate that began bytwene the Frenche king and therle of Flaunders.

IN the same season retourned into Englande sir Thomas Tryvet, and sir Wyllyam Helman,[1] with dyvers other knightes and squyers, suche as had ben in Spaine, to ayde the kyng of Navers warr. And so they came to the kyng of Englande, who as than was at Chertsay, with his two uncles, the duke of Lancastre, and therle of Cambridge, with him: and these knightes were joyfully receyved of the kyng and these lordes, and ther they were desyred to shewe some tidynges fro those parties. And so they shewed all

[1] *Elmham.*

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that they knewe, bothe of Spayne, and of Naver, and of the peace made bytwene the two kynges of Spayne, and Naver; and howe the kynge of Naver had maryed Charles his eldest sonne, to kyng Henryes doughter; and so fro poynt to poynt as the treatie was bytwene them. The duke of Lancastre, and therle of Cambridge, were right pensyfe of those wordes, for they thought and named themselfe to be heyres of Spayne, by ryght of their wyves; than they demaunded howe long it was syth kyng Henry the bastarde dyed, and whider the Spanyerdes had crowned John his sone or no. The knightes answered, and sayd, Sirs, at the dethe of kyng Henry, nor at the coronacyon of Johan his sonne, we were nat present, for by that tyme we were come backe into Naver; but sir, here is an haraude was there present, ye may knowe every thyng by him, and it please you. Than the heralde was called forthe, and demaunded by the duke of Lancastre how the mater was. He answered and sayde, Sir, at your request I shall shewe you; In the meane season whyle these noble men were at Panpylone, abyding the acomplysshment of the treatie, the whiche was made by their goode wylles and leaves, I taryed behynde styll with the kynge of Naver, wher as I had good chere, bothe of hym and of his men: and so I went with hym fro Panpylone, to saynt Domynikes, agaynst whose comyng kynge Henry issued out of the towne with a goodly company, and met us with great signe of love and peace. And ther the kyng of Naver was gretly honoured by hym and all his, and gave him the same night an honest supper; and after supper, tidynges was brought to them, howe that a great wylde boore was lodged in the laundes therby; and so it was ordayned that the next mornyng they shulde go and hunt the same boore: and so they dyde, at whiche huntyng ther was bothe kynges, and a great company, and the boore taken; and against night they returned agayne with great love to saynt Domynikes. And the next day kyng Henry departed, and went to Peter Ferando, for a day that he had there agaynst his men, and there he fell sicke and so dyed; and the kyng of Naver was comyng towarde hym to se hym there, and by the way he herde worde of his dethe, wherof he was right sorie, and so retourned agayne: and

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than I toke leave of hym and wente into Castell, to knowe some tidynges ther. This kyng Henry dyed on Whitsonday: and anone after, the xxv. day of July, the day of saynt James, and saynt Christofer, Johan of Castell, his eldest sonne, was crowned king, in the cathedrall churche in the cytie of Burgus, at the whiche coronacion were all the barons and prelates of Spaygne, of Galyce, of Cordowayne, and of Cevyll; and all they sware there on the holy evangelystes, to take and mentayne hym for their kyng; and there was made the same day two hundred and tenne newe knyghtes, and many a great gyft gyven. The next mornynge, with a great company of noble men, he went to an abbey of ladyes, withoute Burgus, called Ourches,[1] and ther he herde masse, and dyned; and after dyner ther was great justyng, and the vycont of Roquebertyn, of Arragon, had the price; and than he returned agayne to Burgus; and this feest endured xv. dayes. Than the duke of Lancastre enquered if the kyng of Portingale was desyred to be ther or nat. Sir, quoth the heraud, he was desyred, but for all that, he was nat there, nor wolde nat come thyder; and as it was said, he answered the messanger that came to hym, howe he wolde nat go to the coronacyon of the sone of a bastarde. By my faithe, quoth the duke of Lancastre, he was right well counsayled to say these wordes; I can hym great thanke therfore; I trust the mater shall nat longe abyde in that case, for my brother and I wyll demaunde that herytage, wherof he calleth hymselfe kynge as nowe. And so they lefte talkynge, and called for drinke.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of this mater, and retourne to the busynes of Fraunce.

King Charles of Fraunce, who as than reygned, was ryght sage and subtell, and that was well shewed as longe as he lyved: for tho that he kept hymselfe prevy in his chambre, takyng his pleasure and sporte, yet he conquered agayne that his predecessours had lost in the felde, armed with their swerdes in their handes, wherfore he was greatly to be commended. And bicause he knewe well that kyng Robert of Scotlande and all the realme ther had made warr, and had mortall hate to thenglysshmen, for those two realmes coude never love togyder, therfore to the entent to norisshe

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[1] *Huelgas.*

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more love bytwene Fraunce and Scotlande, the Frenche kynge thought to send a knight and a secretary of his counsayle, to kynge Robert of Scotlande, and to the Scottes, to speke with them, and to advyse the countrey, and to knowe if he might make any good warre to Englande, by Scotlande. For Yvan of Wales, in his lyfe tyme, had enfourmed hym, that Scotland was the place in the worlde, wherby Englande might be moost anoyed. And of this purpose the Frenche kyng had many ymaginacions, so that at last he ordayned a knight, a sage man, called sir Peter, lorde of Bornesell, and said to him, Sir, ye shall go and do this message into Scotlande, and recommende me to the kyng there, and to his barons: and shewe him howe that we and our realme are redy to do them pleasur, and to have a treatie with them as our frendes, so that therby in the season to come, we may sende people thyder, wherby we may have entre into England that way, in lyke maner as our predecessours have had in tyme past; and in your goyng thyder, and comyng homewarde, I wyll ye kepe suche estate as a messanger and commissary of a kyng shulde do, on our cost and charge. Sir, quoth the knyght, all shall be as it pleaseth you. And so he taryed nat long after, but whan he was redy, departed fro Parys, and dyde so moche by his journeys, that he came to Scluse, in Flaunders, and there taryed and abode for wynde and passage a xv. dayes, for the wynde was contrary for him. And in the meane season he helde a great estate, and well stuffed with vessell of golde and sylver through out his hall as largely as though he had bene a lytell duke or better; his mynstrels played before his servyce dayly, and bare a swerde garnisshed with golde and sylver, and his men payed well for every thynge. Of the great estate that this knight kepte in his house, and in the stretes, dyvers of the towne had great marveyle: the bayly of the towne behelde it well, who was officer ther under the erle of Flaunders, and coude kepe it no lenger secret, wherin he dyde yvell: for he sent worde therof to the erle, who lay at Bruges, and the duke of Bretayne his cosyn with him. And whan therle of Flaunders had studyed a lytell on the mater, and by the helpe of the duke of Bretayne, ordayned that the knight shulde be brought to hym. The baylye

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retourned agayne to Sluse, and came uncurtesly to the French knyght, for he set his hande on hym, and rested hym in the erle of Flaunders name, wherof the knight had gret marveyle, and sayd to the bayly, What meaneth this? I am a messanger and comyssary of the Frenche kyng. Sir, quoth the bayly, I beleve well; howbeit, ye must nedes go and speke with therle of Flaunders, for he hath commaunded me to bring you to hym. So the knight coude make no scuse, but that he and his company were brought to Bruges to therle. And whan he was in therles chambre, therle and the duke stode togyder, leaning out of a wyndowe into the garden warde. Than the knyght kneled downe, and sayd, Sir, beholde here is your prisoner. Of the whiche worde the erle was sore displeased, and sayd in dispyte and yre, What sayest thou rybaude? that thou art my prisoner, bycause I have sent to speke with the: thy maisters servantes may ryght well come and speke with me; but thou hast nat well acquyted thy selfe, sythe thou hast ben so long at Scluse, and knowynge me here so nere to the, and yet nat come ones to se or to speke with me; thou haddest disdayne so to do. Sir, quoth the knight, savynge your displeasure. Than the duke of Bretayne toke the wordes, and sayd, Among you bourders and janglers, in the palys of Paris, and in the kynges chambre, ye sette by the realme as ye lyst, and play with the kynge at your pleasure, and do well or yvell as ye wyll yourselfe: for ther is no prince of the blode ryall, if ye among you have ones brought hym into any hate or displeasur with the kyng, that can be herde after; but ones I trust there wyll be so many of suche people taken, that the gybbettes wyll be full of them. The knight who sat styll on his knees, was ryght sore abasshed of those wordes, for the hearyng of suche wordes was right harde to him; howbeit, he sawe well it was better for hym to kepe his tonge than to speke, and so gave no answere to those wordes. And whan he sawe his tyme, he toke his leave of therle, and of the lordes, and departed out of their presence; and some noble men that were about the erle made hym way, and made hym to drinke, and than he returned agayne to Sluse, to his logyng. And I shall shewe you what fell after. Though all his purveyance were redy aparelled, and that he had wynd at wyll to have sayled into Scotlande, yet he durst nat put himselfe into the dangers of the see, for it was shewed him, how he was spyed by thenglysshmen that he lay at Scluse, and howe that if he kept on his voiage, he was likely to be taken and caryed into England: and bicause of those doutes he brake his vyage, and returned to Parys to the kyng. Ye may well knowe that the lorde of Burnesell tolde no lesse to the Frenche kyng, than was done to him by the erle of Flaunders; and also it was nedefull for him to tell all for his excuse, for the kyng had marveyle of his retournyng. The same season there were dyvers knyghtes in the kynges chambre, and specially sir John of Guystels, of Heynalt, cosyn to therle of Flaunders, who had great displeasure at the wordes of this knight, that he had of therle of Flanders, so that finally he coude kepe his tonge no lenger, but sayd: I can nat suffre these wordes thus to be spoken of my dere lorde; and sir knight, if ye wyll say that he dyde as ye say, to let you of your vyage, in that quarell I appele you to the felde, and here is my gage. The lorde of Bournesell was nothyng abasshed to answere, but sayd, Sir Johan, I say thus: howe I was thus taken by the bayly of Sluse, and brought before the erle of Flaunders, and as ye have herde, he sayd to me, and in lykewise so dyde the duke of Bretayne, and if ye wyll say contrary to this, I wyll receyve your gauge. I wyll say so, quoth the lorde of Guystelles. With those wordes the kynge was nat content, and sayde: Let us go hens, I wyll here no more of these wordes; and so departed and went into his chambre, all onely with his chamberlayns, right gladde that the lorde of Burnsell had so well and frely spoken agaynst the wordes of sir John of Guystels, and sayd all smylyng, He hath holden fote well with him: I wolde nat for xx. M. frankes but that he had done so. And after it fortuned so, that this sir Johan of Guystels, who was chamberlayn with the kyng, was so yvell beloved in the courte, that he was wery therof, and thought nat to abyde the dangers; so he toke leave of the kyng, and departed fro the court, and went into Brabant, to the duke Vyncelant, of Brabant, who receyved him joyfully. The French kyng was sore displeased with therle of Flanders, bicause it was thought by dyvers of

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the realme, that he had letted the lorde of Burnesell of his viage into Scotland, and also in that he helde styll about hym the duke of Bretayne, his cosyn, who was greatly in the kynges displeasur: and so they that were about the kyng, parceyved well howe the erle of Flaunders was nothyng in the kynges grace.

Anone after, the kyng wrote sharpe letters to his cosyn, the erle of Flaunders, thretnyng hym, bycause he susteyned with hym the duke of Bretayn, whom he reputed to be his enemy. The erle wrote agayne to the kyng, excusing himselfe as well as he might, but it aveyled nothynge; for the kyng sent him agayne more sharper letters, shewyng him playnly, that without he wolde putte the duke of Bretayne out of his company, he wolde surely displease him. Whan therle of Flaunders sawe that the kyng pursued his cause with suche effect, than he toke advyse in hymselfe, and thought he wolde shewe these manasshes and thretnynges to his good townes, and specially to Gaunt, to knowe what they wolde say to the mater: and so he sent to Bruges, to Ipre, and Cortrey, and after departed, and the duke of Bretayne in his company, and so went to Gaunt, and lodged at the posterne, wher he was joyfully receyved of the burgesses, for they loved well to have him among them. And whan the people of the good townes, such as were sent for, were come, therle assembled them togyder in a pleace, and there he made be shewed to them, by John de la Faucell, his entencyon, and the letters reed that the Frenche kyng had sent him two monethes before. And whan these letters were reed, than the erle spake, and sayd, All ye sirs of my good townes of Flaunders, through the helpe of God, I have ben your lorde a longe season, and I have kepte and governed you in good peace to my power, nor ye have nat sene in me the contrary, but that I have entertayned you in gret prosperyte, in lyke maner as a lorde ought to kepe his menne and subgettes. But it is to my great displeasur, and it ought to be to you that are my men, that the Frenche kyng thus hateth me, and wyll hate, bycause I sustayne about me, and in my company, the duke of Bretayne, my cosyn germayne, who as nowe is nat wel beloved in Fraunce, nor he dare nat well trust his men in his owne countre, bycause of fyve or six barons that loveth hym nat; wherfore the king wolde that I shulde drive hym out of my countre, the whiche shulde be a strong thyng to him. I say nat nay, but if I dyde confort my cosyn, outher with townes or castelles, agaynst the realme of Fraunce, than the kynge myght have good cause to complayne him of me; but I do nat so, nor am nat in wyll so to do. And therfore I have here assembled you togyder, shewynge you the parels that may happe to fall: therfore I wolde knowe your myndes, whyder he shall abyde styll with me or nat. They answered all with one voyce, Sir, let hym abyde styll, why shulde he nat? and sir, if there be any man lyvyng that wyll make you warre, ye shall fynde redy in your lande of Flaunders, ii. C. M. men of warr to serve you. Those wordes greatly rejoysed therle, and sayd, Sirs, I thanke you; and so ended that parlyament, and therle was well content with his men, and gave every man leave to departe in peace. Than whan the erle sawe his tyme, he retourned to Bruges, and the duke of Bretayne with him. Thus these maters hanged in a traunce; the erle was in great grace with his people, and the countre in peace and prosperite, the which abode nat so long after, for it was in great trybulacion, as ye shall here after in this hystorie.

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CAP. CCCXLIIII

Howe the duke of Bretayne departed out of Flaunders, and howe therle of saynt Poule was taken prisoner, and howe he was maryed in Englande, and of the warres that fell than in Bretayne.

YE may well knowe howe the Frenche kyng had knowlege of all this mater, and howe the erle had answered: he loved hym nat one whyt the better; howebeit, he must let it passe, for more he coude nat have as at that tyme, and sayd, howe therle of Flaunders was the moost proudest prince that he knewe; and a man myght have sene well by the maner of the kyng, that the erle was the lorde that the kyng wolde moost gladly have brought

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somwhat to reason, whan he sawe that he withsayd him, and that he was no more displeased than he was. The erle of Flaunders, for all the kynges writyng, and that he was in his great displeasur, bycause of kepyng about him the duke of Bretayne, yet that natwithstandyng he kept him styll as long as it pleased him to tary, and made him kepe a goodlye estate. Finally the duke of Bretayne had counsayle to drawe into Englande, and so he tooke leave of therle his cosyn, and went to Gravellyng: and thyder came to him the erle of Salisbury, with fyve C. speares, and a thousand archers, for dout of the Frenche garysons, and so brought him to Calais, wherof sir Hugh Caurell was capitayne, who receyved him right joyously. And whan the duke had taryed ther a fyve dayes, he had wynde at wyll, and so toke the see, and the erle of Salisbury in his company, and so aryved at Dover, and came to the yong kyng Richard, who receyved him with great joye; and so dyde also the duke of Lancastre, and therles of Cambridge, and of Buckynghame, and the great lordes of Englande.

Ye have herde before how sir Valeran of Lusenburge, yong erle of saynt Poule, was taken prisoner, bytwene Arde and Calays, and was in Englande at the kynges pleasure: for kyng Edwarde, in his lyfe tyme, bought hym of the lord of Gomegines; for he was first his prisoner, bycause he made the journey whan he was taken, of a squier, a man of armes, of the countre of Guerles; so this yonge erle of saynt Poule abode longe prisoner in Englande, or he was delyvered. It was of trouthe the kyng offred hym ofttymes in exchange for the captall of Bufz, whyle he lyved, but the Frenche kyng, nor the counsell of Fraunce, wolde in no wyse here therof, wherof the kyng of Englande had great disdayne. Thus the mater contynued a long space, and the yong erle styll prisoner in Englande, in the fayre castell of Wynsore: and he had so curtesse a kepar that he might go and sport him a haukyng, bytwene Wynsore and Westminster: he was beleved on his faythe. The same season the princesse, mother to kyng Richarde, lay at Wynsore, and her doughter with her, my lady Maude, the fayrest lady in all Englande. Therle of saynt Poule, and this yong lady, were in true amours togyder eche of other, and somtyme they met togyder at

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daunsynge and carollyng, tyll at last it was spyed; and than the lady discovered to her mother, howe she loved faithfully the yong erle of saynt Poule; than there was a maryage spoken of bytwene therle of saynt Poule, and the lady Maude, of Holande; and so therle was set to his raunsome to pay sixscore M. frankes, so that whan he had maryed the lady Maude, than to be rebated threscore thousande, and the other threscore thousande to pay. And whan this covynant of maryage was made bitwene therle and the lady, the kyng of Englande suffred the erle to repasse the see to fetche his raunsome, on his onely promyse, to retourne agayne within a yere after; so the erle came into Fraunce to se his frendes, the kyng, therle of Flaunders, the duke of Brabant, and his cosyns in Fraunce.

In the same yere there was made an harde informacyon agaynst the erle of saynt Poule: for it was layed to his charge, that he shulde delyver to thenglysshmen, the strong castell of Bohaygne, and so the Frenche kyng caused him to be rested, and kept in suretie; and so the kynge shewed howe therle of saynt Poule wolde have made an yvell treatie for hym and for the realme, and the erle in no wyse coude be excused. And also for the same cause there was kepte in prison in the castell of Mons, in Heynaulte, the lorde Chanon of Robersarte, the lorde of Vertayne, sir James du Sarte, and Gerarde Dobyes. But at length all that mater came to none effecte, for there coulde nothynge be proved agaynst them, and so they were delyvered. Than the yong erle retourned agayne into Englande, to acquyte him of his promyse, and so wedded the lady, and dyde so moche, that he payed his threscore thousande frankes, and so passed agayne the see. But he entred nat into Fraunce, bycause the kyng loved him nat: and so he and the countesse his wyfe, went and lay at the castell of Han,[1] on the ryver of Ewre; the whiche castell the lorde of Moriane,[2] who hadde wedded his suster, lent hym to lye in: and there he laye as longe as kynge Charles of Fraunce lyved, for the erle coude never gette his love.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of this mater, and retourne to the busynesse of Fraunce.

The same season all Bretayne was kept close, what agaynst

[1] *Ham-sur-Heure.*

[2] *Morialmé.*

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the Frenche kynge and agaynst the duke; howebeit, some of the good townes of Bretayn helde themselfe close in the dukes name, and many had great marveyle that they toke hym for their lorde; and also dyvers knightes and squyers of Bretayne were of the same acorde; and also ther was alyed to them the countesse of Ponthyevre, mother to the chyldren of Bretayne. But sir Bertram of Clesqui, constable of Fraunce, the lorde Clysson, the lorde de Lavall, the vycont of Rohan, and the lorde of Rochfort, they helde the countre in warre with the puyssance that came dayly to them oute of Fraunce; for at Pontorson, at saynt Malo the yle and thereabout, lay a great nombre of men of armes of Fraunce, of Normandy, of Auvergne, and of Burgoyne, who dyde moche hurt in the countre. The duke of Bretayne, who was in Englande, had knowledge of every thynge, and howe the duke of Anjou was at Angers and dayly distroyed his countre; also he had knowlege howe the good townes kept themselfe close in his name, and certayne knyghtes and squyers of the same parte, wherof he conde them good thanke; yet nat that withstandyng he durst nat well trust in them, to jeoparde to retourne into Bretayne on the trust of his men, for alwayes he douted of treason. Also the kyng of England nor the duke of Lancastre wolde nat counsayle him to retourne.

CAP. CCCXLV

Of the rencounters that were made in Normandy, and howe Geffray Tetenoyre and Amergot Marcell and their companyes toke dyvers castelles in Auvergne.

IN Normandy and in Burgoyne[1] ther were in garyson sir Wylliam of Burdes, who was chefe capiten ther, and in his company the lytell seneschall of Ewe, sir Wylliam Martell, sir Braque of Braquemont, the lorde of Torcy, sir Percyvall Danyvall, the begue of Dury,[2] sir Launcelot of Lorrys, and dyvers other knyghtes and squiers of the Frenche partie; and night and day they ymagined howe they myght

[1] *Valognes.*

[2] *Ivry.*

Of the rencounters that were made in Normandy.

do domage to them of Chierbourg, wherof sir John Harlston was capitayne. And they of the garyson of Chierbourg issued out ofttymes whan it pleased them: for whan they lyst they might ryde out in coverte, and no man prevy to their issuynge out, bycause of the great wodes that were nere to them, wherin they had made suche a way that they might ryde into Normandy at their pleasure, without danger of any Frenchemen. And so it fortuned in the same season that the Frenchmenne rode abrode, and they of Chierbourge in lykewise, none of them knowynge of other; and so by adventure they mette eche other, at a place called Pastoy in the Wode.[1] Than like valyant knightes, desyringe to fight eche with other, alighted afote all, except sir Launcelotte of Lorrys, who sat styll on his horse, his speare in his hande and his shelde about his necke, and ther demaunded a course of justyng for his ladyes sake: ther were ther that right well understode him, for ther were knightes and squiers of the Englysshe parte in amours as well as he was. And as I understode, sir Johan Coplande, a right hardy knight, went to hym, and so they ran togyder, and rudely encountred eche other; but thenglysshe knight gave sir Launcelot suche a stroke on his shelde, that the speare pearsed throughout his body, and so was wounded to dethe; the which was great domage, for he was a hardy knight, yong and joly, and ryght amorous, and his dethe was sore complayned bothe ther and els where. Than the Englishemen and Frenchemen encountred togyder, and fought hande to hande: ther were good knightes on the Frenche parte, as sir Wylliam of Burdes, the lytell seneshall of Ewe, sir William Martell, sir Braque of Braquemont, and dyvers other, who fought ryght valyantly: and also the Englyshmen ther fought that day valiantly; sir Johan Harlston, sir Philypart Picourde,[2] sir John Burle, sir John Coplande, and dyvers other: and so finally by good fightyng the Englisshmen had the vyctorie, and all their enemyes knightes and squyers taken and slayne, specially a squyer of Heynalt, called Wylliam of Beauleu, and sir Wylliam of Burdes were taken:[3] so the prisoners were brought to Chierbourge, and there they founde sir Olyver of Clesquy, who was taken prisoner. Thus it fell of this jorney, as I was enformed.

[1] *Bretteferte.*

[2] *Pickworth.*

[3] *et prist uns escuiers de Haynnau qui s'apelloit Guillaumes de Biaulieu messire Guillaumes des Bordes.*

CAP. CCCXLV
Of the rencounters that were made in Normandy.

Also in Auvergne and Limosyn there fell dayly feates of armes and marveylous enterprices, and specially of the castell of mount Ventadore in Auvergne, the whiche was one of the strongest castels in all the countre, the whiche was betrayed and solde to a Breton, the moost cruell knight of all other, called Geffray Tetenoyre. I shall shewe you howe it was. The erle of Ventadore and of Mountpeser was a right auncyent knyght, and a good peasable man, who occupyed no more the warr, but kepte hym styll in his house. This erle hadde a squyer with hym, called Pouns de Boys, who had served hym longe, and had but a smale lyveng or profyte by his servyce, and he sawe well he shulde have but a lytell profyte by his mayster. Than ther ran in his thought an ungracyous devise, for he went and made a secrete treatie with this Geffray Tetenoyre, who was in Limosyn, howe that he wolde delyver hym the castell of Ventadore for vi. M. frankes; but he made in his covenant that they shulde do none yvell to his maister therle of Ventadore, but to putte hym out of the castell in courtesse maner, and his good with hym. And so it was done, for the Bretons nor Englisshmen that entred dyde no maner of hurt to the erle nor to none of his men, nor kept nothyng, savyng vitayle and artyllary, wherof ther was great plentie: and so the erle, his wyfe, and his chyldren went to Mountpenser, besyde Agueperse in Auvergne. And Geffray Tetenoyre and his company kept Ventador, wherby they dyde moche hurt in the countre, and so toke dyvers stronge castels in Auvergne, in Rouergue, in Limosin, in Quercy, in Gyvalda,[1] in Bygore, and in Agenoise. And with this Tetnoyre ther were other capitayns who dyde many other feates of armes, as Amergot Marcell, a squyer of Lymosyn of thenglisshe parte, who toke the strong castell of Casuryell[2] in Auvergne, in the bysshopryke of Cleremont, and they overran the countre at their pleasure: and of the same company ther were other capitayns of divers castels, as the Bourge Calart,[3] the Bourge Angloys, the Bourge of Champayne, Raymonde de Fore,[4] Gascoyne, and Peter of Bearne in Bearnoys.

Amergot Marcell rode forthe on a season, and xiii. with hym at adventure, and toke the way to Aloys towarde saynt

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[1] *Gévaudan.*

[2] *Chalusset.*

[3] *Carlat.*

[4] *Sort.*

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Of the rencounters that were made in Normandy.

Floure, the whiche was a fayre castell in the bysshoprike of Cleremont. They knewe well that the place was nat kept but by the porter all onely; and whan they came nere to the castell, Amergot sawe where the porter sat on a blocke without the gate; than a Breton, who coude shote well with a crosbowe, sayd, Sir, wyll ye that I slee the porter at the first shote. Ye, quoth Amergot, I requyre the. The Breton shot a quarell, and strake the porter right in the heed: the porter, whan he felte hymselfe stryken, entred into the gate, thinkyng to have closed it, but he coude nat, for in thentryng he fell downe deed. Than Amergot and his company made hast to enter, and so entred in at the wycket, and there they founde the porter deed, and his wyfe by hym, right sore afrayed, to whom they dyde no hurt, but they demaunded of her wher was the capitayne; and she answered and said, how he was at Cleremont. Than they assured her lyfe, so she wolde delyver them the keys of the castell and of the mayster towre, and so she dyde; and than they put her out with asmoche stuffe as she coude cary away with her, and so she went to saynt Flour, a cytie but a leage thens; and they of the cytie were sore abasshed whan they knewe that Alois was Englisshe, and so was all the countre about. And anone after, Amergotte Marcell toke the strong castell of Balon[1] by stelth of scalyng; and whan they were within, the capitayne was aslepe in the great towre, which towre was nat likely to be won by force, and by that towre the castell might be won agayne. Than Amergot advysed him of a subteltie: he had in his handes the father and mother of the capitayne, and so he brought them before the towre, and made semblant to stryke of their heedes, without he wolde yelde up the towre. These good folkes douted dethe, and sayde to their sonne, who was in the towre, Sir, have pyte on us, and they wept pyteously. The squier thought that his father and mother shuld never dye for his sake, and so yelded up the towre: than they put hym out of the castell. Thus Balone was Englysshe, the whiche dyde after moche trouble to the countre; for all suche as thought to do yvell resorted thyder, or els to Causuryell, a two leages fro Lymoges, els to Carlac, to Aloys, to Ventadore, or into suche other places: and whan

[1] *Vallon.*

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these garisons assembled toguyder, they were to the nombre of sixe hundred speares, and so ranne over all the countre and into the countie of the dolphyn of Auvergne. It was of trouthe that the lorde of Cupyer[1] was to them a great ennemy: in lykewise so was the lord of Forterell,[2] and the bastarde of Forterell his brother, and a squyer of Burbonoyse, called Gordomes,[3] who by clene feate of armes on a day toke Amergot Marcell prisoner, and raunsomed hym at v. thousande frankes. Thus the dedes of armes fortuned in Lymosyn and in the countre there.

CAP. CCCXLVI

Of the cisme that was made in the church, and the maner howe, and of the Bretons who made warr to Rome; and of the quene of Naples, who put all her landes into the Popes handes.

IT hath ben long sithe I spake of Holy Church; now I wyll retourne therto, the mater requyreth it. Ye have well herde here before, howe by the exortacyon of the Romayns, the cardynalles, who as than raygned, to apease the people of Rome, who were greatly moved agaynst them, made a pope of the archbysshoprike of Bari, called before Bartylmewe des Angles: he receyved the papalyte, and was called Urbayne the sixe, and so opyned grace as the usage was. Thentencyon of dyvers of the cardynals was, that whan they might se a better hour and tyme, they wolde agayn retourne to their election, bycause this pope was nat profytable for them, nor also to the church as they said, for he was a fumisshe man and malincolyous; so that whan he sawe hymselfe in prosperyte and in puyssance of the papalyte, and that dyvers kynges christned were joyned to him, and wrote to him, and dyde put them under his obeysaunce, wherof he waxed proude and worked all on heed, and wolde have taken away fro the cardynals dyvers of their rightes and olde customes, the whiche greatly displeased them. And so they spake togyder, and ymagined howe he was nat well worthy to governe the worlde; wherfore they purposed

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[1] *Apchier.*

[2] *Solleriel.*

[3] *Gourdinet.*

Of the cisme that was made in the church.

to chose another pope, sage and discrete, by whom the churche shulde be well governed. To this purpose the cardynals putte to all their payne, and specially he that was after chosen to be pope: thus all a somer they wer in this purpose; for they that entended to make a newe pope durst nat shewe their myndes generally, bycause of the Romayns; so that in the tyme of the vacacyon in the courte, dyvers cardynals departed fro Rome, and went about Rome to sport them in dyvers places at their pleasure. And Pope Urbane went to another cytie called Tyeulle,[1] and ther he lay a long season, in this vacacion tyme, whiche myght nat longe endure: for at Rome ther were many clerkes of sundrie places of the worlde, abydinge for graces, the whiche was promysed to dyvers of them. Than the cardynals all of one acorde assembled togyder, and their voyces rested on sir Robert of Genesve, somtyme sonne to the erle of Genesve. His first promocyon was, he was bysshoppe of Therouene, and after bysshoppe of Cambrey, and he was called cardynal of Genesve. At this election were the most parte of the cardynals, and he was called Clement.

The same season there was in the marchesse of Rome a right valyant knight of Bretayne, called Sylvester Bude, and he had under hym a two thousande Bretons: and in the yere before he had right well borne hymselfe agaynst the Florentynes, under Pope Gregorie, who had cursed them, bycause of the rebellyon; and by the meanes of this Sylvester Bude they were come to mercy. Than Pope Clement and the cardynals of his parte secretly sent for him and his company: and so he came and entred into the castell Angle, the better to constrayne the Romayns: so Pope Urbayne durst nat departe fro Tyeulle, nor suche cardynals as were of his acorde, for doute of the Bretons, they were so great a nombre, and all chosen men of warre. And whan the Romayns saw themselfe in that danger, they sent for other soudyers, Almayns and Lumbardes, and so daylye they scrimysshed with the Bretons. Clement opyned his graces to all clerkes, suche as wolde have it, and so he signifyed his name over all the worlde. And whan the Frenche kynge, who as than raygned, was certifyed therof, he had great marveyle, and sent for his brother, and for all the nobles

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[1] *Tivoli.*

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Of the cisme that was made in the church.

and prelates of his realme, and for the rectour and maister doctour of the Unyversyte of Parys, to knowe of them to whiche electyon, outher the first or the seconde, that he shulde holde unto. This mater was nat shortely determyned, for dyvers clerkes varyed; but finally all the prelates of Fraunce enclyned to Clement, and so dyde the kynges bretherne and the moost parte of the Unyversite of Parys. And so the kynge was enformed by all the great clerkes of his realme, that he obeyed the Pope Clement, and helde him for the true pope, and made a specyall commaundement throughoute his realme, that every manne shulde take and repute Clement for pope, and that every man shulde obey him as God on erthe. The king of Spaygne was of the same opinyon, and so was the erle of Savoy, the duke of Myllayne, and the quene of Naples.

The belevyng thus of the Frenche kyng upon Clement coloured greatlye his dedes, for the realme of Fraunce was reputed to be the chiefe fountayne of beleve of the Christen faythe, bycause of the noble churches and prelasies that be therin. As than lyved Charles of Boesme, kyng of Almaygne and emperour of Rome, who was at Praigue in Behayne, and was advertised of all these maters, wherof he had great marveyle; and though that his empyre of Almayne, except the bysshoprike of Trect,[1] beleved in faithe, courage, and entencyon in Pope Urbane, and wolde nat here spekyng of any other, yet he fayned and dissymuled all his lyfe tyme, and wolde answere whan he was spoken to of that mater so courtesly, that all his barons and prelates of his realme were contente; howebeit, the churches of the Empyre obeyed Pope Urbayne, but Scotlande helde of Clement. The erle Loyes of Flaunders was greatly agaynst Clement in the parties of Brabant, Heynalt, and in Lege, for he wolde ever abyde to be Urbanyst, sayeng howe they dyde the same pope great wronge: and this erle was so beleved and renomed in those parties wher he was conversant, that the churches and lordes helde of the same opynion. But they of Heynaulte and the churches there, and the lorde called Albert, abode as neutre, and obeyed no more to one than to the other; wherfore the bysshoppe of Cambrey that reygned at that tyme, called John, lost in Heynalt all the revenewes of his tempor-

[1] *Trèves.*

Of the cisme that was made in the church.

alties. And in the same season ther was sent into Fraunce, into Heynalt, into Flaunders, and into Brabant fro Pope Clement, the cardynall of Poicters, a right wyse, valyant, and a sage clerke, to ensygne and to preche to the people, for he was at the first election; and ther he shewed howe by constraynt they chase first the archebysshop of Bari to be pope. The Frenche kyng and his bretherne and the prelates of Fraunce mekely receyved hym, and gladly entended to his busynesse and wordes, for it semed to them that he spak all trouthe, and so gave faythe to him: and whan he had ben a season in Fraunce, than he went into Heynalt, where he was also joyously receyved; in lykewise so he was in Brabant, bothe of the duke and of the duchesse, but he dyd ther nothyng els. He thought in his retournyng to have gone into Lege, but he toke other counsell and wente nat thyder, but retourned to Tourney, and thought to have gone into Flaunders to have spoken with therle; but it was shewed hym that he had nothyng to do ther, bycause the erle helde and wolde holde of Urbayne, and so to lyve and dye. Than the cardynall departed fro Tourney, and went to Valencennes, and so to Cambrey, and there he lay a long space, in hope alwayes to here some good tidynges.

Thus the Christen realmes were in variacyon, and the churches in great dyfference, bycause of the popes. Urbayne had the greatter partie; but to speke of the moost profytable revenewes and playne obeysance, Clement had it: and so Clement, by consent of the cardynals, sent to Avygnon to make redy the paleys there for hym, for his entent was to go thyder as soone as he might; and so he went to the cyte of Foundes,[1] and there opyned his graces. Thyder drewe all maner of clerkes suche as wolde take grace; and he kept about in vyllages many soudyers, who made great warre to Rome and to the bourage of saynt Peter, and traveyled them day and night with dyvers assautes and scrimysshes; and also they that were in the castell Angle, without Rome, dyd moche trouble to the Romayns; but they of Rome enforsed themselfe so with soudyers, Almayns, and with the puyssance of Rome, so that they assembled togyder on a day, and conquered the bourage of saynt Peter. Than the Bretons drewe them into the castell of Angle;

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[1] *Fondi.*

Of the cisme that was made in the church.

howebeit, they were so handled by force of armes that they gave it up, their lyves saved: than the Bretons departed and drewe to Foundes and there about in the countre; and the Romayns bete downe the castel Angle, and brent the bourage of saynt Peter. Whan sir Sylvestre Bude, who was in the countre, herde howe his men hadde lost the bourage of saynt Peter, and the castell Angle, he was right sore displeased, and studyed howe to be revenged of the Romayns. It was shewed him by his spyes, howe on a day the Romayns, and the noblest men of the cytie of Rome, shulde assemble togyder in counsayle in the Capitolle: as soone as he knewe that, he assembled togyder a certayne nombre, and rode forth by covert wayes secretly, and so came to Rome in the evenynge, and entred in at the gate of Naples: whan these Bretons were within, they toke the streyght way to the Capitoll, and came thyder as the counsell of Rome were issued out of the chambre. Than the Bretons couched their speares, and ranne in among them, and slewe and bete downe a great nombre of the moost notablest of the cyte; ther was slayne a sixe banneretes, and a two hundred of other riche persons, and a great nombre hurt. And whan these Bretons hadde done their enterprise, they withdrewe them agaynst night, and than it began to be late, so that they were nat pursued, what for the night and for the sodayne fray that they were in, for they wyst nat what to do, but to take hede of their frendes that were sore hurte. So they passed that nyght in great dystresse and sorowe of herte, and soo buryed the deed, and dressedde the hurte. And in the mornyng the Romayns advysed themselfe of a great crueltie, for the poore clerkes that were in Rome and were in no faute, they slewe and hurt of them mo than thre hundred, and specially Bretons that fell in their handes; ther was no mercy. Thus went the maters in Rome, by reason of the state of the popes, and dayly they bought it dere, suche as were without faute.

In the meane season that Clement and his cardynals lay thus at Foundes, the quene of Napoles came thyder to se hym, for she dyde putte herselfe under the obeysaunce of Pope Clement. This quene had ben longe in purpose to put the realme of Cecyll, wherof she was lady, and the countie of

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Provence, whiche dependeth of the same realme, into the handes of the Pope, to do with them at his pleasur, and to gyve them to some highe prince of the realme of Fraunce, beyng of suche puyssance to kepe them agaynst suche as she hated deedly, who were discended out of the realme of Hungry. And whan the quene of Naples was come to Foundes, she humbled herselfe lowly to Pope Clement, and was confessed of hym, and discovered to him all the secretes of her hert, and sayd, Holy Father, I holde dyvers noble herytages, as the realme of Naples, the realme of Cecyll, Puyll,[1] Calabre, and the countie of Provence. And it is of trouthe that kyng Loyes of Cecyll, duke of Puyll and Calabre, my father, whyle he lyved, knowledged all these landes to holde of the churche, and on his dethe bedde he toke me by the hande, and sayd, A fayre doughter, ye are enherytour of many a riche countre, and I am sure many great lordes wyll seke to have you in maryage, bycause of the fayre herytage that ye have; therfore, doughter, I wolde ye shulde use you after my counsayle as to mary yourselfe to so highe a prince, that may be puyssant to kepe and maynteyne you and your herytage in rest and peace; and if it so fortune that ye have none heyres, than delyver all your landes into the handes of the pope than beyng alyve; for kyng Robert, my father, at the hour of his dethe, gave me in lyke charge; therfore, fayre doughter, I charge you and discharge me. And than I promysed him on my faithe, in the presence of all them that were in his chambre, that I shulde acomplysshe his last desyre. And, Holy Father, so it was, that after his discease, by the consent of all the nobles of Cecyll and Naples, I was maryed to Andrewe of Hungry, brother to kyng Loyes of Hungry, by whome I hadde no yssue, for he dyed yonge at Ayes[2] in Provence; and after his discease I was marryed agayne to the prince of Tarent, who was called Charles, and by him I had a doughter. Than the kyng of Hungry, for the displeasure that he hadde to Andrewe his brother, my first husbande, went and made warre agaynst my husbande, Charles of Tarent, and toke fro him Puyll and Calabre, and toke him in batayle and ledde him to prison into Hungry, and there he dyed. And yet after agayne, by the acorde of the nobles of Cecyll, I

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[1] *Apulia.*

[2] *Aix.*

maryed agayne kynge James of Majogres,[1] and sent into Fraunce for sir Loys of Naver to have maryed my doughter, but he dyed by the way. Than it fell so that the kyng my husbande went to conquere his herytage of Majogres, the whiche the kyng of Arragon had taken fro him by force, and had dysherited him, and caused his father to dye in prison. And or he departed fro me, I sayd to him, Sir, I am a lady, and have puyssance and rychesse sufficyent to maynteyne your estate acordynge to your desyre. Howebeit, he preached so moche to me, and shewed me so many fayre reasons, desyring to recover his herytage, so that I was fayne to consent to hym to take his pleasure. But at his departynge I desyred hym to have gone to kyng Charles of Fraunce, and to have shewed him his busynesse, and to have ordred hymselfe by his counsayle; howebeit, he dyde nat so, the which was his hurt, for he went to the prince of Wales, who promysed to have ayded him. So he had greatter trust in the prince of Wales than in the Frenche kyng, to whom I was nere of lynage; and in the meane season whyle he was in his vyage, I wrote to the Frenche kyng, and sent great messangers to him, desyring him to send me a nobleman of his blode to mary my doughter, to the entent that myne herytage shulde nat be without an heyre. The kyng sent his cosyn, sir Robert of Artoyse, who wedded my doughter, and in the vyage that the kyng my husbande made he dyed. And after agayne I maryed sir Othe of Broswyche;[2] and bycause sir Charles de la Paixe sawe that sir Othe shulde have myne herytage as longe as I lyved, he made us warre, and toke us in the castell of Loeufe,[3] whan the see was so highe that we feared it wolde have overflowen us, at whiche tyme we were so afrayed that we yelded us all foure to sir Charles de la Paixe, our lyves saved; and so he helde us in prisone, my husbande and I, my doughter and her husbande. And so it happed that my sonne and doughter dyed there, and after by treatie I and my husbande were delyvered, so that Puylle and Calabre might come to him. And also he entendeth to come to the herytage of Naples, of Cecyll, and of Provence, for he seketh all about for alyance, and so wyll take away the ryght of the churche as sone as I am deed, if he may. Therfore, Holy Father, I

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[1] *Majorca.*

[2] *Brunswick.*

[3] *Chateau de l'Œuf.*

Of the cisme that was made in the church.

wyll acquyte me agaynst God and you, and acquyte the soules of my predecessours, and put into your handes all the herytages that I ought to have, of Cecyll, of Naples, Puyll, Calabre, and Provence; I gyve them to you, to do with them your pleasure, to gyve them to whomesoever it pleaseth you, suche as may obteygne them agaynst our adversary sir Charles de la Paix. Pope Clement receyved joyfully her wordes, and toke her gyft in great reverence, and sayde, A my fayre doughter of Naples, we shall so ordeyn that your herytage shall have such an heryter of your owne blode, noble and puyssant to resyst agaynst them, that wyll do or offer you or them any wronge. Of all these wordes and gyftes there were publyke instrumentes and autentyke made, to the entent that the mater shulde abyde ferme and stable in tyme to come, and to be of more playne knowledge to all them that shulde here therof after.

CAP. CCCXLVII

Howe Pope Clement wente to Avygnon, and of the gyftes that he gave to the duke of Anjowe, and howe sir Silvester Budde and his company were beheded, and of the countre of Flaunders and of their adversyte.

WHAN the quene of Naples and sir Othe of Brouswiche had done all thynges, wherfore they were come to Foundes to the Pope, than they toke their leave and departed and went to Naples. Than it was nat longe after but that Pope Clement imagyned in hymself, that to abyde long about the parties of Rome was nothyng profytable for him, and sawe well howe the Romayns and Pope Urbayne travayled greatly to gette the love of the Neapolitans and of sir Charles de la Paix; therfore he doubted lest the passages and wayes shuld be closed agaynst him, so that he shulde nat get to Avygnon whan he wolde. And the princypall and specyall cause that inclyned hym to go to Avignon, was to thentent to gyve to the duke of Anjou the ryghtes that the quene of Naples had gyven unto

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Howe Pope Clement wente to Avygnon.

hym of all the forsayd seignoris, wherof he had instrumentes past and sealed. So he ordayned secretely and sagely his besynesse, and toke the see and his cardynals with him, in galies and vessels that were come out of Arragone: they hadde wynde and wether at wyll, and arryved withoute domage at Merseyle, wherof all the countre was ryght gladde: and fro thens he went to Avignon, and sent worde of his comynge to the French kyng, and to his bretherne, who were ryght gladde of his comyng. And the duke of Anjou, who lay at the cytie of Tholouse, went to se the Pope, and at his comynge the Pope gave hym all the gyftes that the qwene of Naples had gyven hym. The duke of Anjou, who alweys desyred high seignories and great honours, receyved the gyftes in great magnyficence, and so had them to hym and to his heyres for ever, and sayd to the Pope, that in as shorte tyme as he might, he wolde go so strong into those marches, that he wolde be able to resyst them that wolde do any wronge to the quene of Naples. The duke taryed with the Pope a xv. dayes, and than returned to Tholouse to the duchesse his wyfe, and Pope Clement delyvered his men of warre to sir Bernard de la Sale, and to Flouremont, to make warre agaynst his enemyes.

The same season there was in the marches of Thuskayne, in Italy, a valyant knight Englyssh, called sir John Hacoude,[1] who dyde and had done many a noble feate of armes. He issued out of the realme of Fraunce, whan the peace was made bitwene the two kynges at Bretigny besyde Charters, and in that tyme he was but a poore knyght, and than he thought to retourne agayne into Englande into his owne countre, he thought he coude wynne nothynge there. And whan he sawe that all men of warre shulde avoyde the realme of Fraunce by the ordynaunce and treaty of peace, he made himselfe capitayne of a certayne nombre of companyons called the Late Comers, and so went into Burgoyne, and there he assembled a great nombre of suche rutters, Englisshe, Gascons, Bretons, Almayns, and companyons of dyvers nacyons. And this Hacoude was one of the cheyfe with Briquet and Caruell,[2] by whome the batayle of Brumauxe[3] was made, and helped to gette the Pount le Spiryte, with Bernard of Sorges. And whan they had warred and haryed

[1] *Hawkwood.*
[2] *Creswell.*
[3] *Brignais.*

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the countrey agaynst the Pope and the Cardynals, than they were entreated, and went to the marques of Mountferrant, who as than kept warre with the lordes of Myllayne; and so this Marques brought them all beyonde the mountaynes, after he had delyvered to them lx. thousande frankes, wherof Hacoud had for his parte x. thousande for him and his company. And whan they had acheved the warr with the Marques, dyvers than returned into Fraunce, for sir Bertram of Clesquy, the lorde de la Marche, and the lorde Beaujewe, the marshall of Fraunce, and sir Andrewe Daudrehen,[1] brought them into Spayne agaynst kyng Dampeter, on kyng Henries parte; and sir Johan Hacoud and his company abode styll in Italy. And Pope Urbayne the Fyfte as longe as he lyved had hym in his warres of Myllayne, and in lykewyse so had Pope Gregorie, who raygned after him. And this same sir Johan Hacoud had for the lorde Coucy a fayre journey agaynst therle of Vertues, for it was sayd for trouth, that the lorde Coucy had ben overthrowen by the erle of Vertues and the Lombardes, if this Hacoude hadde nat ben: for he came to his ayde with fyve hundred, bycawse the lorde Coucy had wedded the kynge of Englandes doughter, and for none other cause. This sir Johan Hacoude was a knyght right hardy and of great experyence, and well renomed in the marches of Italy, and dyd there many great feates of armes. Than the Romayns and Urbayne, who called himselfe pope, advysed in themselfe, whan Clement was departed fro the marches of Rome, to sende for him, and to make him mayster and governour of all their warre: so they sent for him, and retayned him and all his company, and he acquyted himselfe right valiantly, for on a daye, with the helpe of the Romayns, he disconfyted Sylvester Bude and a great company of Bretons, so that they were all slayn or taken, and Sylvester Bude brought prisoner to Rome, and was in great daunger to lese his heed. And to say the trouth, it had ben better for hym to have been beheeded the same day he was brought to Rome, than otherwyse, for the honoure of him and of his frendes; for afterwarde Pope Clement caused hym to lese his heed in the cytie of Mascon, and another squier of Breton with him, called Wylliam Boyleau, for they were had in suspect of treason, bycause

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[1] *Arnoul d'Audrehem marshal of France.*

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they were issued out of the Romayns prison, and coulde nat be knowen by what treaty or means, and so they came to Avygnon and there were taken. Of their takynge was culpable the cardynall of Amyens, for he hated them sythe they made warre in Rome for the Pope, bycause in the feldes on a daye they and their companyes toke the sayd cardynalles somers, wherin they had a great quantyte of vessell and plate of golde and sylver, and departed it among their companyes, who coulde nat be payed of their wages; wherfore the same cardynall toke the same deade in great displeasure, and so covertly accused them of treason: so that whan they were come to Avygnon, treason was layd to theym, howe they had falsly betrayed the Pope, and therupon sent to Mascon, and there beheeded bothe. Thus the maters went at that tyme in those countreis; and sir Bertram of Clesquy was sore displeased for the dethe of Sylvester Bude his cosyn, with Pope Clement and with the cardinals; so that if he had lyved long after they shulde well have knowen that his deth had bene ryght sore displesant to hym.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of these maters, and let us entre to speke of the warres of Flaunders, the whiche began in the same season, whiche were harde and cruell, wherby moche people were slayne and exyled, and the countre tourned into suche a case, that it was sayde, that in a hundred yere after it shulde nat be recovered agayne; and I shall shewe you by what meane and occasyons the unhappy warres began.

Whan the tribulacyons began first in Flaunders, the countre was so welthy and so riche, that it was mervayle to here; and the men of the good townes kept suche estate, that it was wonder to here tell therof. But these warres began first by pride and envy, that the good townes in Flaunders had one against another, as they of Gaunt agaynst them of Bruges, and they of Bruges agaynst them of Gaunt, and other townes one agaynst another. But there was suche resort, that no warr coude ryse among them, without therle of Flaunders their lorde dyd consent thereto, for he was so feared and beloved, that none durste displease him. Also the erle, who was ryght sage and subtell, kept under the warre and yvell wyll of his people, Howe Pope Clement wente to Avygnon.

for he wolde in nowyse suffre no warre to ryse among them and him; for well he thought in his ymaginacyons, that whan any difference shulde ryse bytwene him and his people, he shulde be the febler, and the lesse set by of his neighbours. Also he kept under the warre for another cause, howbeit, at thende he was driven to use it, and that was, he considred the gret distructyon that shulde fall therby, bothe of bodies and goodes: for alwayes he had lyved in great prosperyte and peace, and had as moche his pleasure as any other Christen prince had; but this warr began for so light a cause and insydent, that justely to consyder and speke, if good wytte and sage advyse had been in the lorde, he neded nat to have hadde any maner of warre. What shall they saye that redeth this or hereth it redde, but that it was the warke of the Devyll. For ye knowe, or els ye have herde say of the wyse sages, howe the Devyll subtellytiseth night and day to make warre, where as he seythe peace, and seketh lytell and lytell how he may come to his ungracyous entent: and so it fortuned in those dayes in Flanders, as ye may clerely knowe and se by the treatie of the order of the mater that foloweth.

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Of the princypall rote and cause of the warre bytwene the erle of Flaunders and the Flemynges, and howe the whyte hattes were set up by Johan Lyon.

THE same season, whyle the duke Loys of Flaunders was in his greattest prosperyte, ther was in Gaunt a burgesse called Johan Lyon,[1] a sage man, cruell, hardy, subtell, and a great enterpriser, and colde and pacient ynough in all his warkes. This John Lyon was great with the erle, as it apered, for the erle entysed him to slee a man in Gaunt, with whome he was displeased; and at the erles commaundement covertly, this Johan Lyon made a matter to him, and so fell out with hym and slewe hym, the whiche burgesse was sore complayned: and therfore

[1] *Yoens.*

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John Lyon went and dwelt at Doway, and was there a iii. yere, and helde a great estate and porte, and all of therles cost. And for this slaughter on a day, Johan Lyon lost all that ever he had in Gaunt, and was banysshed the towne foure yere; but after the erle of Flaunders dyd so moch for him, that he made his peace, and so to returne agayne to the towne of Gaunt, and to have agayne as great fraunches as ever he had: wherof dyvers in Gaunt and in Flaunders hadde great mervayle, and were therwith ryght sore abasshed; but for all that, so it was done. And besyde that, to thentent that he shulde recover agayne his losse, and to mayntayne his astate, the erle made him chefe ruler of all the shyppes, maryners, and navy. This office was well worthe by yere a thousand frankes, and yet to deale but trewely. Thus this Johan Lyon was so great with the erle, that there was none lyke him.

In the same season there was another lygnage in Gaunte, called the Mahewes; ther were of them sevyn bretherne, they were the chiefe of all the maryners; and amonge these sevyn bretherne there was one of theym called Gylbert Mahewe, a ryght sage manne, moche more subtell than any of his bretherne. This Gylbert Mahue had great envy covertly at this Johan Lyon, bycause he sawe him so great with the erle, and studyed night and day howe he myght put him out of favoure with the erle. Dyvers tymes he was in mynde to have slayne him by his brethern, but he durst nat, for feare of the erle: so long he studyed and ymagined on this mater, that at laste he founde the way. The chiefe cause that he hated him for was, as I shall shewe you, the better to come to the foundacyon of this mater. Aunciently ther was in the towne of Dan[1] a great mortall warr bytwene two maryners and their lynages, the one called Peter Guillon, and the other John Barde: Gilbert Mahewe and his bretherne were come of the one lynage, and this Johan Lyon of the other. So this covert hate was long norysshed bitwene these two parties; howbeit, they spake and ete and dranke togyder: and the lynage of Gylbart Mahewe made more ado of the mater than Johan Lyon dyd: insomoche that Gylbert Mahewe, without any stroke gyven, advysed a subtell dede. The erle of Flaunders wolde

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[1] *Damme.*

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some tyme lye at Gaunt; than this Gylbert Mahewe came and acquaynted hymselfe with one of them that was nere aboute the erle, and on a day sayd to him, Sir, if my lorde therle wolde, he might have every yere a great profyte of the shyppes and navy, wherof he hath nowe nothyng: whiche profyte the straungers and the maryners shulde paye, so that Johan Lyon, who is chiefe ruler there, wyll truely acquyte himselfe. This gentylman sayd, he wolde shewe this to the erle, and so he dyde. The erle than, in lykewyse as dyvers lordes are lyghtly enclyned naturally to harken to their profytte, and nat regardyng the ende, what may fall therby, so they may have riches, for covytousness disceyveth them, he answerd and sayd, Let Gylbert Mahewe come to me, and we wyll here what he wyll say. Than came Gylbert and spake with the erle, shewynge him dyvers reasons resonable as the erle thought, and so answered and sayd, I thynke it were well done that it shulde be thus. Than John Lyon was sent for, who knewe nothyng of this mater, and there in the presence of Gylbert Mahewe the erle shewed him all the mater, and sayd, John, if ye woll, we may have great profyte in this mater. Johan Lyon, who was a true man, sawe well it was nat a thynge resonable to be done; howebeit he durst nat say the contrary, but sayd, Sir, that thyng that ye demaunde, and that Gylbert Mahewe hathe brought forthe, I cannat do it alone, for it wyll be a harde mater to all the maryners. Johan, quoth therle, if ye wyll acquyte you truely in this mater, it wyll be done. Sir, quoth he, I shall do therin the best of my power, and soo they departed. Gylbert Mahewe, who intended to brynge out of favoure this Johan Lyon with the erle, entended to none other thyng but to make hym lese his offyce. Than he came to his sixe bretherne, and sayd, Sirs, it is tyme nowe that ye socoure and ayde me, and to mayntayne this mater, as good frendes and brethern shulde helpe eche other; it is for you that I have dryven about this mater; I shall discomfyt John Lyon without any stroke strykyng, and shall bryng him in as great displeasure with the erle as he is nowe great and in favoure. Whatsoever I say in the next parlyament, kepe youre owne openyons; for if the erle requyre you to do suche a thynge,

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Of the princypall rote and cause of the warre bytwene the erle of Flaunders and the Flemynges.

debate you well the matter: but I wyll say styll and mayntayne, that if Johan Lyon wyll truely acquyte himselfe, this ordynance may be done. And I knowe so moche, that my lorde the erle, if the mater come nat to his entent, Johan Lyon shall lease his favoure and offyce, and gyve the offyce to me. And whan I ones have it, than ye shall agre therto; we are puyssant ynough in this towne to rule all the resydue, there is none wyll say agaynst us; and than I shall do so that John Lyon shal be overthrowen: thus we shall be revenged on him without any stroke gyvyng. All his brethern accorded to him. So the parlyament came, and all the maryners were redy: there Johan Lyon and Gylbert Mahewe shewed them the erles pleasure on the newe statute that he wolde reyse on the navy of Lys and Lescaulte,[1] the whiche thynge semed to them all ryght hard, and contrary to their olde custome: and the chiefe that spake there agaynste were Gylbert Mahewes bretherne more than any other. Than Johan Lyon, who was chiefe ruler of them all, was ryght joyouse, for he wolde to his true power mayntayne them in their olde auncyent straunchesses and lyberties; and he went that all that they sayde had bene for him; but it was contrary, for it was for an evyll entent towardes him. Johan Lyon reported to the erle the answere of the maryners, and sayd, Sir, it is a thynge cannat be well done, for great hurt may come therby: sir, and it please you, let the mater rest in the olde auncyent estate, and make no newe thynge amonge them. This answere pleased nothyng the erle, for he sawe that if the mater might be brought up and reysed, it shulde be well worth to him yerely a seven thousande florens; so he helde his peace as at that tyme, but he thought the more; and soo pursewed by fayre wordes and treaties these maryners, but alwayes Johan Lyon founde them ryght obstynate in the case. Than Gylbert Mahewe came to the erle and to his counsayll, and sayd, howe that John Lyon aquyted him but slackely in the mater; but and the erle wolde gyve him the offyce that Johan Lyon hathe, he wolde so handell the maryners, that the erle of Flaunders shulde heretably have the sayd profyte. The erle sawe nat clere, for covytusnes of the good blynded him, and by his owne counsayll he put John Lyon out of the offyce, and

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[1] *Schelde.*

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gave it to Gylbert Mahewe. Whan Gylbert Mahewe sawe howe he had the offyce, within a lytell space he turned all his syxe bretherne to his purpose, and so made the erle to have his entent and profyt; wherfore he was never the better beloved of the most parte of the maryners; howebeit it behoved them to suffer, for the seven brethern were great and puyssant, with the ayde of the erle. Thus by this subtell meanes Gylbert Mahewe get himselfe in favoure with the erle, and he gave many gyftes and joweles to them that were nere about the erle, wherby he had their loves. And also he gave many great presentes to the erle, the whiche blynded him, and so by that meanes he gate his love: and all these gyftes and presentes this Gylbert Mahewe reysed of the maryners, wherof there were many that were nat well content; howbeit they durst speke no worde to the contrary.

Johan Lyon by this meanes, and by the purchase of Gylbert Mahewe was out of the erls favoure and love, and so kept his howse and lyved of his owne, and endured and suffered paciently all that ever was done to him. For this Gylbert Mahewe, who as than was chefe ruler of all the shippes, covertly ever hated this Johan Lyon, and toke away the thirde or fourth parte of the profyte that he shulde have had of his shyppes. All this John Lyon suffered and spake no worde, but sagely dissymuled and toke in gre all that ever was done to him, and sayd, Ther is tyme to be styll, and tyme to speke. This Gylbert Mahewe had one brother called Stenuart, a subtell man, who advysed well the maner of Johan Lyon, and sayd to his brethern in prophesyeng as it came to passe, Sirs, this John Lyon suffereth nowe, and hangeth downe his heed; he dothe it all for policy, but I feare me he wyll at length make us lower than we be nowe highe; but I counsayle one thyng, that whyle we be thus in the erles favour, lette us slee him. I shall soone sle him, if I take the charge to do it; and so we shall be out of all parelles. His other bretherne wolde in no wyse consent thereto, and sayd to him, that in no wyse he shulde do him any hurt, sayeng to him, howe a man ought nat to be slayne without the sentence of a judge. Thus the matter contynued a certayne space, tyll the Devyll,

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who never slepeth, awaked them of Bruges, to digge about the ryver of Lys, to have the easment of the course of the water: and the erle was well accorded to them, and sent great nombre of pioners and men of armes to assyste them. Before that in tyme past they wolde have done the same, but they of Gaunt by puyssance brake their purpose. These tydynges came to Gaunt, howe they of Bruges were dyggynge to turne the course of the ryver of Lys, the which shulde greatly be to the prejudyse of Gaunte. Many folkes in the towne began to murmure, and specyally the maryners, for it touched them nere; wherfore they sayd, they of Bruges shulde nat be suffred so to dygge, to have the course of the ryver to them, wherby their towne shulde be distroyed. And some sayd prevely, A God help nowe John Lyon, for if he hadde ben styll our governoure, it shulde nat have been thus; they of Bruges wolde nat have been so hardy to attempt so farre agaynst us. Johan Lyon was well advertysed of all these matters: than he began a lytell to wake, and sayd to himselfe, I have slept a season: but it shall apere that for a small occasyon I shall wake, and shall set suche a trymble bitwene this towne and the erle, that it shall coste peraventure a hundred thousande mennes lyves. The tidynges of these dyggers encreased: so it was, ther was a woman that come fro her pilgrimage from our lady of Bolayne, who was wery, and sate downe in the market-place, where as ther were dyvers men, and some of them demaunded of her fro whens she came. She answered, Fro Bolayne, and I have sene by the way the greatest myschefe that ever came to this towne of Gaunte; for there be mo than fyve hundred pioners, that night and day worketh before the ryver of Lys, and if they be nat let, they wyll shortly torne the course of the water. This womans wordes was well harde and understande in dyvers places of the towne. Than they of the towne began to mone, and sayd, This dede ought nat to be suffred nor consented unto. Than dyvers went to Johan Lyon, and demaunded counsayll of him howe they shulde use themselfe in this mater. And whan Johan Lyon sawe himselfe sought on by them whom he desyred to have their good wylles and love, he was greatly rejoysed; howebeit, he made no semblant of joye, for he thought it was

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nat as than yet tyme, tyll the mater were better acertayned; and so he was sore desyred or he wolde speke or declare his thought. And whan he spake, he sayd, Sirs, if ye wyll adventure to remedy this mater, it behovethe that in this towne of Gaunte ye renewe an olde auncyent custome that somtime was used in this towne: and that is, that ye brynge up agayne the whyte hattes, and that they maye have a chiefe ruler, to whome they maye drawe, and by him be ruled. These wordes were gladly herde, and than they sayd all with one voyce, We wyll have it so; lette us reyse up these whyte hattes. Than there were made whyte hattes, and gyven and delyvered to such as loved better to have warre than peace, for they had nothynge to lese. And there they chase Johan Lyon to be cheife governoure of all the whyte hattes, the whiche offyce he toke on him ryght gladly, to the entent to be revenged on his enemyes, and to bryng discorde bytwene the townes of Bruges and Gaunt, and the erle their lorde. And so it was ordeyned that they shulde go out agaynst the dyggers of Bruges, with Johan Lyon their soverayne capytayne, and with hym two hundred with their companyes, of suche as had rather have hadde warre than peace. And whan Gylbert Mahewe and his brethern sawe the maner of these whyte hattes, they were nat very joyfull therof. Than Stenuart sayde to his bretherne, I sayde to you before, howe this Johan Lyon shulde discomfytte us at length: it had ben better that ye had beleved me before, and to have lette me have slayne him, rather than he shulde be in this estate that he is nowe in, and is likely to be in; and all is by the whyte hattes that he hath brought up. Nay, nay, quod Gylbert, whan I have ones spoken with my lorde the erle, I warrant you they shall be layde downe agayne. Lette them alone to do their entreprise agaynst the pyoners of Bruges, for the profyte of this oure towne; for els, to say the trouthe, the towne were but lost.

Johan Lyon and his company, with the white hattes, departed fro Gaunt, in wyll to slee all the pyoners, and suche other as kepte them. These tidynges came to the pyoners howe the Gauntoyes came on them with a great puissaunce, wherfore they douted to lese all, and so lafte their warke and went backe agayne to Bruges, and were never after so hardy to dyg there agayne. Whan John Lyon and his company sawe nothyng to do, they retourned agayne to Gaunt; but for all that, Johan Lyon lafte nat his offyce, but that the whyte hattes went dayly up and downe the towne, and John Lyon kepte them styll in that estate. And to some he wolde say secretely, Holde you well content, eate and drinke and make mery, and be nat afrayed of any thyng that ye dispende; suche shall paye in tyme to come for your scotte, that wyll nat gyve you nowe one peny.

CAP. CCCXLIX

Howe by the exhortacion of John Lyon the Gauntoyes sent certayne notable burgesses of the towne of Gaunte to the erle of Flaunders, for the conservacyon of their privyleges and olde fraunchesses, and of the desyre therle made to laye downe the whyte hattes.

IN the same weke that Johan Lyon had been thus at Donse,[1] to have met with the pioners of Bruges, ther came dyvers out of the fraunchesse of Gaunt to complayne to them that hadde as than the rule of the lawe, and sayd, Sirs, at Erclo[2] besyde us, the whiche is within the fraunchesse of Gaunt, there is one of our burgesses in the erles prison, and we have desyred therles baylye there to delyver hym; but he hath playnely answered, that he wyll nat delyver hym; the whiche is playnely agaynst the privylege of this towne of Gaunt; and so therby lytell and lytell your privyleges shall be broken, the whiche in time past have ben so noble and so highly praysed, and besyde that, so well kept and maynteyned, that none durst breke theym; and that the moost noblest knight of Flaunders helde hymselfe well reputed to be a burgesse of Gaunte. Than they of the lawe aunswered and sayde, howe they wolde write to the bayly, desyringe hym that the burgesse may be delyvered; for trewely his offyce extendeth nat so

[1] *Deynze.*

[2] *Eecloo.*

Howe the Gauntoyes sent certayne notable burgesses to the erle of Flaunders.

farre as to kepe oure burgesse in the erles prisone; and so they wrote to the bayly for the delyveraunce of the burgesse, beynge in prisone in Erclo. The baylye answered and sayd, What nedeth all these wordes for a maryner? Say, quod the baylye, who had to name Roger Dauterve,[1] to them of Gaunt, that thoughe he were a richer man ten tymes than he is, he shall never go out of prison, without my lorde the erle commaunde it; I have puyssance to arest, but I have no powere to delyver. The wordes of this Roger Dauterve were reported to them of Gaunt, wherwith they were sore displeased, and sayd, howe he had answered right proudely. By these answeres and insydentes as well for the pyoners of Bruges, who wolde have dygged agaynst the herytage and profyte of Gaunt, and for suche other semblable dedes wherby the fraunchesses of Gaunte shulde have bene hurte, there began to ryn throughe the towne and abrode in the countrey these unhappy rybaudes, called the whyte hattes, to the entent to be the more feared and renomed. For it behoveth in a lynage that there be some folysshe and outragyous to maynteyne and sustayne the peasable.

The tidynges of this maryner burgesse of Gaunt beyng in the erles prison at Erclo, whome the baylye wolde nat delyver, spredde abrode in the towne of Gaunte, and dyvers folkes beganne to murmure, and to saye, howe it was nat to be suffred; for in syttynge styll and beynge to softe in maynteyninge of their fraunchesse, they might lese all, the whiche hath ben so noble. Johan Lyon, who entended alwayes but to one thynge, and that was, to sette in trouble the towne of Gaunt agaynst the erle their lorde, in suche wyse that he shulde nat apease it agayne, but with moch sorowe and great dommage; wherfore he was nothynge displeased of these adventures, but he wolde alwayes that for one of them there had fallen threttie. He put forthe his wordes, and covertlye dyde sowe them throughe the towne, sayeng howe that whansoever offyces be bought in a towne, the jurysdictyons and privyleges canne nat be well kepte. For the erle receyveth nowe yerely thre or four thousande frankes, beyonde the olde usage or customes, wherby the marchauntes and maryners greatly complayneth theym, and leaveth to resorte to the towne of Gaunt, bothe

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[1] *Auterive.*

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they of Valencennes, of Doway, of Lyle, of Bethayne,[1] and of Tourney; and this maye be a thynge wherby the towne may be lost, for lytell and lytell daylye the fraunchesses be takenne away, and auncyent privyleges, and yet there is no manne dare speke agaynst it.

Gilbert Mahewe, and the ruler of the meane craftes, who was of Gylbertes parte, herde with their owne eares dayly suche wordes, and knew well howe they dyde ryse by Johan Lyon, but they durst nat remedy it, for Johan Lyon hadde sowed throughout the towne the whyte hattes, and gyven them to suche companyons hardy and outragyous, in such wyse that none durst assayle them. And also Johan Lyon wente never alone, for whansoever that he went out of his house, he had ever with hym a two or thre hundred whyte hattes about him, nor he never wente abrode in the towne, without it hadde bene for a great cause, for he was greatlye desyred to have his counsayle, on the insydentes that fell within Gaunt, and without, consernynge the fraunchesse of the towne and lyberties therof. And whan he was in counsayle, than he wolde shewe a generall worde to the people; he spake in soo fayre rethorike, and by so great craft, that suche as herde hym were greatly rejoysed of his langage, and wolde say all with one voyce, that all was true that he sayd. By great prudence, Johan Lyon sayd to the people, Sirs, I say nat that we shulde hurt or mynysshe any parte of my lorde the erles enherytance, for though we wolde, we can nat, for reason and justyce wolde nat suffre us: nor that we shulde seke any crafte or incydent, wherby we shulde be in his displeasur or indygnacion, for we ought alwayes to be in love and favoure with our prince and lorde: and my lorde therle of Flaunders is our good lorde, and a right hye prince, feared and renomed, and alwayes hath kepte us in peace and prosperyte, the whiche thynges we ought to knowe, and to suffre the more largely; more bounde we are therto, than if he had traveyled us, or displeased us, or made warre, or hated us, and to have put to his payne to have our goodes. But howesoever it be, at this present tyme he is yvell counsayled or enformed agaynst us, and agaynst the fraunchesses of the good towne of Gaunte, in that they of Bruges be more in his favoure than we; it

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[1] *Béthune.*

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apereth well by the pioners of Bruges, that he beyng there, they came to take away our herytage, and to take away the ryver, wherby oure towne of Gaunt shulde be distroyed; and also he wolde have made a castell at Donse, agaynst us, to bring us in danger, and to make us weaker. And I knowe well, howe they in Bruges had promysed hym in tyme paste, tenne or xii. thousande frankes yerely, to have to theym the easement of the ryver of Lys. Therfore I counsayle, lette this good towne of Gaunt sende to the erle some sadde and discrete personages, to shewe hym boldely all these maters, as well touchynge the burgesse of Gaunt in prisone in Erclo, the whiche his baylye wyll nat delyver, as all other maters, wherwith the good towne of Gaunte is nat content. And also these matters herde, than lette it be shewed hym also, that he, nor his counsayle, thynke that we be so dull or deed, but that if nede be we may, if we lyst, make resystence there agaynst: and so his aunswere ones herde, than the good towne of Gaunte maye take advyse, to punysshe the trespasse on them that shall be founde culpable agaynst them. And whanne Johan Lyon hadde shewed all these wordes to the people in the market-place, every man sayd, He saythe well: and than went home to their owne howses. At these woordes thus spoken by John Lyon, Gylbert Mahewe was nat presente, for he douted the whyte hattes, but his brother Stenuart was there alwayes. He prophesyed of tyme to come: and whan he was retourned to his brother, he sayd, I have alwayes sayde, and say yet agayne, howe that John Lyon shall distroy us all; cursed be the hour that ye had nat let me alone, for and I had slayne him, he shulde never have overcome us, nor come soo lyghtly up. And nowe it is nat in our puyssance, nor we dare nat anoy nor greve hym, he is as nowe more greatter in the towne than the erle. Gylbert answered, and sayde, Holde thy pease, fole, for whan I wyll, with the erles puyssance, all the whyte hattes shall be cast downe; and suche there be that bereth them nowe, that here after shall have no nede of any hatte.

So than there were charged certayne burgesses, to go ambassade to the erle, of the saddest men of the towne, and Gylbert Mahewe was one of them that was chosen to go.

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And that caused Johan Lyon, to the entent that if they spake any thynge contrary, to the erles displeasure, that the erle shulde be displeased with him, as well as with any other. So they departed, and founde the erle at Male, and dyde so moche that fynally they accorded so well, that the erle graunted them all their requestes, as touchyng their prisoner at Erclo, and promysynge to kepe and mayntayne the fraunchesses of Gaunt, without brekyng of any of them, and defended them of Bruges that they shulde nat be so hardy to dygge on the herytage of them of Gaunt. And the better to please them of Gaunt, he commaunded them of Bruges to fyll agayne the dykes that they had made. And so they amyably departed fro the erle, and returned to Gaunt, and recorded all that they had done with therle their lorde, and howe he woll mayntayne them in their fraunchesses, without brekynge of any of them; howebeit, he desyred them by fayrnesse to laye downe the whyte hattes. And with tho wordes the erles servauntes brought agayne the prisoner fro Erclo, and so yelded him agayne as by the waye of restablysshing, wherof they had great joy. At this answere makynge was Johan Lyon, and a x. or xii. of the moste notable of his company, and whan they herde that the erle requyred that the whyte hattes shulde be layd downe, every man helde his peace. Than Johan Lyon spake, and sayd, All ye good people that be here present, ye know and have sene but late, howe the whyte hattes hath better kept your fraunchesses, than outher reed or blacke hattes have done, or of any other colour; be ye sure, and say that I sayd it, assoone as the whyte hattes be layde downe, by the ordynaunce that the erle wolde have it so, I wyll nat gyve for all your fraunchesses after nat thre pens. The whiche wordes blynded so the people, that every man departed thens, and the most parte went home to their houses, and sayde, Let them alone: John Lyon saythe trouthe, we have nat sene in hym but good and profitable for oure towne. So the matter stode styll in the same case. And Johan Lyon was than in more feare of his lyfe than he was before, and imagined anone, as it fell after, for he thought that Gylbert Mahewe hadde wrought some mater agaynste him and his company, in his last voiage with the erle, bycause therle made so amyable an answere. Than he thought to fynde some remedy, and ordayned and made secretely capitayns of the whyte hattes, as Senteners, and Cinquateners,[1] and to them sayd, Sirs, say unto your company, that they be day and nyght purveyed redy, and assoone as they knowe or here any movyng, lette them come to me, for it were better we slewe than to be slayne, sythe we have begon so farre. And as he ordayned so it was done, every man redy.

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Howe the Gauntoyes sent certayne notable burgesses to the erle of Flaunders.

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[1] *Muquateners* P.

CAP. CCCL

Howe the whyte hattes slewe the bayly in the market place, and of the goodes and howses of maryners that were distroyed, and of the great brullynge that was than in Gaunt.

IT was nat long after, but that the baily of Gaunt, Roger Dauterve, came to Gaunt, with a two hundred horse, and ordayned to do as the erle, and Gylbert Mahewe, and his bretherne, had devysed. The bayly, with two hundred men that he brought with hym, came downe alonge the stretes, with the erles baner in his hande: and whan he came into the market place, he rested, and set the baner before him; than anone drue to him Gylbert Mahewe, and his brethern, and the ruler of the meane craftes. It was ordayned that his men of armes shulde go to Johan Lyons house, and to take him as chiefe ruler of the whyte hattes, and a v. or sixe other of his company, of them that were moost culpable, and they to have ben brought to the castell of Gaunt, and ther to have had their heedes stryken of. Johan Lyon, who thought no lesse, and was well advysed of this dede, for he had spyes and watchesse in every corner of the towne, he knewe well of the comynge of the bayly, and knewe for certayne, and so dyd all the whyte hattes, that the same journey was set for them. They all drewe togyder be tymes, and came to Johan Lyons howse, who was redy in the strete abydyng for them; so there came x., than xx.; and ever as they came they fell in aray in the strete. And whan they were assembled to the nombre of four hundred,

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than John Lyon departed as fyrse as a lyon, and sayd, Let us go on these traytours that wyll betray the good towne of Gaunt; I thought well that all the swete wordes that Gylbert Mahewe brought us the last daye fro the erle, was but disceyte and distructyon for us, but I shall make them repent it. Than he and his company went a great pase, and alweys his nombre encreased, for there were dyvers that fell to his company that hadde no whyte hattes, but they cryed Treason, Treason, and came about by a strayt lane into the market place, where as the bayly was representing the erles parson. And assoone as Gylbert Mahewe, and his bretherne, sawe Johan Lyon come into the place, they fledde away as fast as they myght, and so dyd all other, except suche as the bayly brought with him. As soone as John Lyon was come into the place, the capytayne of the whyte hattes, with a great company with hym, came to the bayly, and without any worde spekyng, they toke and cast him to the erthe, and slewe him there; and than the erles baner was cast downe to the grounde, and torne all to peaces, and they touched no man there but the bayly; and than they came all aboute John Lyon. And whan the erles men sawe the bayly deed, and the erles baner all to torne, they were greatly abasshed, and so toke their horses and voyded out of the towne.

Ye maye well knowe that Gylbert Mahewe, and his bretherne, who were enemyes to John Lyon, wer nat well assured of themselfe in their owne houses, wherfore they departed as fast as they myght, and voyded the towne one after another, and left behynde them wyfes, chyldren, and herytages, and went assoone as they myght to the erle, and shewed hym howe his bayly was slayne. Of the whiche tidynges therle was sore displeased, and gode cause why, for they had done hym great dispyte, and sayde and sware, howe it shulde be greatly recompensed, or ever that he returned agayn into Gaunt, and that they shulde never have peace with him, in ensample to all other townes. So Gylbert Mahewe, and his bretherne, abode styll with the erle; and Johan Lyon, and the whyte hattes persevered styll in their outrage. Whan Roger Dauterve was thus slayne, and all other departed, and that none apered before the whyte hattes to be revenged, than Johan Lyon, who entented to overryn the maryners, bicause he loved them nat, sayd, Sirs, on afore to these false traytours, the Mahewes, that wolde this daye distroy the fraunchesse of the towne of Gaunt. And so they ran alonge the stretes to their houses, but they founde no body there, for they were departed. Then they were sought for in lodgynges, strete by strete, and chambre by chambre; and whan Johan Lyon harde howe none of them coulde be founde, he was sore displeased. Than he gave all their goodes to his company, and so all their houses were pilled and robbed, so that nothynge was left, as though they had ben false traytours to the towne: and whan they had done, they returned into their owne howses. And after that there was no officerr of the erles, nother within the towne nor without, that ones sayd to them they had done yvell, and as at that tyme they durst nat, for the whyte hattes were so multiplyed, that none durste displease them; they went in the stretes by great companyes, but there were none that wolde mete with them. It was sayd in dyvers places in the towne, and without also, howe they had some supportacyon of some officers and riche men in Gaunt, the whiche was lykely to be so, for who durst begyn suche a ryot, as to enterprise to sle the erles bayly, holdynge the erles baner in his handes, doyng his office, without some bolsterer or comforter in their dede. And after that they multyplyed, and were so strong in the towne that they cared for no maner of ayde, but of themself: ther were none that durst displease them, or withsay any thyng that they wolde do. This bayly, Roger Dauterve, was taken by the freers and so buryed in their churche.

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Howe the whyte hattes slewe the bayly in the market place.

Whan this thynge was thus fortuned, dyvers good men, sage and ryche, of the towne of Gaunt, were right sory, and began to speke and murmure, and sayd ech to other, howe they had done a great outrage, in sleyng thus therles bayly, in doyng of his offyce, and how of right their lorde therle must nede be displeased with them, and by all likelyhode never to have rest nor pease with him, and howe that these ungracyous people had brought all the towne in parell to be dystroyed, withoute God fynde some remedy. Howebeit, for all these wordes, there were none that durst fynde

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the meanes to correct or to amende them, that had done this outrage. Johan de la Faucell, who as than was in Gaunt, a man right sage and greatly renomed, sawe howe the mater was gone so farre, and sawe howe outragiously they had slayne the bayly, he thought the mater shulde be yvell at length; and for the entent he shulde nat be suspect with the erle, nor with the towne, he departed fro the towne as prively as he might, and wente to a fayre house that he had without Gaunt, and there abode, and fayned hymselfe sicke, so that none spake with hym but his owne men. And dayly he herde tidynges out of Gaunt, for he had left behynde hym the moost parte of his goodes, and his wyfe and his chyldren, styll in the towne. Thus he dissymuled for a season.

CAP. CCCLI

Howe xii. burgesses of Gaunt were sent to the erle of Flaunders, and how in the meane season the white hattes pylled and brente the fayre castell of Andrehen.

THE gode men in Gaunt, and riche and notable marchantes, who hadde within the towne their wyves, chyldren, and marchandyse, and their heritages, bothe within the towne and without, and had to lyve by, right honourably without dangere, they were nat well at ther ease in their hertes to se the besynesse in Gaunt. They knewe well they hadde sore forfayted agaynst the erle their lorde, and thought well howe he wolde provyde therin some remedy, and that they shulde be fayne to make amendes of their trespasses nowe, or els another tyme, and they to put themselfe in the erles mercy, wherfore they thought it better to do it betymes, rather than to late. Than they toke counsayle togyder, to se howe they might use themselfe, to the profyte and honoure bothe of them and of the towne. To this counsayle was called Johan Lyon, and the capitayns of the whyte hattes, or elles they durst nat have done it; there were many wordes, and dyvers purposes devysed; finally, they were all of one acorde, that they of the coun-

Howe xii. burgesses of Gaunt were sent to the erle of Flaunders.

sayle shulde chose xii. notable persons, and sende them to the erle, requyringe hym of mercy, for the dethe of his bayly, whome they had slayne, and so by that meanes if they might have peace, they wolde be gladde, so that all myght be comprised in the peace, and nothynge els demaunded of the erles parte. Than these burgesses were chosen that shulde go on this viage, and alwayes Johan Lyon sayd, It is good to be in favour with our lorde and prince. Howbeit, he wolde the contrary, and thought and sayde to himselfe, that the mater was nat yet there, as he wolde bring it unto. So these burgesses departed, and went to Male, besyde Bruges, to the erle, who at their first comyng made a cruell and a fell countenance agaynst them of Gaunt. These xii. burgesses made a pytefull complaynt before the erle, and requyred hym, holdyng up of all their handes, that he wolde have mercy on theym, and excused themselfe of the dethe of the bayly, both them of the lawe, and the notable persons of the towne, and sayd, Right dere sir, acorde so to us, that we maye bringe peace with us to the towne of Gaunt, the whiche loveth you so well; and sir, we promyse you, that in tyme to come, this outrage shal be so greatly recompensed on them that hath done it, and caused it to be done, so that ye shall be content, and that it shall be to all other townes ensample. These xii. burgesses made so humble requestes, that the erle somwhat refrayned his yre, and by meanes of other that was made to hym, that he acorded and ordayned artycles of the peace. And therle pardoned all his yvell wyll that he had agaynst them of Gaunt, by the amendes that shulde be made; but than there came to them other newe tidynges, as I shall shewe you here after.

Johan Lyon, who was at Gaunt, thought all contrary to that he had sayde in the counsayle, howe that it was good to be in favoure with their lorde: he knewe in certaynte that he hadde so moche trespassed agaynst the erle, that his peace shulde never be made with him, and if he had any peace graunted him, he thought it shulde be but dissymulacyon, and that it shulde cost him his lyfe at laste. So therfore he thought he hadde rather to be shamed, than to be in parell and in adventure of his lyfe every day. I shall

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shewe you what he dyde. Whyle the counsayle of the towne were with therle for peace, he assembled togyder all the whyte hattes, and of all the craftes in Gaunte, suche as were of his accorde, and so came to his purpose by a subtell meanes, and than sayd to them all, Sirs, ye know well how we have displeased our lorde therle of Flaunders, and howe we have sent unto hym: we knowe nat as yet what reporte they wyll bring, outher peace or warr, for the erle is nat easy to be apeased, for he hath about him suche as wyll rather styrre hym to displeasure, than to quyetnesse, as Gylbert Mahewe, and his brethern: ther is a hundred hyndrers of the peace, rather than one forderer; therfore it were good that we toke good hede to our selfe, if we have warre, to knowe who shall ayde us, and howe we shall get us love among you rulers, of suche a crafte, and suche a craft. Cause to morowe to come into the feldes as many men as ye can get, and ther we shall se howe able every man is, and howe they be furnysshed; it is better to be advysed betyme than to late: this shall coste us nothynge, and yet we shall be the more feared and drad. They all answered, and sayd, It is well devysed, so let it be done. The next day they went out all at Bruges gate, and so went into the feldes, in a fayre playne, without Gaunt, called Andrehen.[1] Than Johan Lyon behelde them gladly, for they were a x. thousande, and all well armed: than he sayd, Beholde here is a goodly company. And whan he had ben there a certayne space, and hadde gone all aboute them, than he sayd, Sirs, I counsayle let us go to the erles place here by, syth we be so nere it, for it is shewed me howe he maketh there great provisyon: it may fortune to be great prejudice to oure towne of Gaunt. They all agreed therto, and so came to Andrehen, the whiche was as than without any great kepynge or defence: so they entred and sought all about the house, and anone this ungracious company pylled and robbed it of all that ever they founde there; there was within it moche ryches, for the erle had made there his warderobe. Johan Lyon made semblant, as thoughe he had bene sore displeased; howebeit, that was nat so, as it apered. For whan they were departed fro the castell, and come agayne into the felde, they loked behynde them, and sawe all the place a fyre, and that the fyre was

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[1] *Wondelghem.*

CAP. CCCLI
Howe xii. burgesses of Gaunt were sent to the erle of Flaunders.

more than in xx. places in the castell, so that it was nat in the peoples puyssance to quenche it, nor also they had no great wyll to do it. Than Johan Lyon, as though he had great mervayle, sayd, Howe cometh yonder fyre in my lordes howse? And some answered, and sayd, We can nat tell, but by adventure. Well, quoth he, we can nat than amende it, it is better that it be brent by adventure, rather than by us; and also all thynges considered, it was a perylous neighbour to us, for my lorde might ther a set suche a garyson, that might have done us great domage, if we shulde have warr with him. They all answered, and sayd, Ye say trouthe; and so retourned into the towne of Gaunt, and dyde no more that day, for they had done yvell inough and to moche, for it cost after mo than two hundred thousande mennes lyves; and it was one of the princypall thynges wherwith the erle was moost displeased; and therfore Johan Lyon dyd it, bycause he wolde have no peace, for he knewe well, what soever treatie were made, he was likely to lese his life. This castell of Andrehen hadde cost the erle of Flaunders the bylding therof two hundred thousande frankes, and he loved it best of all the houses he had. The good men of Gaunt, who desyred to have had peace, was of this adventure right soroufull; howbeit, they coude nat amende it, nor they durst make no wordes therof; for the whyte hattes sayde, howe the castell was brent by unhappe, and none otherwyse.

These tidynges came to the erle of Flaunders, who was atte Male, and he that brought him worde, sayd, Sir, knowe for trouthe, your fayre house of Andrehen, the whiche hath cost you so moch, and that ye so well loved, is brent. Brent, quoth the erle. Ye surely sir, quod he. And howe so, quoth the erle? Sir, by unhappe, as it is sayde. A, quoth the erle, that dede shall never have peace in Flaunders, as long as Johan Lyon lyveth; he hath covertly made it to be sette a fyre, but it shall be derely bought. Than he made the burgesses of Gaunte to come before hym, and sayde to them, A, ye yvell and unhappy people, ye pray me with swerde in the hande; I have graunted to you all your requestes, as ye wyll your selfe, and now your folkes have brent my house, the whiche I loved among all other; thynke

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Howe xii. burgesses of Gaunt were sent to the erle of Flaunders.

they nat, that they have done me dyspyte ynoughe, in sleynge my bayly for doynge his offyce, and to teare there my baner, and to treade it under their fete; knowe for trouthe, savynge myne honoure, and that I have gyven you save conduct, I shulde cause all your heedes to be stryken of; departe out of my presence, and say to yonder unhappy people of Gaunte, that they shall never have peace nor treatie with me, tyll I have of theym whome I wyll, to stryke of their heedes, and none shall have mercy. The burgesses, who were full sorie of these tidynges, bycause they were natte culpable of that dede, they began to excuse them; but there was none excuse wolde serve, for the erle was so sore displeased, that he wolde nat here them speke, and so made them to avoyde his presence. And they toke their horses to returne to Gaunt, and shewed howe well they had spedde, and had great peace and apoyntment, and this castell had nat bene brent; and also they shewed howe the erle gretly manasshed them, and send them worde howe they shulde never have peace with hym, tyll he had as many of the towne at his pleasur, as he lyst to have. The good people of the towne sawe well, howe the mater went but yvell for them, and howe the whyte hattes had caused all: but there was none so hardy that durst speke it.

Therle of Flaunders went fro Male to Lyle, and all his housholde, and than he sente for all his lordes and knyghtes of Flaunders, suche as helde of hym, to have their counsayle, howe he myght do in all his besynesses, and howe to be revenged of them of Gaunte, who hadde done him so many dispyghtes. All the gentylmen of Flaunders sware to hym to be good and true, as they ought to be to their lorde, without any meane, wherfore therle was greatly rejoysed. Than he sent men to all his castelles, to Teremont, Rypemont,[1] Aloes,[2] Gavres, Andwarpe,[3] and all about he made great provision.

[1] *Rupelmonde.*
[2] *Alost.*
[3] *Audenarde.*

CAP. CCCLII

Of the deth of Johan Lyon, and of other capitaynes, that the Gauntoyse made; and of the good townes in Flaunders, that alyed themselfe to Gaunt.

JOHN LYON was greatly rejoysed, whan he saw that therle of Flaunders wolde take no peace with them of Gaunte, seyng he coude come to no peace. And he hadde than put the towne of Gaunt so forewarde in warre, that they must nedes than, whether they wolde or nat, contynue the warre. Than he sayd openly, Sirs, ye may se and understande, howe our lorde the erle of Flaunders provydeth himselfe agaynst us, and wyll have no peace with us: therfore I counsayle you for the best, that or we be more greved or opressed, let us knowe what townes in Flaunders wyll take our parte: I dare answere for theym of the towne of Grauntmont,[1] that they wyll nat be agaynst us, but take our parte; and in lykewyse so wyll they of Courtray, for they be within our fraunchesse, and Courtraye is oure chambre; but beholde here them of Bruges, who be great and prowde, for by them all this mater was fyrst moved; it is good that we go to them so strong, that other by fayrenesse or by rygour, we may bring them to our acorde. They all sayd, It were good it were so. Than by processe of tyme, all suche as shulde go in this journey were made redy, and so departed fro Gawnte aboute a ix. or x. thousande men, and had with them great caryages, and so laye the fyrst nyght at Donse,[2] and the next mornyng they aproched Bruges, and so came within a lytell leage therof; than they araynged themselfe in the feldes, and set themselfe in ordre of batayll, and their caryages behynde them. Than Johan Lyon ordayned, that a certayne of the rulers of dyvers craftes shulde go to Bruges, and to knowe their ententes. And so they went to Bruges and founde the gates fast shytte and well kept, and there they shewed thentent wherfore they were come thyder. The kepers sayd, they wolde go gladly and shewe their myndes to the borough maisters and chefe rulers of their

[1] *Grammont.*

[2] *Deynze.*

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towne, and so they dyd. Than the rulers answered, Go and shewe theym howe we wyll go to counsayle, and take advyse in this mater; so they returned and shewed their answere. And whan Johan Lyon harde that answere, he sayd, Avaunce forewarde to Bruges, if we abyde tyll they take counsayll, we shall nat entre but with moche payne: it is better that we assayle them or they take counsayll, wherby they shall be sodenly taken. This purpose was kept; and so the Gauntoyse came to the barryers and dykes of Bruges, Johan Lyon with the formast, mounted on a blacke courser, and incontynent he alyghted, and toke an axe in his hande; and whan they that kept the barryers, who were nat stronge inough to make defence, sawe the Gauntoyse aproche redy to gyve assaut, they went into the stretes of the towne, and into the market place, and cryed ever as they went, Beholde here the Gauntoyse redy at the gate: go to youre defence, for they arre redy to the assaute. Than they of the towne, who were assembled togyder to have gone to counsayll, were ryght sore abasshed, and had no leysar to speke togyder, to ordayn for their besynesse, and the most part of the comynaltie wolde that the gates shulde have ben opened, and it behoved so to be, or els it had ben yvell with the ryche men. Than the borough maysters and rulers of the towne, with other, went to the gate, where as the Gauntoys were redy apperelled to make assaut. The borough maysters and rulers of Bruges, who had the governynge of the towne for that day, opened the wycket to speke with Johan Lyon, and so opened the barryers and the gate to treat; and so long they spake togyder, that they were good frendes, and so entred in all toguyder. And Johan Lyon rode by the borough mayster, the whiche became hym well; he was hardye and couragyous, and all his men clene armed folowed hym. It was a fayre sight to se them entre in good ordre, and so came to the market place, and there he araynged his men in the stretes. And Johan Lyon helde in his hande a whyte warderere.

So bytwene them of Gaunt, and of Bruges, ther was made an alyance, and sworn alwayes to be good frendes togyder, and that they of Gaunt myght somon them, and lede them whyder so ever they wolde. And annone, after that the

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Of the deth of Johan Lyon.

Gauntoyse were araynged about the market place, John Lyon, and certayne capitayns with him, went up into the hall, and ther made a crye, for the good towne of Gaunt, commaundynge that every man shulde drawe to his lodgyng fayre and easely, and unarme them, without noyse or movyng, on payne of their heedes, and that no man dislodge other, nor make no noyse in their lodging, wherby any strife shulde ryse, on the same payne; and also that no man take any thynge fro another, without he paye therfore incontynent, on the sayd payne. This crye ones made, than there was another crye made for the towne of Bruges, that every man shulde mekely and agreable receyve the Gauntoyse into their houses, and to mynyster to them vytaylles, acordynge to the comen price of the towne, and that the pryce shulde nat be reysed in no maner of thyng, nor no noyse to be made or debate moved, and all these thynges to be kept on payne of their heedes. Than every man went to their houses: and soo thus ryght amyably they of Gaunt were with them of Bruges two dayes, and there they alyed and bounde themselfe eche to other surely. These oblygacyons were writen and sealed; and on the thirde day, they of Gaunt departed, and went to the towne of Dan,[1] where the gates were set open against their comyng, and there they were curtesly receyved, and taryed there two dayes. Than sodenly a seknesse toke John Lyon, wherwith he swelled; and the same nyght that the syknes toke hym, he supped with great revyll, with the damosels of the towne. Wherfore some sayde, he was ther poysoned, wherof I knowe nothyng, nor I wyll nat speke to far therin; but I knowe well, the next day that he fell sycke, at nyght he was layed in a lytter, and caried to Ardenburg: he coude go no farther, but ther dyed; wherof they of Gaunte were ryght sorie, and sore dismayed.

Of the dethe of Johan Lyon, all his enemyes were ryght gladde, and his frendes sory, and so he was brought to Gaunt, and bycause of his dethe all the hoost returned. Whan the tidynges of his dethe came to Gaunt, all the people were right sory, for he was well beloved, except of suche as were of the erles parte. All the clergy came agaynste him, and so brought him into the towne with great

[1] *Damme.*

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Of the deth of Johan Lyon.

solempnyte, as though it had bene the erle of Flaunders; and so he was buryed right honorably in the churche of saynt Nycholas, and there his obsequy was done. Yet for all the deth of this Johan Lyon, the alyances and promyses made bytwene them of Gaunt and of Bruges brake nat, for there were good hostages in the towne, wherfore it helde. Of the dethe of this John Lyon, the erle was ryght glad, and so was Gylbert Mahewe, and his bretherne, and the rulers of the meane craftes in Gaunt, and all suche as were of the erles parte. Than the erle made sorer provysion than he dyde before, in all his castelles and townes; and he sent to the towne of Ipre a great nombre of knightes and squiers, out of the lyberties of Lysle and Doway, and sayd, howe he wolde have reason of Gaunt. And anone, after the dethe of Johan Lyon, all they of Gaunte advysed, howe they coulde nat be longe without capitayns. Than they ordayned of the aldarmen of the craftes, and of the Synkquateners of the portes, four of them, acordyng to their advyse, moost hardy and cruell persons of all other. Fyrst they chase Johan Prunaux, Johan Boulle,[1] Rase de Harsall,[2] and Peter du Boys. And all the other people sware to mayntayne and obey them, as their capitayns, on payne of their heedes that dyde the contrary: and the capitayns sware agayne to kepe and maynteyne the honour and faunchesses of the towne. These foure capytayns styrred them of Gaunt, to go to Ypre, and to Franke,[3] to have obeysance of them, or els to slee them all. So these capitayns and their people departed fro Gaunt, in good array: they were a xii. thousande clene armed, and so came to Courtrey. They of Courtray suffred them to entre into their towne without daunger, for it parteyned to the fraunches of Gaunt, and there toke their ease two dayes; and the thirde day departed and went to Ipre, and toke with them two hundred men of armes, with the crosbowes of Courtray, and so toke the way to Tourout. And whan they came there, they rested and tooke counsayle, and advysed to send thyder a thre or foure thousand of their men, and the capitayne of the whyte hattes with them, to treat with them of Ipre, and the great batayle to folowe after to confort them, if nede requyred. As it was ordayned, so it was done, and so came to Ypre. And whan they of

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[1] *Boele.*

[2] *Herzeele.*

[3] *Franc de Bruges.*

CAP. CCCLII
Of the deth of Johan Lyon.

Iperre, and specyally they of the meane craftes, knewe the comynge of them of Gaunt, they armed them, and toke the market place, and they were a fyve thousande. So ther the ryche men of the towne had no puyssance. The knyghtes that were there in garyson, set by the erle, went ordynatly to the gate of Tourout, where as the Gauntoyse were without, desirynge to have fre entre. The knyghtes and squires were redy raynged before the gate, and shewed good defence; nor in dede the Gauntoyse had never entred without great domage, but that the auncyent craftes of the towne, agaynst the knyghtes wyll, wolde that the Gauntoyse shulde entre. The men of the towne went out of the market place, and so came to the gate, the whiche the knyghtes kept, and sayd, Sirs, open the gate, let our frendes and neyghbours of Gaunt entre, we wyll they shall entre into our towne. The knightes answered, that they shulde nat entre, and said, howe they were stablisshed there by the erle of Flaunders to kepe the towne, the whiche they wolde do to the best of their powers, sayng, howe it lay nat in the puissance of Gaunt to entre there. In so moche that wordes multiplyed in suche wise, bytwene the gentylmen and them of the towne, that at last they cryed, Sle, and beate downe them, they shall nat be maysters of oure towne. There was a sore scrimysshe, and long endured in the stretes; the knyghtes were nat of sufficyent force to resyst agaynste them of the towne, so that there were fyve knyghtes slayne, wherof two were sir Robert,[1] and sir Thomas Hundrey,[2] the which was great domage. And there was in great daunger sir Henry Dantoynge: with moche payne, some of the ryche men of the towne saved hym, and dyvers other; but the gate was sette open and the Gauntoise entred, and were lordes and maisters of the towne, without domage of any hurt. And whan they had ben there two dayes, and taken surety of them of the towne, who sware in lyke maner and forme as they of Bruges, of Courtray, of Grantmont, and of Danne had done, and delyvered hostages for the same entent, than they departed right courtesly, and so went agayne to Gaunt.

[1] *le sire de Roubaix.*

[2] *Hovard de la Hovarderie.*

CAP. CCCLIII

Howe the Gauntoyse besieged the towne of Andwarpe,[1] and of the gret assaut they made at Teremond, where as the erle lay.

THE erle of Flaunders, who lay at Lyle, understode howe they of Ipre were turned to the Gauntoyse parte, and that by the meanes of them of the meane craftes in the towne, he was sore displeased, as well for the dethe of his knightes that were slayne in the towne, as for other causes. Howebeit, he sayd, well, if we have lost Ipre at this tyme, we shall recover it agayne another tyme to their myschiefe, for I shall stryke of so many of their heedes, that all other shall beware therby, and be abasshed. The erle specyally entended to provyde for the towne of Andwarpe, both with provision and good men of armes, for he supposed that the Gauntoyse wolde come thyder and lay siege therto, for he thought it shulde be to him a great domage, if they were lordes of that towne, for therby they shulde have the good ryver of Lescault,[2] and the flete therof, at their pleasure. Therfore therle set thyder a great nombre of knightes and squiers, of Flaunders, of Heynalt, and of Arthoyse, and so they were maysters there, whyder they of the towne wolde or nat. The capitayns of Gaunt, who were returned fro Ipre into their towne agayn, herde howe therle made great provision for the towne of Andwarpe. Than they determyned to goo and lay siege therto, and nat to departe thens, tyll they had it, and slayn all them within, and beaten downe the gates and walles therof: so they made a commaundement in Gaunt, that every man shulde be redy apparelled to go thyder, as their capytayns wolde lede them. To whiche crye there was non wolde disobey, and so charged tentes, pavilyons, and other provisions, and departed fro Gaunt, and came and loged before Andwarpe, in the fayre medowes a long by the ryver of Lescalte. And thre dayes after, came they of Bruges, and lodged on the syde next their owne towne, and they brought with them great provisyons. Than came they of Ipre in great array, and they of Propringe, of

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[1] *Audenarde.*

[2] *Schelde.*

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Howe the Gauntoyse besieged the towne of Andwarpe.

Messines, and also of Grantmont. The Flemynges there before Andwarpe were in nombre mo than a hundred thousande, and hadde made brydges of shyppes nayled toguyder on the ryver of Lescalte, to go one to another. The erle of Flaunders beynge at Lysle, was in purpose to go to Teremont, for he hadde sent into Almayne, to Guerles, and into Brabant, for a great nombre of knyghtes and squiers, and specially to the duke of Mons his cosyn, who came to serve him, with a great nombre of knyghtes and squiers, and went into Teremont, where he founde the erle of Flaunders, who was come thyder by the fronters of Haynalt and Brabant, who were ryght joyfull of his comynge.

Thus the siege contynewed before Andwarpe, with many great assautes made by the Flemynges, and scrimysshes nyghe every daye, and manlye dedes of armes doone at the barryers, and men slayne and hurt; for the Flemynges adventured themselfe often tymes folisshely, so that often tymes by their pride they were slayne and hurte. Within the towne ther were an viii. C. speares of knyghtes and squiers, right valiant men, and also vii. barons, as the lorde of Guystels,[1] the lorde Villers, the lorde Hullut,[2] the lorde Scornayse,[3] Flemynges; and Henowayes, the lorde Danghen,[4] the lorde Dantoing, the lorde Bosnell, the lorde of Taux,[5] the lorde of Gomegines, and the[6] thre bretherne sir Johan, sir Dannyell, and sir Josse,[7] the lorde of Stanburge,[8] the lorde Carue,[9] sir Gerrarde of Marquelles, the lorde of Cohen, sir Rase Monteney, sir Henry[10] of Hamede, sir Johan of Gres, and so many knightes, that they were a hundred and fyve. And they made good watche, and hadde no trust on them of the towne, and caused them to have their wyfes and chyldren into the mynsters and churches, and the burgesses to kepe their owne houses, for feare of the gonnes and fyre, the whiche the Flemynges cast often tymes into the towne, to have set the towne afyre; wherfore they within caused the howses to be covered with erthe, to the entent that the fyre shulde do no hurte.

This siege thus beynge before Andewarpe, the Flemynges and capitayns that were there had knowledge howe their lorde the erle was at Teremonde, and the duke of Mons his cosyn with hym. Than the Gauntoyse sent a sixe thousand

[1] *Ghistelles.*

[2] *le signeur de Villers et de Hulluc.*

[3] *Escornay.*

[4] *Enghien.*

[5] *Lens.*

[6] *his* P.

[7] *d'Halewyn.*

[8] *Estainbourg.*

[9] *Crane.*

[10] *Thierry.*

Howe the Gauntoyse besieged the towne of Andwarpe.

of their men to go thyder, and to gyve assaut to Teremonde; and Rase of Harsell was their capitayne. And so they came on a Tuesdaye at nyght to a lytell village a leage fro Teremond, by the ryver of Ture,[1] and there they lodged. The Flemynges had ordayned a certayne nombre of shyppes to come downe the ryver, and so to assayle it by water as well as by lande. And anone after mydnyght they armed, and made them redy to fyght incontynent, whan they were ones come to Teremonde, and so thought to take the lordes in their beddes, and so they went forthe. But some men of the countre that were advertysed howe the Flemynges were goynge by night to Teremond, they went and gave warnyng to the wachemen of Teremonde, saynge, Sirs, take good hede, for certayne Gauntoyse lyeth this nyght nat farre hens; we cannat tell what they purpose to doo. Than the kepars of the gate went and shewed this to the knyght of the wach, called sir Terrey of Bredoro,[2] a Holandre. Whan he knewe therof, he toke the better hede, and made the surer watche, and gave warnyng therof to them of the castell, and to every house in the towne wher as the knightes were lodged. And at the poynt of the dayelyght the Flemynges came bothe by lande and by water, and were redy to the assaute. And whan they of the towne and castell sawe them aproche, than they began to sownde their trompettes to awake all their company, and so there were the moost parte of all the knyghtes and squiers redy armed. And the erle, who lay and slept in the castell, whan he understode that the Flemynges were come thyder to gyve hym assaut, he rose and armed him, and issued out of the castell with his baner before him: the same tyme ther was with him sir Gossvyn of Urle,[3] great bayly of Flaunders, and the lorde of Gau,[4] sir Gerard of Rasenghen,[5] sir Philyp of Mamynes, and dyvers other, as sir Philyp of Rungi, Burgonyon. All these lordes drewe under the erles baner, and went to the assaut, whiche was than begone ryght ferse and cruell, for the Flemynges had brought with them in their shyppes gonnes and crosbowes, wherewith they shote so great quarelles, that whosoever they hyt he dyed of the stroke; but agaynst the shot of quarelles they within had a great nombre of pavesses, and also the erle had within many good

[1] *Dendre.*

[2] *Brederode.*

[3] *De Wilde.*

[4] *Gruthuse.*

[5] *Rasseghem.*

crosbowes, the whiche dyde moche hurt amonge the Flemynges. The duke of Mons was there with his baner before hym, and in his company there was the lorde of Bredoro, sir Josse and sir Terey de la Ware,[1] sir Wyvant of Chuperoyse,[2] and dyvers other, every man doynge ryght well their devoyre: and at another gate within there was sir Robert Dalle,[3] sir Johan Villayne, and the lorde of Wyndscot,[4] with sir Robert Marshall.[5] This was a sore assaute, bothe by lande and by water; the Flemynges had many hurte, and so ther were of bothe partes; howebeit, moost of the Flemynges, for they adventured themselfe somtyme folisshly. This assaut endured without cease fro the mornyng erly tyll it was none, and there was slayn a knyght of the erles parte, called sir Hugh de Rony,[6] a Burgonyon, which was great domage and sore complayned, for by his hardynesse he was slayne. Without there was Rase of Harsell, who dyde beare hymselfe right valiantly, with his wordes as well as with his dedes, whiche greatly encoraged the Gauntoyse.

Howe the Gauntoyse besieged the towne of Andwarpe.

CAP. CCCLIIII

Of the assautes made before Andwarpe,[7] and of the peace that was made bytwene the Flemynges and therle of Flanders, by the means of the duke of Burgoyne, by his great wyt and advyse.

THAN at afternoon the assawte seased, for Rase of Harsell sawe well how they traveyled in vayne, and howe that within Teremond there were many good and valyant men of armes, wherby he parceyved it was nat easy to get them, and also his men began to be wery. Than he sowned the retrayte, and withdrewe along the ryver fayre and easly, and toke agayne their navy, and the next day went agayne to Andwarpe. The siege lay long styll there, and the Flemynges that were there were lordes of the feldes and of the ryver, so that no provisyon coude entre into the towne without great parell of the syde towarde Heynaulte; howebeit, somtyme vitaylers wolde adventure themselfe for wynnyng, whan the hoost was

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[1] *d'Halewyn.*

[2] *Clinperoie.*

[3] *Asshe.*

[4] *Widescot.*

[5] *Le Marescal.*

[6] *Rigny.*

[7] *Audenarde.*

Of the assautes made before Andwarpe.

aslepe to put themselfe within the bailes of Andwarpe, and so had into the towne. And amonge the assautes that were made, there was one that endured a hole day, and there were made dyvers newe knyghtes within the towne, of Heynalt, of Flaunders, and of Artoyse; and so the newe knyghtes came and fought with the Gauntoyse at the barryers. There was a good scrimysshe, and many a feate of armes doone, and dyvers Flemynges slayne and hurte, but they made lytell therof, for lytell they feared the dethe, wherby they adventured themselfe the more largely, for whan they that were before were slayne and hurte, they that folowed wolde pull them backe, and sette themselfe before and shewed hardy visage. Thus contynued that assaut, whiche endured tyll it was nere nyght. Than they of Andwarpe retourned into their towne, and closed their gates and barryers, and than buryed them that were dedde, and dressed busely them that were hurte.

The Flemynges that lay thus at siege before Andwarpe trusted by their sege to conquere the towne and them that were within by famyne or assaut: for they knewe well their siege lay so rounde about that nothynge coude come into the towne, nother by lande nor water; and the longe lyeng there coulde nat greve them moche, bycause they were in their owne countrey, and nere to their owne houses, wherfore they lacked nothyng that was nedefull for them, for they hadde vitayle and every thynge there largely, and at a better price than they shuld have had outher in Bruges or in Gaunt. The erle of Flaunders, who sawe well that there was in the towne a great nombre of knyghtes and squiers, douted greatly of one poynt, and that was, lest by long sege they shulde be famysshed within; wherfore he wolde gladly that ther had ben some honourable treaty for him, for in dede the warre thus with his men greved him greatly, it was never with his good wyll. And also the lady hys mother, Margarete, countesse of Arthoyse, was ryght sory to se it, and blamed the erle therfore, and toke moche payne to appease it. This countesse lay in the cytie of Arras: than she wrote all the mater to the duke of Burgoyne, to whome the herytage of Flaunders shulde fall after the dethe of therle, by reason of the lady Margaret his wyfe. The

CAP. CCCLIIII

Of the assautes made before Andwarpe.

duke, who was well informed of all the mater, for every daye he harde tidynges, he went to Arras and his counsayle with hym, as sir Guy de la Tremoyll, sir John of Vyen, admyral of France, sir Guy of Pountayllers, and dyvers other. The countesse of Artoyse was glad to se them, and shewed the duke right sagely all the warr bytwene the erle of Flaunders her sonne and his countrey, sayeng, howe it greatly displeased her, and ought to displease every reasonable man; and howe that a great nombre of honourable men were within the towne of Andwarpe in great parell; desiryng therfore the duke for Goddessake to fynde some remedy. The duke aunswered and sayd, he was bounde so to do, and howe that he wolde do the beste of his power. Than anone after the duke departed fro Arras, and went to Tournay, where he was receyved with great joye, for they of Turnay desyred greatly to have peace, bycause of their marchandise to and fro on the ryver of Lescalt, the whiche was as than closed fro them. The duke of Burgoyne sent the abbot of saynt Martens to the hoost before Andwarpe, to knowe if the capitayns of Gaunte wolde fall to any treaty. The abbot brought worde agayne to the duke of Burgoyn, that for his love they wolde be content; and so the duke gave salve conduct to them to the bridge of Roone,[1] and the Flemynges in likewyse to him. This treatie endured fro the mornynge tyll nyght, for the duke came to the bridge of Rone to speke with the Flemynges: than the duke retourned to Tournay, and the erle in his company, who went in and out with hym. This treatye endured xv. dayes, for it was harde to fynde meanes of peace, bycause the Flemynges wolde have had Andwarpe, to the entent to have had it beaten downe, but the duke and his counsayle wolde in no wyse consent therto. The Flemynges, who were great, fierse and orgulous, and set nothyng by peace, for they reputed Andwarpe, and all tho within in a maner yelded, nor they coulde nat go out without their daunger; and the duke of Burgoyne, who sawe the Flemynges so proude and so harde to fall to any treatie, hadde great marvayle what they ment therby. And on a day he gate a saveconduct for his marshall to go into the towne, to speke with the knyghtes there. So the marshall of Burgoyne went to

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[1] *Rosne.*

CAP. CCCLIIII

Of the assautes made before Andwarpe.

Andwarpe, and founde there the company in good poynt; howebeit they had great nede of somethynges, yet they spake valiantly and sayd, Say for us to the duke of Burgoyne, that lette him make none evyll bargayn for feare of us, for thanked be God we are in good poynt, and have no feare of our enemyes. This aunswere pleased greatlye the duke of Burgoyne, who was styll at the bridge of Rone; howebeit, for all that he lefte nat his pursute for peace. To say trouthe, they of Bruges and of Ipre with them of Franke were wery and sore anoyed, for they sawe well the wynter aproched; so they shewed their myndes in counsayle, and sayd, howe the duke of Burgoyne hadde taken great laboure, and is come hyder to us, and hath offered us that all thynges shulde be pardoned, and the erle our lorde to returne to Gaunt, and to abyde ther with us, and never to make semblant of any thyng past: these thinges ought to enclyne us to peace, and truely we ought to knowe our lorde, and nat to take fro him his herytage. These wordes apeased moche them of Gaunte, and accorded to their sayeng. And on a daye the duke of Burgoyne gave a dyner to them of Gaunt, of Bruges, of Ipre, and of Courtray, and the same day it was concluded that the siege shulde be reysed and good peace to be in Flaunders bytwene the erle and his men; and the erle to pardon every thynge, and nothynge to reserve without any excepcyon or dissymulacion, and the erle to come and dwell in Gaunt; and within a yere they of Gaunt to make agayne the castell of Dandrehen, the whiche the Gauntoyse hadde brente, as the noyse ranne. And for the sure confyrmacyon of all these thynges, Johan Pruniaux shulde go to Courtray with the duke, and there charters of the peas shulde be made and sealed. And so on this clause the duke retourned to Tournay, and Johan Pruniaux and Johan Boulle abode styll in the hoost. The next day the peace was cryed bytwene bothe partyes, and so the siege brake up, and every man went home too their owne howses, and the erle gave lycence to all his sowdyers to departe, and thanked the strangers of the good servyce that they had done to him; and so than he went to Lysle, ther to finysshe up the alyances that his brother of Burgoyne hadde made. And some of the countreys therabout sayd,

CAP. CCCLIIII

Of the assautes made before Andwarpe.

that this was a peas with two vysages, sayeng howe they wolde rebell agayn shortely, and that the erle of his parte was agreed to the peace but to the entent to have out of danger the noble knightes and squiers that were in Andwarpe in great parell.

Johan Pruniaux, after the departynge fro the siege of Andwarpe, he went to Tournay, and ther the duke of Burgoyn made him good chere, and there was made parfyt all the ordynaunce of the peace, and the duke of Burgoyne and the erle of Flaunders sealed therto; and than Johan Pruniaux returned to Gaunt and shewed howe he had spedde. The duke of Burgoyne had so sore desyred them of Gaunt, and shewed so swete wordes to them, that they were content to kepe the peace ferme and stable bytwene them and Andwarpe; for at the reysyng of the sege the Gauntoyse wolde have had two gates of the towne beaten downe, and the walles bytwene, bycause it shulde alwayes be open for them to entre atte their pleasure. And whan the erle of Flaunders had ben a certayne space at Lysle, and that the duke of Burgoyne was gone into Fraunce, than he went to the towne of Bruges, and there taryed a longe season after, and shewed covertlye great displeasure to certayn burgesses of the towne, but he made none other provisyon among them: his displeasure was bycause they hadde so soone forsaken him, and turned to the servyce of them of Gaunt. The burgesses excused them, as trouthe was, that it was nothyng in their faute, but the faut was in them of the meane craftes, who wolde nedes be alyed to them of Gaunt whan John Lyon came thyder: so the earle passed his displeasure as well as he myght; howebeit, he thought never the lesse.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of hym and of them of Flaunders, and let us retourne to the busynesses of Bretayne.

CAP. CCCLV

Howe the duke of Bretayne returned out of Englande into Bretayne, at the request of his men, and of the wyll of the Englisshemen for the maryage of their yonge kynge of Englande.

YE have herde here before how the duke of Bretayne was in Englande, with kynge Richarde and his uncles, who made hym right good chere, and his lande was in warre and in great trouble. For the Frenche kyng had sent thyder his constable, with a great nombre of men of armes, who were about Pont Toyson and about Mount saynt Mychaell, and made warre to the countre, cyties, and good townes in Bretayne. Wherfore all the countre greatlye desyred the presence of the duke their lorde, and they had sent to hym dyvers messangers and letters, but he durst nat trust all that, tyll the prelates and barones of Bretayne and all good townes murmured therat, and sayde, We have sent for our duke by letters dyvers tymes, and alwayes he excuseth himselfe. In the name of God, quod some, he hath good cause so to do, for we sende for hym to simply; it were well fytting that we sent to hym a knight or ii. dyscrete and sage, in whome he myght truste, and they to shewe him playnly the state of this countre. This purpose was well alowed and holden, and so two valyant knightes were chosen to go into Englande, as sir Geffray of Quaresmell[1] and sir Eustace Housey. And at the desyre and request of the prelates and barons, they aparelled themselfe to go into Englande, and so toke shippyng at Cone,[2] and had wynde at wyll and arryved at Hampton: and fro thens they rode tyll they came to London, wher they found the duke of Bretayne and the duchesse, and sir Robert Canoll, who receyved them with gret chere and joye. The knyghtes than shewed to the duke their lorde, all the state and disposycion of his countre, and howe his people desyreth to have hym come home, and delyvered him letters of credence fro the barons and prelates and good townes of Bretayne. The duke beleved well these knyghtes and the letters also, and had great joye, and said

[1] *Kerimel.*

[2] *Concarneau.*

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Howe the duke of Bretayne returned out of Englande into Bretayne.

howe he wolde shewe the mater to the kyng and to his uncles, and so he dyde. And whan the kyng of Englande and his uncles were enformed of all these maters, and howe all the countre of Bretayne, prelates, barons, and good townes, except Claquy, Clisson, Rohen, Lavall, and Rochefort, had sente for their lorde the duke, desyring hym to returne into his owne countre, than the kyng and his uncles sayde, Sir, it is best ye go into youre owne countre, syth ye be thus desyred, and mayntayne yourselfe amonge your noblemen; and, sir, we shall sende you men of warre and suche conforte that they shal be able to kepe your fronters agaynst your enemyes: and leave the duchesse your wyfe here behynd you with her mother and brethern, and go you and make warr agaynst your ennemyes. Of these wordes the duke was greatly rejoysed, and made hym redye.

And shortely after it was ordayned for his departynge at Hampton, and so he toke leave of the kynge and of his uncles, of my ladye princesse, and of the duchesse his wyfe, and at his departyng made a great alyance with the kyng of Englande, and sware to hym by his faythe, that if he were shortely conforted by the Englysshmen, he wolde alwayes abyde with them, and do the best of his power to tourne his countre Englysshe. And the kyng promysed him that he shulde ever fynde the Englysshemen redy to helpe hym in whatsoever maner he wolde desyre. And so he departed out of Englande, and sir Robert Canoll with him, and the two knyghtes that were come thyder for hym, and one hundred men of armes and two hundred archers, and toke shippyng at Hampton, and so sayled to the porte of Guerrande, where they toke lande, and so rode to Vannes, where he was receyved with great joye, and all the countrey was gladde whan they knewe that he was come home. The duke refresshed hym there a fyve dayes, and thanne he went to Nauntes: thyder came to se hym barownes, prelates, knightes, and squyers, ladyes and damoselles, offryng hym their servyce, and putte themselfe under his obeysance, complayning greatlye of the Frenchmen and of the Frenche constable who lay about Reynes, and dyde moche hurte in the countrey. The duke apeased them and sayd, My frendes, I shall have shortly comforte out of Englande, for without

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Howe the duke of Bretayne returned out of Englandeinto Bretayne.

ayde of Englande I cannat well defende my countrey agaynst the Frenchmen, for they are to bygge for us, seynge we be nat all one in our owne countrey; and whan the ayde that the kynge of England shall sende us be ones come, if they have done us wronge, we shall quyte them agayne. Of these wordes were right joyfull all tho that were of the duke of Bretayns parte.

The same season, about saynt Andrues tyde, ther dyed sir Charles of Boesme, kyng of Almayne and emperour of Rome: and whyle he was lyveng he dyde so moche, what for golde and sylver and great alyances that he hadde, that the electours of the Emperour sware and sealed to hym, that after his disceasse to make his sonne Emperour, and to ayde hym to kepe the siege before Ays, and to abyde with him agaynst all men that wolde deny hym: so that whan he was deed, than Charles his sonne as Emperoure wrote hymselfe kyng of Almayne, of Boesme, and kynge of the Romayns.

The same season ther was great counsaile in Englande amonge the kynges uncles and the prelates and barons of the realme, for to mary their yonge kyng Richarde of England. And thenglysshmen wolde gladly have had hym to ben maryed in Heynalt, for love of the good lady quene Philyp, wyfe to kyng Edwarde the Thirde, who was so good and so gracyous a lady, for all the realme large and honorable, who was come out of Heynaulte; but as than the duke Aubert had no doughters to mary. The duke of Lancastre wolde have hadde the kyng his nephewe to have hadde his eldest doughter, my lady Blanche of Lancastre, to his wyfe; but the realme wolde in no wyse consent therto, for two reasons: the first, bycause the lady was his cosyn germayne, the whiche was to nere of blode to mary toguyder; the other cause was, they wolde the kynge shulde marry withoute the realme, to have therby more alyaunce. Than was there spekyng of the doughter of the kynge of Boesme and Almayne and Emperour of Rome: and to that advyse every man was agreed. Than to go into Almayne to treatie for this mariage was sent a right sage and a valyant knight, who had ben the kynges mayster, and was nere of counsayle alwayes with the prince of Wales the kynges father, called sir Symonde Burle. And so was ordayned for hym all

Howe the duke of Bretayne returned out of Englande into Bretayne.

thynges necessarie for his journey, and than he departed and arryved at Calayes, and so to Gravellyng, and than to Bruselles; and there he founde duke Vyncelant of Brabant and duke Aubert, the erle of Bloyes, and the erle of saynt Poule, sir Wylliam Manlye,[1] and a great nombre of knightes of Heynalt, of Brabant, and of other places, for ther was a great feest and justynge kepte; therfore were all these lordes assembled. The duke of Brabant and the duchesse, for the kyng of Englandes sake, receyved the knyght ryght honourably. And whan they knewe the cause wherfore he went into Almayne, they were right gladde therof, and sayde, that it shulde be a goodlye maryage bytwene the kynge of Englande and their nephue. And at the knyghtes departyng they sent letters by hym to the kyng of Almayne, shewynge hym howe they hadde great desyre and affectyon that this maryage shulde take a good effecte. Than the knyght departed fro Bruselles and went to Louvayne and so to go to Colayne.

CAP. CCCLVI

Howe the Englysshmen that were sent into Bretayne were tourmented on the see, and howe the Gauntoise desyred to have the erle of Flaunders their lorde to come dwell in their towne of Gaunt.

THE same season it was ordayned in Englande, by the kyng and his counsaile, that two hundred men of armes and foure hundred archers shulde goo into Bretayne; and the chyefe capitayne of that journey shulde be sir Johan Arundell, and with hym shulde go sir Hugh Caurell,[2] sir Thomas Banystre, sir Thomas Tryvet, sir Water Pole,[3] sir Johan Bourchyer, the lorde Ferres,[4] and the lorde Basset. All these knyghtes drewe to Hampton, and whan they hadde wynde they entred into their shyppes and departed. The first day the wynde was reasonable good for them, but agaynst night the wynde tourned contrary to them, and whyder they wolde or nat, they were driven on the cost

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[1] *de Namur.*

[2] *Calverley.*

[3] *Paveley.*

[4] *Ferrers.*

CAP. CCCLVI

Howe the Englysshmen that were sent into Bretayne were tourmented on the see.

of Cornwall. The wynde was so sore and streynable that they coulde caste none ancre, nor also they durst nat. In the mornyng the wynde brought them into the Yrisshe see, and by the rage of the tempest thre of their shyppes brast and wente to wrake, wherin was sir Johan Arundell, sir Thomas Banystre, and sir Hughe Caurell, and a hundred men of armes, of the whiche hundred fourscore were drowned, and sir Johan Arundell their capitayne was their perysshed, whiche was great domage. And sir Hugh Caurell was never in his lyfe before soo nyghe his dethe; for all that ever was in his shyppe, excepte hymselfe and sevyn maryners, were all drowned; for he and the sevyn maryners that were saved toke holde of tables and mastes, and the strength of the wynde brought them to the sandes; howebeit, they hadde dronke waterr ynoughe, wherof they were ryght sicke and yvell at ease. Out of this daunger escaped sir Thomas Tryvet and sir Johan Bourchyer, the lorde Ferres, the lorde Basset, and dyvers other; but they were sore tourmented and in gret parell. And after that this tempest was ceased, they retourned agayne to Hampton, and went backe agayne to the kynge and his uncles, and recounted all their adventures, wenyng to them that sir Hughe Caurell had ben drowned with the other; howbeit, that was nat so, for he was gone sicke to London. Thus brake up that jorney, wherby the duke of Bretayne coude have no comforte of the Englysshemen, whiche was ryght contraryous to hym; for all that season and the wynter folowyng the Frenchmen made hym ryght sore warre, and the Bretons, as sir Olyver Clysson and his company, toke the towne of Dynant in Bretayne, by reason of vessels and barges. And so the towne was pylled and robbed, and was kept agaynst the duke a long season after.

Nowe lette us retourne to the busynesse of Flaunders.

Whan the peace was agreed bitwene the erle of Flaunders and them of Gaunt, by the meanes of the duke of Burgoyne, wherby he gat himselfe moche thanke in the countre, the entent and pleasure of them of Gaunt was, to have their lorde, therle of Flaunders, to dwell with them in Gaunt, and there to kepe his householde. The erle also was counsayled by the provost of Hardebeque,[1] and of them that were

[1] *Harlebeke.*

nexte about hym to do so, wherby he shulde norisshe great love bytwene hym and them of Gaunt. The erle lay styll at Bruges and came nat to Gaunt, wherof they had great marveyle, and specially the good and rych men of Gaunt, and suche as were sage and wyse, for they desyred nothyng but peace. But the palyerdes and white hattes, and suche as desyred rather stryfe and debate, they cared nothyng for the erles comynge: for they knewe well that yf he came, they shulde prively be corrected at laste for the yvell dedes that they had done. Natwithstandynge that they were in this doubte, yet they that had the governyng of the lawe, the counsaylers and good men of the towne, wolde for any thynge that he shulde come thyder, and that they shuld go and requyre him so to do; for they thought they had no ferme peace without the erle came thyder. And so ther was ordayned xxiiii. men to go to Bruges, to shewe to the erle the great affection that they had to have him; and so they departed honorably, as it aparteyned for them that shulde go for their lorde; and it was sayd to them by them of the towne, Sirs, retourne never agayne to Gaunt, without ye bring therle with you; for if ye do, ye shall fynde the gates closed agaynst you. Thus these burgesses of Gaunt rode forthe towarde Bruges, and bytwene Bruges and Donsay[1] they herde say, howe the erle was comynge to Gaunte warde, wherof they were right joyouse; and they hadde nat ryden past a leage farther but that they mette the erle in the feldes. Than the burgesses stode styll on bothe sydes of the waye, and so the erle and all his company passed through them. As he passed by the burgesses enclyned themselfe ryght lowe and humbly, and made great reverence to the erle. The erle rode through them without any great regardyng of them, but a lytell putte his hande to his hat, nor all the way he made to theym no semblant. So the erle rode on the one syde and the Gauntoise on the other, tyll they came to Donse, and there they rested, for the erle dyde dyne there; and the Gauntoyse wente to other lodgynges and dyned also.

And after dyner, the Gauntoyse in good array came to the erle and kneled al downe before him, for therle sat, and there they presented ryght humbly the affection and servyce

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[1] *Deynze.*

Howe the Englysshmen that were sent into Bretayne were tourmented on the see.

of them of the towne of Gaunt, and shewed hym howe by great love they of Gaunt, who desyred so moche to have hym with them, hath sent them to hym; And, sir, at our departynge, they sayde to us, that it were but a folly for us to retourne agayne to Gaunt, without that we brought you thyder with us. The erle, who right well herde these wordes, helde his peace a certayne space, and at last whan he spake, he sayd fayre and softely, Sirs, I beleve well it be as ye saye, and that dyvers of Gaunt desyreth to have me among them; but I have marveyle of that they remembre nat, nor wyll nat remembre of tyme past, what they have shewed me. And I have been to them so courtesse, meke, and gentyll in all their requestes; and I have suffred to be putte out of my countrey my gentylmen, whan they have complayned of them, to acquyte their lawe and justyce; I have also opyned dyvers tymes my prisons, to delyver oute their burgesses, whan they have desyred it; I have loved and honoured them more than any other of my countre, and they have done to me clene contrary. They have slayne my baylye, and distroyed the houses of my men, banysshed and chased away myne offycers, and brent the house in the worlde that I loved best, enforced my townes, and brought them to their ententes, and slayne my knightes in the towne of Ipre; and have done so many trespasses agaynst me and my seignorie, that it is noyfull to me to recorde it, and I wolde I coude never thynke on it; but I do and shall do, whyder I wyll or nat. A, ryght dere lorde, sayd they of Gaunt, for Goddes sake never regarde it; ye have all thynges pardoned. It is trouthe, quod the erle; for all my wordes in tyme to come I wyll ye shal be never the worse: but I shewe it unto you, sirs, for the great cruelties and felonyes that I have founde in them of Gaunt. Than the erle apeased hymselfe, and rose up on his fete, and caused them to ryse, and sayde to the lorde of Ruyselyers,[1] who was by hym, Go gette some wyne. So they of Gaunt dranke and departed to their lodgynges, and taryed there all that night, for so dyde the erle; and the next day all togyder they rode towardes Gaunt.

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[1] *Reighersvliet.*

CAP. CCCLVII

Howe the erle of Flaunders entred into the towne of Gaunt, and of his departynge thens, withoute knowledge of any of the towne, and howe the walles of Andwarpe were beaten downe by the whyte hattes and their felowes.

WHAN they of Gaunt understode that the erle was comynge, they were right joyfull, and came and met hym, some afote and some a horsebacke, and they mekely enclyned themselfe lowe, and dyde hym reverence; and he passed forthe withoute any worde spekynge to any of them, and but a lytell enclyned his heed, and so came to his logynge called the Posterne, and there dyned, and had many presentes gyven him by them of the towne. And there came to se him they of the lawe, of the towne, and humbly enclyned themselfe to hym, as reason requyred. And the erle sayd, Sirs, good peace requyreth nothyng but peace; wherfore I wolde that these whyte hattes were layd downe, and amendes to be made for the dethe of my baylye, for I am sore requyred therin of all his lynage. Sir, quod the men of lawe, it is ryght well our entent that it shulde so be; and sir, we requyre your grace with all humylyte, that it may please you to morowe nexte to come into an open place, and there to shewe your entent to the people; and whan they se you, they wyll be so rejoysed, that they wyll do every thynge that ye shall desyre them. Than the erle accorded to their request. The same evenynge many folkes knewe in the towne howe the erle shulde be the next mornyng by viii. of the clocke in the market-place, and there preche to the people. The good men were ryght joyfull therof, but the foles and outragious people gave no feare therof, and sayd, howe they were preched inough, and howe they knewe well what they had to do. Johan Pruniaux, Rase de Harsell, Peter Boyse, and Johan Boule, capitayns of the whyte hattes, douted lest all that mater shulde be layd on their charge: and than

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Howe the erle of Flaunders entred into the towne of Gaunt.

they spake togyder, and sent for suche of their company as were most outragious and worst of all other, and sayd to them, Sirs, take hede this nyght and to morowe, and lette your armure be redy, and whatsoever be sayde to you, put nat of your whyte hattes, and be all in the market place to morowe by viii. of the bell, but make no styrring nor stryfe, without it be begon on you, and shewe all this to your companyes, or els sende them worde therof. They sayd it shulde be done, and so it was. In the mornyng at viii. of the cloke they came into the market place, nat all togyder, but in dyvers plumpes. The erle came to the market place a horsebacke, acompanyed with his knyghtes and squyers, and them of the lawe of the towne, and by him was Johan Faucyll and a xl. of the most rychest of the towne. Therle as he came along the market place he cast his eyes on the whyte hattes, and was in his mynde right sore displesed with them, and so alighted and all other; than he mounted up into a windowe, and leaned out therat, and a reed clothe before him, and there he began to speke ryght sagely, shewynge them fro poynt to poynte the love and affectyon that he hath had to them, or they displeased him: ther he shewed howe a prince and lorde ought to be beloved, feared, served, and honoured of his men, and howe they had done the contrary; also he shewed howe he hath kepte and defended them agaynst all men, and howe he had kept them in peace, profyte, and prosperyte, in the passages of the see, the whiche was closed fro them at his first entrynge into his lande. He shewed them dyvers reasonable poyntes, whiche the wyse men understode and conceyved it clerely, how all that ever he sayde was trouthe. Dyvers gave good eare to hym, and some never a whytte, suche as hadde rather have warre than peace. And whan he hadde been there the space of one hour, and had shewed them all this and more, than finally he sayde, howe he wolde be their good lorde, in lyke maner as he hadde been in tyme past, and pardoned them of all the injuryes, hates, and yvell wylles that he hadde agaynst them, and all that they hadde done; he wolde here no more therof; and to kepe them in their rightes and seignories, as in tyme paste had ben used; howebeit, he desyred them that they shulde begyn no newe thyng nor

Howe the erle of Flaunders entred into the towne of Gaunt.

custome, and that the whyte hattes shulde be layd downe. At all these wordes that he spake before, every man helde their peace; but whan he spake of the whyte hattes, ther was suche a murmurynge and whysperynge, that it might well be parceyved that it was for that cause. Than therle desyred theym swetely every man to drawe to their owne houses. And soo every man departed out of the place, but the whyte hattes were the first that came thyder and the laste that taryed. And whan the erle passed by them they smiled, and folisshely behelde hym, and they made no reverence to hym, wherof the erle was sore displeased in his mynde, and sayd to his knightes whan he came to his lodgynge, I trowe I shall never come easely to myne entent against these whyte hattes, they are unhappye people; my hert gyveth me that the mater wyll nat rest longe in the case that it is nowe in, for as ferr as I canne parceyve, they are likely to do many yvell dedes; for though I shulde lese all, I canne nat suffre theym in their pride and yvell doynges.

Thus therle of Flaunders was there a foure or fyve dayes, and than departed, so that he retourned no more thyder agayne, and so went to Lysle, and ther ordayned to lye all the wynter. At his departyng fro Gaunt he toke leave of no man, but departed in displeasure; wherwith dyvers of the towne were right yvell content, and sayde, Howe they sholde never have any good of hym, nor he wolde never love them, nor they him, and howe he was departed fro them at that tyme as he had done in tyme past; and that Gylbert Mahewe and his bretherne had counsayled him so to do. Seyng he was departed so sodaynlye fro Gaunt, Johan Pruniaux, Rase Harsell, Peter de Boyse, Johan Boule, and the yvell capitayns, were ryght joyouse of his departyng, and sowed lewde wordes about in the towne, sayeng, howe that or somer come therle and his men wyll breke the peace. Wherfore they sayd, it were good that every man toke hede to hymselfe, and that they provyde for the towne corne and other vitayls, as flesshe and salte, and suche other thynges; sayeng howe they coulde se no suretie in the erle. So they of Gaunt made provision of dyvers thynges that was necessarie for them and for the towne; wherof the erle was enfourmed, and had great marveyle, wherfore they douted

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themselfe in suche wyse: to say trouthe, all thynges consydred, in that I say or have sayd before, it may be marveyled howe they of Gaunt dissymuled themselfe so at the begynninge as they dyde. The riche, sage, and notable persons of the towne can nat excuse themselfe of these dedes at the begynnyng; for whan Johan Lyon beganne to bring up first the white hattes, they might well have caused them to have been layed downe if they had lyst, and have sent other maner of persons agaynst the pioners of Bruges than they: but they suffred it bycause they wolde nat medell, nor be in no busynesse nor prease. All this they dyde and consented to be done, the whiche after they derely bought, and specially suche as were riche and wyse. For afterward they were no more lordes of themselfe, nor they durst nat speke nor do nothynge but as they of Gaunt wolde. For they sayd, that nother for John Lyon nor for Gylbert Mahewe, nor for their warres or envyes they wolde never departe asondre; for whatsoever warre ther were bytwene one or other, they wolde be ever all one, and ever redy to defende the fraunchesses of their towne: the whiche was well sene after, for they made warre, whiche endured sevyn yere. In the whiche tyme there was never stryfe amonge them in the towne. And that was the thynge that sustayned and kept them moost of any thyng, bothe within and without: they were in suche unyte, that there was no dystaunce amonge them, as ye shall her after in this hystorie.

It was nat long after that therle of Flaunders was departed fro Gaunt and returned to Lyle, but that sir Olyver Dauterve, cosyn germayne to Roger Dauterve, slayne before in Gaunt, sent his defyance to the towne of Gaunt, for the dethe of his cosyn; and in lykewise so dyde sir Philyppe of Mamynes, and dyvers other. And after their defyances made, they founde a fourtie shyppes, and the maryners to them parteyninge, of the burgesses of Gaunt, who were comyng on the ryver of Lescaulte, charged with corne; and ther they revenged them of the dethe of their cosyn on these shyppes and maryners, for they all to hewed the maryners, and dyde putte out their eyen, and so sent theym to Gaunt, maymed as they were, whiche dispyte they of

Howe the erle of Flaunders entred into the towne of Gaunt.

Gaunt toke for a great injury. The lerned men of Gaunt, to whome the complayntes came, were right sore displesed, and wyst nat well what to say. Great murmuryng was in the towne, and the moost parte of the people of Gaunt sayd, howe therle of Flaunders had caused all, so that ther durst no manne excuse hym. And as soone as Johan Prunax herde these tidynges, who was as than capitayn of the whyte hattes, without any worde spekyng to them of the lawe, I cannat say whyder he spake with the capitayns of other companyons or nat, I thynke rather ye than nay, so he toke the most parte of the whyte hattes, and dyvers other folowers, redy inoughe to do yvell, and so departed fro Gaunt and came sodaynly to Andwarpe.[1] Whan he entred first, there was no watche nor kepers, for they feared no man; and so he and his company entred in at the gate to the nombre of fyve thousande and mo. And the next mornynge he sette warkemen a warke, carpentars and masons, suche as were ther redy with hym, to do his commaundement; and so he ceassed nat tyll he had beaten downe two of the gates and the walles and towres bytwene them, and layde them up so downe, in the dykes towarde Gaunt.

Howe may they of Gaunt excuse themselfe that thus consented to this dede? For they were at Andwarpe beatynge downe these walles and gates more than a moneth. If they had sent for these men to have come backe agayne, whan they herde of it first, than they might well have been excused; but they dyde nat so. They wynked rather with their eyen, and suffered it, tyll tidynges came to the erle, who lay at Lysle, howe John Pruniaux had by stelthe come into Andwarpe, and beten downe two of the gates with the walles and towres. Of whiche tydinges the erle was sore displesed, and also he had good cawse so to be, and sayd, A these unhappy cursed people, the Devyll I trowe is with them; I shall never be in joye as longe as they of Gaunt have any puissance. Than he sent to Gaunt some of his counsayle, shewynge them the great outrage that they hadde done, and howe they were no people to be beleved in makyng any peace, seyng that the peace whiche the duke of Burgoyne had made, to his great labour and payne, was nowe thus broken by them. The mayre and lerned men of

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[1] *Audenarde.*

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Howe the erle of Flaunders entred into the towne of Gaunt.

Gaunt excused themselfe, and sayd, that savynge the erles displeasure, they never thought to breke the peace, nor never had wyll therto. For though Johan Pruniaux had done that outrage of himselfe, the towne of Gaunt wyll in no wyse avowe, suffer, nor sustayne it; and so playnely and truely excused themselfe, and sayd moreover, howe the erle had consented therto, for they be issued out of his house suche as have done this great outrage, slayne and maymed our burgesses, the whiche is a great inconvenyence to the hole body of the towne. Howe say ye, sirs, to this, quoth they. Than therles comissaryes replyed, and sayd, Sirs, than I se well ye be revenged. Nay, nat so, quoth they of the towne; for though that Johan Pruniaux have done thus at Andwarpe, that it is done for any revengyng, we say nat so; for by the treaty of the peace we maye prove and shewe, if we lyst, and that we take recorde of the duke of Burgoyne, that we myght have done with Andwarpe, and have brought it into the same poynt that it is nowe at; but, at the desyre of the duke of Burgoyne, we forbare and suffred it undone as at that tyme. Than the erles comyssaries sayde, It apereth well by your wordes, that ye have caused it to be done, and that ye canne nat excuse yourselfe therin. Sithe that ye knewe that Johan Prunax was gone to Andwarpe with an armye of men of warr, and by stelth, under the shadowe of peace, hath beaten downe the gates and walles therof, ye shulde have gone before them, and have defended them fro doyng of any suche outrage, tyll ye had shewed your complayntes to the erle. And of the hurtyng and mayminge of your burgesses of Gaunt, ye shulde therin have gone to the duke of Burgoyne, who made the peace, and have shewed him all your complaynt: so than ye had amended youre mater; but ye have nat done thus. Nowe sithe ye have my lorde the erle of Flaunders thus displeased, ye sende to excuse yourselfe: ye desyre peace with your swerdes in your handes; but I ensure you one day he wyll take so cruell vengeance on you, that all the worlde shall speke therof. So the erles comyssaries departed fro them of Gaunt, and went by Cortray to Lyle, and shewed to therle what they had done, and thexcusacyons that they of Gaunt made for themselfe.

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Howe the Gauntoyse rendred Andwarpe, and of the houses of the noblemen of Flaunders that they bete downe; and howe the warre began bitwene them and the Gauntoyse right cruell and without pytie.

THE hearyng spekynge of the treatynge of this processe may well be marveyled, for the marveylous mater therin. Some gyveth the right of the warre, the whiche was at that tyme great and cruell in Flaunders to them of Gaunt, sayeng, howe they had a good and a just cause to make warre; but I cannat se that as yet; for I coude never se nor understande but that the erle loved ever peace rather than warre, reservyng alwayes his highnesse and honour. Dyde he nat at their desyre delyver their burges out of his prison of Erclo? And yet for all that they slewe his bayly. And than he agayne pardoned them that great outrage, to thentent to have kept them in peace. And over that agayne, on a day, they moved all the countrey of Flaunders agaynst him, and slewe in the towne of Ipre fyve of his knightes, and went and assayled and beseged Andwarpe, and dyde their payne to have dystroyed it; and yet agayne they had of the erle peace. But for all that they wolde make none amendes for the dethe of Roger Dauterve, the whiche his lynage often tymes desyred; wherfore they somwhat revenged the dethe of their cosyn on a certayne maryners, by whome all this warr and myschefe was begon. Was this yet any resonable cause why they shulde beate downe the walles of Andwarpe? I thynke, and so dyd many other, that it was none occasyon so to do. They sayd therle was rather in their dette than they in his, and that he shulde make them amendes for that that hadde ben done to their maryners, or ever they wolde delyver agayne Andwarpe. The erle, who was at Lysle and his counsayll with hym, was right sore displeased in that they kept Andwarpe, and wyst nat well howe to gette it agayne, CAP. CCCLVIII

Howe the Gauntoyse rendred Andwarpe.

and so repented him of the peace that he hadde gyven to the Gauntoyse; and he wrote often tymes to them, commaundynge them to delyver up Andwarpe, or els he wolde make them so cruell warre, that it shulde be ever had in remembrance. They of Gaunt wolde in no wyse avowe the dede, for if they had they had broken the peace: finally, certayne good people of Gaunte, and ryche men, who wolde have no thyng by their wylles but peace, went so bytwene in this mater, as John Faucyll, Gylbert Guyse,[1] sir Symon Bet, and dyvers other, that the xii. day, they of Gaunt, beynge in the towne of Andwarpe, retourned agayne to Gaunte, and delyvered the towne to the erles servauntes. And to apease the erles displeasur, John Pruniaux was banisshed Gaunt, and all Flaunders, bycause by his advyce the comons had taken Andwarpe, without knowledge of the substance of the towne of Gaunt. And on the other parte, the erle banysshed out of all Flaunders, sir Phylippe of Mamynes,[2] sir Olyver Dautern, the Galoys of Manes,[2] the basterde of Wrydrymines,[3] and all tho that were cause of the mayminge of the maryners, burgesses of Gaunt, without knowledge of the erle. And so by the reason of these banisshynges, bothe partyes were apeased. So Johan Pruniaux forsoke the countrey of Flaunders, and went to Athe, in Brabante, and there dwelled. And sir Phylip of Mamynes went to Valencennes, in the countie of Haynalt. But whan they of Gaunt knewe therof, they dyd so moch to the provost of Valencennes, called John Patryse,[4] who in fayre maner caused the sayd knyght to departe thens. And so he departed with his good wyll, and went to Warlam,[5] besyde Doway, and there taryed tyll he harde other tydinges: and the other knyghtes and squiers voyded Flaunders, and went into Brabant. And assoone as the erle had agayne possessyon of Andwarpe, he sette warkmen a warke, and newe repayred the towne better than ever it was before, bothe walles, gates, and dykes. The Gauntoyse knewe well howe the erle newe fortefyed Andwarpe, but they made no semblaunce therof, bycawse they wolde no faulte shulde be founde in them, as in brekynge of the peace. But the foles and outragyous people sayde amonge themselfe, Lette the erle alone in his warke, for though he make Andwarpe of stele, yet it can

[1] *De Grutere.*

[2] *Masmines.*

[3] *Windiques.*

[4] *Partit.*

[5] *Warlaing.*

Howe the Gauntoyse rendred Andwarpe

nat endure agaynst us if we lyst. For all this peace thus in Flaunders, they of Gaunt were ever in suspect with the erle, and the erle with them, for dayly there was brought to the erle harde tidynges of them of Gaunt, and in lykewyse to them of Gaunt of the erle. Johan de Faucyll went and dwelled at Nazareth, in a fayre house that he had, a leage fro Gaunt: and so he lay there, styl dissymulynge as moche as he myght, and wolde nat be in counsayle with them of Gaunt, bycause he wolde nat be noted by the erle; and also he kept him fro the erle as moche as he myght, to kepe him still in love with them of Gaunt: thus he swamme bitwene two waves, makyng himselfe newter, as nere as coulde. In the meane tyme whyle the erle repayred the towne of Andwarpe, he procured soo moche by his letters, to his cosyn the duke of Burgoyne, to sende hym Johan Pruniaux, beyng at Athe, that so he dyd, and sent hym to the erle. And so he was sent to Lysle, and there beheeded, and than sette one a whele lyke a traytour. Thus dyed John Pruniaux. Than the erle went to Ipre, and dyd there great justyce, and beheeded many yvell ruled people, suche as had before been at the dethe of hys fyve knyghtes there slayne, and had opened the gates to them of Gaunt: and this he dyd to thentent that other shulde take ensample by them.

Of all these maters the Gauntoyse were well enfourmed, wherfore they douted more than they dyde before, and specyally the capytayns, suche as had bene forth in their journeys, and before Andwarpe. And they sayd amonge themselfe, Certaynly if the erle may, he wyll destroy us all: he loveth us well, for he wyll have nothyng but our lyves. Hath he nat put to deth Johan Prunax? To say trouth, we dyd John Pruniaux great wronge, whan we banysshed him fro us: we are therfore culpable of his deth, and to the same ende we shall all come, if he may gette us at his wyll: therfore lette us take good hede of ourselfe. Than Peter de Boyse sayd, Sirs, yf ye wyll beleve me, there shall nat a house stande upright, of never a gentylmans in the countrey aboute Gaunt. For by reason of the gentlemens houses that be nowe standyng, we maye be all distroyed, if we take nat hede therto betymes, and provyde for some remedy. That is trouthe, quoth all the other, let us go forthe and

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bete them all downe. Than the capitayns, Peter du Boyse, Johan Boule, Rase de Harsell, Johan de Launoy, and dyvers other, with their companyes, departed on a day fro Gaunt, and brent and beate downe all the gentylmens houses there aboute, and toke all that ever was in them, and departed it among themselfe, and whan they had done, they retourned agayne to Gaunt. They founde never a man that wolde say, Sirs, ye have done evyll. Whan the gentlemen, knightes, and squiers, beynge at Lysle with the erle, and there about, harde tidinges howe their houses were brent and beten downe, and their goodes takenne awaye, they were ryght sore displeased, and nat without a good cause; they sayd to the erle, Sir, this dispyght must be amended, and the pride of them of Gaunt beaten downe. Than the erle gave leve, and abandoned to the knightes and squiers to make warre agaynste the Gauntoyse, and to countervenge them of their domages. Than dyvers knyghtes and squyers of Flaunders alyed themselfe togyder, and desyred their frendes of Heynalt to ayde to revenge them of the Gauntoyse, and they made their capitayne the Hasle[1] of Flaunders, the yongest sonne bastarde of the erles, a ryght valyant knyght. This knyght with his company, somtyme lay at Andwarpe, another tyme at Gavres, and somtyme at Alos, and at Teremond, and scrimysshed with the Gauntoyse dayly, and somtyme ran to the barryers of the towne of Gaunt, and beate downe the wyndmyls about the towne, and dyd great dispyght to them of Gaunt. And with them there was a knyght of Heynalt, called sir James of Verchyn, seneshall of Haynalt, he dyd many feates of armes in that season aboute Gaunt, and adventured hymselfe oftentymes ryght jeoperdously. He fought two or thre tymes at the barryers, and wanne bassenetes and crosbowes, and other abylementes of warre. This knyght loved well the noble feate of armes, and had bene a valyant knyght if he hadde lyved long, but he dyed yonge in his bed, in the castell of Oubre,[2] besyde Mortayne, whiche was great domage.

[1] *Haze.*

[2] *Obies.*

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Howe the noble men of Flaunders made warre agaynst the Flemynges, and of the dethe of sir Berteram of Clesquye, constable of Fraunce.

WHAN the Gauntoyse sawe themselfe thus mocked and warred by the gentlemen of Flaunders, they were right angry therwith, and thought to have sente to erle Aubert erle of Haynault, desirynge him to have founde the meanes, to have caused these gentylmen to leave their warre agaynst them. But whan they had all thynges consydered, they thought they shulde lese their payne, for they were sure the erle Aubert wolde do nothynge for them, nor they wolde nat dysplease him, nor put a thynge to hym that shulde be to his displeasure: for they might yvell lyve without the favoure of his countrey. For if Holand, Zelande, and Haynault, had ben closed fro them, they thought themselfe but lost. Therfore they left that purpose, and toke another counsayle, and that was, to send to the knyghtes and squiers of Haynalt, suche as had herytages, rentes, or revenues, in Gaunt, or in the precynct therof, that they shulde come and serve theym, or els to lese their rentes and revenues there. And so they sent to them, but it avayled them but lytell, for they set but lytell by their commaundementes. Than they of Gaunt sent to the lorde Dantoyng, and to sir Herue,[1] who was an heryter in the towne of Gaunt, and constable of the same, that they shulde come and serve them, or els to lese suche ryght as they had there. And bycause they came nat, nor wolde come, they bete downe their houses. The lorde Dantoyng sent them worde howe he wolde come and serve them at their cost and charge to their distruccyon, and that they shulde have no nother trust in him, but that he wolde be their enemy, and holde nothynge of theym, but of the erle of Flaunders his lorde, to whome he owed servyce and obeysance. The lorde Dantoyng helde well his promyse, for he made mortall warre agaynst them, and dyde them great domage, and made great provisyon in his castell, whiche garyson dyde moche

[1] *au signeur d'Antoing messire Hue.*

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traveyle to them of Gaunt. Also the lorde of Danghen, who was a yonge squier, called Gaultyer, he dyd also great dispyte to them of Gaunt. Thus contynued styll the warre, and the Gauntoyse durst nat issue out of their towne, without they were in great companyes, and whan they founde any of their enemyes they hadde no mercy, but havyng the better slewe all before them. Thus began the warre to be ryght cruell, bytwene the erle of Flaunders, and the Gauntoise, the whiche cost after a hundred thousande mennes lyves twise tolde. It was great payne to fynde outher ende or peace, for the capitayns of Gaunt knewe well they had so trespassed agaynst their lorde, the erle of Flaunders, and agaynst the duke of Burgoyn, that for any treatie of peace sealyng or sweryng, what soever it were, yet they thought they shulde never have peace, but that it shulde cost them their lyves. This dought and feare caused them to be of that opinyon, and to kepe styll the warre agaynst the erle, and the gentylmen of Flaunders; and also this feare gave them courage to kepe warre; and as their adventures fell, ye shall here after in the story.

The erle of Flaunders, beyng at Lile, harde dayly newes fro them of Gaunt, and howe they brent and beate downe gentylmens howses, wherwith he was sore displeased, and sayd, howe he wolde take suche vengeance on them, that he wolde bryng all Gaunt under flame of fyre, and the rebelles within it. Than the erle, to be the more stronger agaynst them, sent for all his barons of Flaunders, and abandoned his countrey to them, to resyste agaynste the whyte hattes, and apoynted two gentylmen to be their captayns, that is to say, the Galoys of Mamynes, and Peter Destreueles.[1] These two with their companies, bare with them the erles baner; and so about a thre wekes they lay bytwene Andwarpe, and Courtrey, on the ryver of Lys, and dyde great domage to them of Gaunt. And whan Rase of Harsell herde therof, he yssued oute of Gaunte, with all the whyte hattes, and came to Donse, and there he hadde thought to have founde the erles company; but the men of armes, whan they knewe of the Gauntoyse comyng, they withdrewe towarde Tourney, and so taryed in the towne. And the

[1] *Steenhuyse.*

Howe the noble men of Flaunders made warre agaynst the Flemynges.

Gauntoyse lay a great season about Orches, Danne,[1] and Vorlam,[2] so that the marchantes durst nat go bytwene Doway, and Tourney, for feare of them. And it was than sayd, howe the Gauntoise wolde go and lay siege to Lyle, and therle, within the towne. They alyed themselfe with them of Bruges, and Ipre, and they had Grantmont and Courtray of their acorde. But Bruges and Ipre varyed, and were nat agreed with the craftes, for they sayde, it shulde be a great folly for them to lay siege so farre of as Lysle, and how that the erle might have great alyaunce and ayde of the Frenche kyng, as he hath had before. These doutes and other, stopped the good townes of Flaunders fro makyng of any warre, or layeng of any siege in that season. And for thentent that the erle shulde have no helpe nor ayde of the Frenche kyng, nor of the duke of Burgoyne his son, they sent messangers and meke letters to the kyng, desyring hym for Goddes sake, that he shulde gyve no counsayle nor ayde to therle of Flaunders, to their domage or hurte: for they wolde nothing but peace, love, obeysance, and service, to their lorde. Wherfore they sayde, their lorde dyde great wrong, so to traveyle and greve them; and all that ever they dyd, was to sustayne the fraunchesse and lyberties, the whiche their lorde wolde take fro them in his crueltie. The kyng somwhat enclyned to them, without any semblant makyng. In lykewise so dyd the duke of Anjou his brother: for all that the erle of Flaunders was their cosyn, yet he was nat greatly in their favours, bycause of the duke of Bretayne, whome he kepte with hym in his countrey, agaynst their wylles, a longe season: wherfore they tooke no great hede to his busynesse. No more dyde Pope Clement, for he sayd, that God had sent therle of Flaunders that rodde and punysshment, bycause he was his enemy, and helde with Pope Urbane agaynst him.

The same season the good knight and constable of Fraunce, sir Bertram of Clesquy, was in Auverne, with a great nombre of men of armes, and lay at sege before Newcastell of Randone,[3] a thre leages fro the cytie of Pye,[4] in Auvergne, and had closed in the castell nyne Englysshemen and Gascoyns, enemyes to the realme of Fraunce, who were yssued

[1] *Lesdain.*

[2] *Warlaing.*

[3] *Chateauneuf de Random.*

[4] *Puy.*

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Howe the noble men of Flaunders made warre agaynst the Flemynges.

out of Lymosyn, where as were many forteresses. The constable gave many sore assautes to the castell, and sware, that he wolde never departe thens, tyll he had the castell at his pleasure. But than a great sickenesse tooke hym, and so lay in his bedde; but for all that the siege brake nat up, for his men were more angrye than they were before. Of this sickenesse sir Bertram dyed, whiche was great domage to his frendes, and to the realme of Fraunce; and he was borne to the freers in Pye, and ther he was one night; and fro thens he was caryed to saynt Denyse in Fraunce, and there he was layde in sepulture, nere to the tombe of kynge Charles, whiche the kynge had made for hym in his dayes: and so he laye at the kynges fete; and there his obsequy was done right honorably, as though he hadde ben the kynges sonne: and there was all the kynges bretherne, and notable persones of the realme of Fraunce. Thus by the dethe of sir Bertram of Clesquy, the office of the constableshyppe of Fraunce was voyde; than it was ordayned and advysed who shulde be constable. There were named dyvers great barons of Fraunce, and specially the lorde Clysson, and the lorde of Coucy; the kyng wolde that the lorde Coucy shulde have had the offyce, and that he shulde be regent of all Picardy, and the kyng gave him all the lande of Mortayne, the which was a fayre herytage, lyeng bytwene Tourney and Valencennes. And sir James Verchyne was put out therof, who was constable of Heynalt; he helde it by succession of his father, who had ben lorde therof a great season before. The lorde of Coucy was in great favour with the Frenche kyng, and the kyng wolde have hadde hym constable of Fraunce; but the gentyll knight excused hymselfe by dyvers reasons, and wolde nat take it on him, and sayd, howe sir Olyver Clysson was more worthy then he was to have it, for he was a worthy knyght, hardye, and beloved, and knowen amonge the Bretons. Soo thus the mater abode a longe season. Than sir Bertrams men returned into Fraunce, for the castell yelded up the same day that sir Bertram dyed, and they of the garison went into Lymosyn, to the garyson of Ventadore. Whan the Frenche kyng sawe the constables men, he gave them great gyftes.

Nowe let us leave to speke of them, and shewe howe sir Thomas erle of Buckyngham, yongest sonne of kyng Edwarde the Thyrde, made a great armye of men of armes and archers, and passed with his hoost throughe the realme of Fraunce, and went into Bretayne.

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Howe the noble men of Flaunders made warre agaynst the Flemynges.

CAP. CCCLX

Of the erle of Buckyngham, yongest sonne to kyng Edwarde the iii. who passed with a great armye thorough the realme of Fraunce, to go into Bretayne, to the duke there.

YE have herde here before, howe that whan the duke of Bretayne departed out of Englande, kyng Richard, and his uncles had promysed hym to sende men of armes and archers to ayde hym. The kyng kept his promyse, but yvell fortune came therof: for sir Johan Arundell was sent thyder with two hundred men of armes, and they had suche fortune, that they were nyghe all perysshed in the see by tempest. Sir Hughe Caurell, and sir Thomas Tryvet, were saved with gret payne; ther was perysshed a fourescore archers, and as many men of armes, or mo. And so by that fortune this army was broken for that tyme. The duke of Bretayne had great marveyle, and all those on his parte, that they coulde here no worde of them: they coulde nat consyder nor ymagenne what lette they hadde: fayne they wolde have knowen, to the entent to have hadde some comforte, for they were sore overpressed by sir Olyver of Clysson, sir Guy de la Vall, sir Olyver of Clesqui, erle of Languevylde,[1] and the lorde Rochforte, and the Frenchmen that lay aboute the fronters of Bretayne. Than the duke was counsayled to sende sufficient messangers into Englande, to knowe the cause why they came nat, and to hast them forthe, for they had nede of their helpe. The lorde of Beaumonoyre, and sir Eustace Housay, were desyred by the duke, and by them of the countre, to take on them that voyage into Englande. They answered, how they were content to go. Than they had letters fro the duke of

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[1] *Longueville.*

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Of the erle of Buckyngham.

Bretayne, and fro them of the countre; and so they departed, and toke shyppinge, and had wynde and wether at their pleasur, and arryved at Hampton, and than issued out of their vessell, and toke horse and rode to London. This was about Whytsontyde, the yere of our Lorde God, a thousande thre hundred and fourscore.

The kynge of Englande was anone certifyed of their comynge; so the kynge went to Wyndsore, to kepe the feest of Penthecost there, and with hym his uncles, and a gret nombre of barons and knightes of Englande. And thyder came these two foresayd knyghtes of Bretayne, and were honourably receyved of the kynge, and of his uncles, and of all other, and there they delyvered their letters to the kynge, and to his uncles. They reed them, and knewe therby howe the duke of Bretayne and his countrey desyred them effectuously of ayde and confort. There these two knightes knewe of the dethe of sir Johan Arundell and the other that were perysshed in the see, goyng towarde Bretayne; and so there the duke of Lancastre excused the mater, and sayd, howe the kyng, nor his counsayle, was in no faute, but the fortune of the see, agaynst the whiche no man canne resyst, whan God wyll have it so. So the knyghtes helde the kyng excused, and greatly complayned the dethe of those knyghtes so perysshed in the see. The feest of Penthecost passed, and than they helde a parlyament at Westmynster, and there was all the kynges counsayll. And in the same meane season there dyed at London, sir Rychard Dangle, erle of Huntyngdon, and was buryed in the frere Augustynes. The kyng caused his obsequy to be done right honourably, with a great nombre of prelates and barones of Englande, and the bysshoppe of London sange the masse. Than anone after began the parlyament, and there it was ordayned that sir Thomas of Wodstocke, youngest sonne to kynge Edwarde the Thirde, and dyvers barones, knightes, and squiers with hym, shulde passe the see, and lande at Calayes, and soo to passe by the grace of God, throughe Fraunce, with thre thousande men of armes, and as many archers, and so to come into Bretayne, lyke the sonne of a kyng.

He toke on hym a great thynge as to passe throughe the

Of the erle of Buckyngham.

realme of Fraunce, the whiche is so great and soo noble, and wherin there is so noble chyvalry, and so valyant men of armes.

Whan these thynges were thus determyned, and the voiage concluded and agreed, than the kyng of Englande, and his uncles, sent letters to the duke of Bretayne, and to them of the countre, gyveng them knowledge of their ententes, and of their counsayle and parlyament that they had concluded at London: howe that without faute, sir Thomas of Wodstocke, erle of Buckingham, yongest sone to kynge Edwarde the Thirde, shulde shortely passe the see to come and socour them. The kyng of Englande honoured greatly these knyghtes of Bretayne, and gave them great gyftes, and in likewyse so dyd his uncles. And so they departed, and returned into Bretayne, and delyvered their letters to the duke, and he opened and red them, and sawe what they contayned, and so shewed them to the lordes and knyghtes of his countrey, who were well content with that aunswere. The kynge of Englande, and his uncles, forgate nat the voiage that was apoynted, but sent for all them that were chosen and apoynted to go with the erle of Buckyngham, who were bothe barons, knyghtes, squiers, and other: and they were payed for their wages at Dover for thre monethes, their wages to begyn assone as they shulde be arryved at Calayes, as well men of armes as archers, and their passage was delyvered them franke and fre; and so they passed lytell and lytell, and arryved at Calays, and it was a xv. dayes or they were all past. They of Boloyne sawe well howe men of armes and archers were issued out of Englande, and landed at Calays, and gave knowledge therof over all the countrey, and to all the Frenche garysons, to the entent that they shulde take hede every man to his parte. So that whan these tydynges were knowen in Bolonoyse, and Thoronyse, and in the countie of Guynes, knyghtes and squiers of the countrey drewe into the forteresses, and put therin all that they hadde for feare of lesynge. And the capitayns of Boloyne, of Arde, of Monteire, of Spirloque,[1] of Tornehen, of Hornes,[2] of Lyques, and of other castelles on the fronters there, entended greatly to provide for their places, for they thought, seynge the Englisshmen were come over in suche a nombre, that they shulde have some assautes gyven to some of them. The tydinges of this passage of the Englisshmen was brought to kyng Charles, beyng at Parys; than incontynent he sent to the lorde Coucy, to saynt Quintynes, that he shulde provyde for men of warre, and to go into Picardy, to comforte his cyties, townes, castelles, and forteresses there. The lorde Coucy obeyed the kynges commaundement, as it was reason: than he made a somons of knightes and squiers of Picardy, Arthoyse, and Vermandoyse, to mete at Peron, in Vermandoyse. The same tyme the lorde of saynt Pye was capytayne of Arde, and of Boloyne sir Johan Bouillers.[1] This sir Thomas of Wodstocke, erle of Buckynghame, yongest sonne of kynge Edwarde the Thirde, arryved at Calays, thre dayes before Maudlyn tyde, in the moneth of July, the yere of our Lorde God a thousande thre hundred and fourscore.

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[1] *Éperlecques.*

[2] *Hames.*

CAP. CCCLXI

Howe the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englisshmen, departed fro Calais, to go into Fraunce, and of their order.

WHAN the erle of Buckynghame was aryved at Calays, the companyons had great joye, for they thought well nat to tary long there, but to go forth on their voiage. The erle refresshed him two dayes at Calais, and on the thirde daye departed, and toke the way to Marquegnes.[2] It were reason that I shewe you the names of the baners and pensels that were there with the erle. First, the erle of Buckyngham hymselfe, therle Stafforde,[3] who had wedded his nece, doughter to the lorde Coucy; and therle of Dymestre:[4] these lordes rode with baners displayed; the lorde Spensar,[5] constable of the hoost, the lorde Fytzwater, marshall, the lorde Bassette, the lorde Bourgchyer, the lorde Ferres, the lorde Morlay, the lorde Darsy, sir Wyllyam Wynsore, sir Hughe Caurell,[6] sir Hugh Hastynges, and sir Hugues:[7] all these by one assent rode with their standerdes and penons: sir Thomas Percy, sir Thomas

[1] *Longvilliers.*

[2] *Marquise.*

[3] *Oxford.*

[4] *Devonshire.*

[5] *Latimer.*

[6] *Calverley.*

[7] *Hugh de la Zouch.*

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Howe the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englisshmen, departed fro Calais.

Tryvet, sir Wyllyam Clynton, sir Yvon Fitzwaren, sir Hugh Torell,[1] the lorde of Vardeyne,[2] sir Eustace and sir Johan Harbeston,[3] sir Wyllyam Fernytone,[4] the lorde of Briame,[5] sir Wyllyam Fabre,[6] sir Johan and sir Nycholas Dambretycourt, sir Johan Mase, sir Thomas Camoyse, sir Rafe, sonne to the lorde Nevell, sir Henry, bastarde Ferres, sir Hughe Broc, sir Geffray Orsell, sir Thomas West, the lorde of saynt More, Davyd Holograve, Hugh Lyn Caurell[7] bastarde, Bernarde of Coderers,[8] and dyvers other; these men of warre rode in good order and great array. The first day they departed fro Calais, and went no farther than to Marquegnes, and there rested and toke counsayle what way were best for them to take to furnysshe their voyage, for there were dyvers in that company that had never ben in Fraunce before, as the erle hymselfe, and dyvers other great barones and knightes. Therfore it was resonable, that suche persons as hadde ben in Fraunce before, and knewe the countre, shulde have suche rule and governynge, that it myght be to their honour. Trewe it was, that whan the Englysshmen in tyme past had ben in Fraunce, they had ever suche ordynaunce amonge them, that the capitayns sware ever to the kyng of Englande, and to his counsayle, two thynges. The one was, that they shulde never disclose their secretes to no persons lyveng, but among themselfe, nor whyder they entended to go. The seconde thyng was, they sware and promysed to make no maner of treatie with their enemyes, without the knowledge of the kyng, or his counsayle.

Whan these barons, knightes, and squyers, and their company, had rested them at Marquegnes thre dayes, and that every man of their company was come to them out of Calais, and that the capitayns were determyned what way to take, they departed, and went forthe tyll they came before Arde, and there rested them before the bastyde of Arde, to thentent to shewe themselfe before the men of armes, that were within the forteresse. And there was made newe knightes by the erle of Buckyngeham, as therle of Dymestre, and also the lorde Morlay; and than those two knightes put forthe their baners. And moreover therle made knightes all suche as foloweth: First, the lorde Fytz-

[1] *Tyrel.*

[2] *Vertaing.*

[3] *Harleston.*

[4] *Faringdon.*

[5] *Bryan.*

[6] *Frank.*

[7] *Hugekin Calverley.*

[8] *Cederiers.*

CAP. CCCLXI

Howe the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englisshmen, departed fro Calais.

waters sonne, sir Roger Strange, sir John Ipre, sir John Coll, sir James Cytiell, sir Thomas Ramston, sir Johan Nevell, and sir Thomas Rosle, and than all the host went and lodged at Hosque.[1] All these forsayd newe knyghtes were made, bycause of the vowarde, the which went the same day to a stronge house, standynge on the ryver syde, called Folant.[2] Within was a squyer, owner of the house, called Robert: he was a good man of armes, and hadde well furnysshed his house with good men of armes, the whiche he had gote therabout, to the nombre of xl. and they made good semblant to defende themselfe, and their house. These barons and knyghtes, in their newe knyghthod, envyroned about the towre of Folant, and began fiersly to assayle them within, and they within valiantly defended themselfe. There was done many feates of armes, and they within shotte so holly and quickely togyder, that they hurt dyvers assaylantes, suche as adventured themselfe to moche forwarde, for they had within dyvers good crosbowes, sent thyder by the capitayne of saynt Omers, at the request of the squyer: for he feared before, that the Englisshmen wolde passe by his house, wherfore he thought to kepe it to the best of his power, and so he dyde, for he bare hymselfe ryght valiantly. Than the erle of Dymestre spake a highe worde, as he stode on the dykes, his baner before hym, the whiche worde greatly encouraged his people, sayeng, Sirs, howe is it thus in oure newe knyghthode, that this pevysshe dovehouse holdeth agaynst us so longe? The stronge places and fortresses that be in the realme of Fraunce shall holde longe agaynst us, sythe this small house endureth so longe; Sirs, on a fore, lette us shewe our newe chivalry. They that herde these wordes noted it ryght well, and adventured themselfe more largely than they dyde before, and entred into the dykes, and so came harde to the walles, and there thenglissh archers shotte so holly togyder, that scant non durst apere at their defence. Ther were dyvers slayne and hurt, and the base court wonne and brent, and so finally they were all wonne; howebeit, first they defended themselfe right valiantly, and never a man within, that was wounded to dethe.[3] Thus the house of Folant was taken, and Robert Folant within taken prisoner, by therle of Dymestre, and all

[1] *Osque.*

[2] *Vrolant.*

[3] *que ne fust blechies.*

Howe the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englisshmen, departed fro Calais.

the remnant taken prisoners by his men. And all the hoost lodged on the ryver of Houske,[1] abydynge for sir Wyllyam Wyndsore, who ledde the rerewarde, and was nat as than come: but he came the same night, and the nexte day they disloged, and rode to Esperleque, and there lodged. The capitayne of saynt Omers, seynge the Englysshmen so nere to them, encreased the watche of the towne, for that nyght they watched mo than two thousande men, to the entent that saynt Omers shulde nat be sodaynly won by the Englysshmen.

The next mornyng about sixe of the clocke, the Englisshmen dislodged, and rode before saint Omers; and whan they of the towne sawe thenglisshmen come, they armed them, and ordayned themselfe in the market place to go to the gates and walles by good delyberacyon, for it was shewedde theym, howe the Englysshmen wolde assayle them. But it was nat in their thoughtes, for they knewe well the towne was to strong, and thought they shulde lese there more than wynne. Howebeit, the erle of Buckyngham, who had never ben in Fraunce before, thought he wolde se saynt Omers, bycause it semed so fayre afarre of, in walles, gates, towres, and steples; so he rested all his hoost on a mountayne, halfe a leage fro the towne, araynged in good order, more than thre houres. And than ther were some yonge knightes and squyers thought to prove theymselfe, and rode to the barryers of the towne, and desyred to just with some of the knightes or squyers in the towne: but they coulde have none answere, and so they retourned agayne to the host. The same day that the erle came before saynt Omers, he made agayne newe knightes; First, sir Rafe Nevell, sir Bartylmewe Bourgchier, sir Thomas Camoyse, sir Fouke Corbette, sir Thomas Danglure,[2] sir Rafe Perypars,[3] sir Loyes of saynt Albyne, and sir Johan Paule;[4] these newe knyghtes in their first chivalry to prove themselfe, rode to the barryers of the towne, and desyred justes: but they were nat answered, and so retourned agayne to their hoost. Whan the erle and his company sawe that the galauntes of Fraunce, suche as were within saynt Omers, wolde nat yssue into the feldes agaynst them, than they passed farther, and the same day went and loged at Esquyles,[5] bytwene saynt Omers, and Tyrwyn,[6] and the nexte daye they rode towarde Tyrwynne.

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[1] *Osque.*

[2] *Angain.*

[3] *Pipes.*

[4] *Paveley.*

[5] *Esquerdes.*

[6] *Thérouenne.*

CAP. CCCLXI

Howe the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englisshmen, departed fro Calais.

Whan they of the garysons in the county of Bolayne, Artoyse, and Guynes, sawe the dealynge of the Englysshmen, and howe they went alwayes forwarde without restyng, they shewed their wylles eche to other, and determyned to pursue the Englysshe hoost, thynkynge therby somwhat to wynne. So they gathered togyder, and assembled under the standerde of the lorde of Fresures,[1] and of the lorde of saynt Pye;[2] they were a two hundred speares. And than they coosted and pursued the Englisshmen, but the Englysshmen kept themselfe ever so close toguyder, without disorderynge, that the Frenchemen coude gette none advantage. Howebeit, somtyme the Frenchemen encountred with the Englysshe foragers and overthrue them, wherfore they durst nat go a foragynge but in great companyes. Thus thenglysshmen rode forthe, and paste Tyrwynne, without any thynge doynge, for the lorde of saynt Pye, and the lorde of Fresures, were ther. And the hoost lodged at Bethwyn, and there taryed a day, and I shall shewe you why.

Ye have herde here before, howe kynge Rycharde of Englande, by thadvyse of his uncles, and of his counsayle, he had sent into Almayne a knight of his, called sir Symon Burle, to the kynge of Romayns, to have his sustre in maryage. The knight had so well spedde, that the king of Romayns assented therto, by the counsayle of all the great barons of his court. And the kyng of Romayns sent into Englande with sir Symon Burle, the duke of Tasson, to advyse the realme of Englande, to se howe it shulde please his suster, and to make an ende of the mater. For the cardynall of Ravene was all redye in Englande, who helde with Pope Urbane, and converted the Englysshmen to the opinyon of Urbane, and taryed for the comyng of the said duke; who at the kyng of Englandes desyre, and the duke of Brabantes, bothe he and all his company had a saveconduct, to passe through the realme of Fraunce, to come to Calays: and he came by Lysle, and Bethwyn, and so came and sawe therle of Buckyngham, who receyved him honorably, and the next daye they toke leave eche of other. And so the Almayns came to Ayre, and to saynt Omers, and so to Calays. And therle and his hoost went to Liques, and lodged that day at Bohayne. And alway the lorde of saynt

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[1] *Fransures.*

[2] *Sempi.*

CAP. CCCLXI

Howe the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englisshmen, departed fro Calais.

Pye, and the lorde of Fresures, pursued the host: and in the morning the host disloged and went towarde Bethwyn. In the towne there was a great garyson of knightes and squyers, parteynyng to the lorde of Coucy, as the lorde of Hangest, sir Johan and sir Trystram of Roye, sir Geffray of Chargney, sir Guy Harcourt,[1] and dyvers other. The hoost passed by Bethwyn, and went to Douchers,[2] and at night the lorde of saynt Pye, and the lorde of Fresures, entred into Bethwyn. And the next day they went to Arras, where they founde the lorde of Coucy, who receyved them joyfully, and demaunded of theym what way the Englysshmen toke; and they answered, and said, how they had lyen the same night at Douchers, and shewed hym howe they rode wysely and close togyder. Than the lorde Coucy said, Than it semeth well that they demaunde nothyng but batayle, the whiche they shall have, if the kynge our lorde wyll agre therto, or they have acomplysshed their viage. Therle of Buckyngham passed by Arras in good order of batayle, and went and lodged at Anette,[3] and the next day at Myramount, and so to Clery, on the ryver of Somme. Whan the lorde Coucy, beyng at Arras, understode howe they tooke that waye, he sent the lorde Hangest to Bray, on the same ryver of Somme, and in his company xxx. speares, knightes and squyers. And to Peron, he sent Jaques of Verchyn, seneshall of Heynault, the lorde of Havreth,[4] sir John of Roy, and dyvers other, and went hymselfe towarde saynt Quintynes, and sent the lorde of Clary, and dyvers other, into Vermandoise, for he wolde nat that by his neglygence the countre shulde have taken any domage.

[1] *Honcourt.*

[2] *Souchez.*

[3] *Avesnes.*

[4] *Havré.*

CAP. CCCLXII

Howe the lorde of Brymewe, and his chyldren, were takenne by the Englysshmen, and all their company. And howe they of the garyson of Perone were chased into their towne hastely.

THE same nyght that the Englysshmen lodged at Clary, certayne knightes amonge them, as sir Thomas Trivet, sir Wyllyam Clynton, and sir Yvon of Fytzwaren, by the movynge of their lorde Varchyne,[1] who knewe well the countre, and they knewe well howe the lorde of Coucy was with a great nombre at Arras, thinkyng surely that he wolde ryde the next mornynge to se yf they coude mete with any of their Englysshe foragers, for they knewe well his desyre was to do dedes of armes: and as they thought, so it fortuned. So the Englysshemen, with a thretie speares, rode forthe, and folowed farre of fro their foragers at adventure. The same day there departed fro the cytie of Arras, the lorde Coucy with a great company, and toke his way towardes saynt Quyntines. And whan he was in the feldes, the lorde of Brimewe and his chyldren departed fro the lorde Coucys company, with a thretie speres, lyke men that desyred to fynde adventures. And sodaynly the Frenchemen and Englisshmen mette eche with other, so that ther was no remedy but to fight; so they cryed their cryes; and at their first metyng there were many overthrowen, slayne, and hurt, on bothe parties, and ther was done many a feate of armes, and than lyghted a fote, and dyde valyantly, so that for the space of one houre, none coulde tell who hadde the better. Howebeit, finally the Englysshmen had the vyctorie, and sir Thomas Tryvet toke the lorde of Brimewe, and his ii. sonnes, Johan and Loyes, and there were taken a sixtene men of armes, and thother saved themselfe. Than the Englysshmen retourned agayne to their hoost, and so taryed aboute Peron, for they had knowledge by their prisoners, howe the lorde of Coucy was at Perone, with a thousande speares, and coude nat tell wheder he wolde fight with them or nat. The same daye there wente out of the

[1] *le signeur de Vertaing.*

Howe the lorde of Brymewe, and his chyldren, were takenne by the Englysshmen.

hoost with the foragers, the lorde of Verchyne,[1] and Ferebras his bastarde brother, and sir Yvon Fitzwaren, and dyvers other, and rode to the mount saynt Quyntyne, and there laye in a busshment, for they knewe well, that the seneshall of Heynalte was at Peron, with certayne men of armes; and they knewe well he was so yonge and lusty, that he wolde yssue out to seke for some adventure: and so he dyd. The vowarde sent x. men of armes to ren before Perone, as Terrey of Soubezmayne,[2] the bastarde of Vertayne, Hugelyn Caurell,[3] and Hopkyn Haye, mounted on good horses. And so they rode to the barryers of the towne, and within with the seneshall of Heynaulte were a fyftie speares, and he caused the barryers to be opined, and had thought to have trapped those fore ryders, and so fell to chasyng of them, and they fledde for the nones towarde their busshement. And whan they of the busshment sawe the Frenchmen chase their company, they issued out of their enbusshment, but it was a lytell to sone. For whan the seneshall and his company sawe that great nombre agaynst them, they retourned and fledde, and the Englysshmen folowed after, as fast as their spurres wolde drive their horses, and the Frenchmen founde the barryers opyn, as happe was for them. Howebeit, they were so nere folowed, that dyvers of them wer taken prisoners, as sir Richarde of Marquylles, sir Loyes of Verchyn, Hovarde of Hovardery, and Vytall of saynt Hyllary, and a tenne other men of armes; and the other saved themselfe. And whan the Englysshmen knewe howe that the seneshall, the lorde of Haverathe, and the lorde of Clery, and twentie other knyghtes were scaped away, they were sorie, and sayde, If we had taken them, they shulde well a payed fourtie thousande frankes. And so they retourned to the hoost, and there was no more doone that day. The hoost taryed a thre dayes at Clery and therabout, and on the fourthe day they departed and went to the abbey of Vaucyll, a thre leages fro Cambrey, and the nexte day towarde saynt Quyntines.

The same day a company of the duke of Burgoynes rode abrode a xxx. speares, and came fro Arras to saynt Quyntines; and sir Thomas Tryvette, sir Yvon Fytzwarenne, and the lorde of Vertayne and dyvers other Englysshmen, beynge before with their forengers, as they wolde have taken their

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[1] *Vertaing.*

[2] *Sommaing.*

[3] *Calverley.*

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Howe the lorde of Brymewe, and his chyldren, were takenne by the Englysshmen.

lodgyng, they encountred the Burgonyons, and so fought togyder. But it endured nat longe, for anone the Burgonyons were dyscevered and fledde away, savyng themselfe as many as might. Howebeit, sir Johan Mornay abode styll in the place, and his penon before hym, and fought valiantly; but finally he was taken, and ten men of armes with hym. Than the Englysshemen went to Fonsons,[1] a two leages fro Amyens, and ther the vowarde lodged.

CAP. CCCLXIII

Howe the Englysshmen brent and wasted the countre of Champayne, and of the encounterynges that they hadde in their way, and of the prisoners that they toke.

THE next mornyng, whan therle of Buckyngham had herd masse, he toke his way towarde saynt Quintynes, in the whiche towne there was a great nombre of menne of warre, but they yssued nat out. Ther were certayne currours that ran to the barriers, but anon they departed, bycause the hoost passed by without taryeng, and went to Origny saynt Benet, and there lodged, and in the vyllages therabout. In the towne of Origney was a fayre abbey of nonnes, and the same tyme the abbesse there was aunt to the lorde of Vertayne, who was in the vowarde: and so at his desyre the abbey and towne was saved fro brennyng, and therle lodged in the abbey. But the same evenyng and the next mornyng there was great scrimysshing at Ryllemont,[2] nat ferr fro the hoost, and dyvers slayne and hurt on both parties. The next mornyng the hoost disloged fro Origny and went to Cressy, and than passed at Vaux besyde Laon, and lodged at Syssone. And the next day they passed the ryver of Aigne at the bridge of Vayre, and so went to Hermonvyll and to Hormissy,[3] a four leages fro Reynes,[4] and founde nothyng in their way, for every thyng was put into the good townes and into fortresses. The French kyng had abandoned to his men of armes all that ever they coude get abrode in the countre: so thenglysshmen had gret nede, and specially of flesshe; than they determyned to sende to Reynes,

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[1] *Fonsomme.*

[2] *Ribemont.*

[3] *Cormicy.*

[4] *Rheims.*

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Howe the Englysshmen brent and wasted the countre of Champayne.

to treate with them to sende vitayle to their host, as a certayne quantyte of beestes, brede, and wyne. They of Reynes answered, howe they wolde do nothyng at their desyre, they badde them do as they lyst. The Englysshmen were so sore dyspleased with that answere, that within a weke after, their currours brent beyonde lx. vyllages in the marchesse of Reyns. Also thenglysshmen had certayne knowlege howe they of Reyns had within their dykes a great nombre of beestes. So the forwarde came thyder and made their men to entre into the dykes, and chased out all those beestes, for none durst issue out of the towne, nor make no defence, for the archers were on the dykes and shotte so thicke that non durst apere on the walles. So there the Englysshmen had mo than xx. thousande beestes of one and other; and yet they sent agayne to them of the towne, shewyng them how they wolde burne all their cornes, without they wolde sende out into their host some brede and wyne. They of Raynes douted that tidynges, and so they sent sixe chares laded with as moch brede and wyne as they coude cary, and by that meanes their corne was saved fro brennynge. So thenglysshmen passed by Reynes in good order of batayle, and went to Beaumount, for they had passed the ryver besyde Reynes. And whan they disloged fro Beaumount on the ryver of Vyell,[1] they rode forthe to passe the ryver of Maren,[2] and so came to Conde, and ther they founde the bridge broken. Howebeit, the stayes and postes stode styll, and there they founde plankes and tymbre, and so made agayne the brige, and than passed over and lodged in the vyllages about Maren, and the next day they came to the towne of Vertues, and ther was a great scrimysshe before the castell, and dyvers sore hurte. Therle lodged in the towne of Vertues, and in the nyght the towne was brent, all save the abbey wherin the erle was lodged, elles it had been also brent, for they of the towne were withdrawen into the castell, and wolde gyve nothyng to save it. The next mornyng the host disloged and passed by the castell of Moymer,[3] whiche parteyned to the herytage of the lorde of Chastellon; the scrimysshers came to the barryers, and so passed forthe and lodged at Pelayng,[4] aprochyng towarde the cytie of Troys, and the next day at Plancy on the ryver of

[1] *Vesle.*

[2] *Marne.*

[3] *Montmor.*

[4] *Pelotte.*

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Howe the Englysshmen brent and wasted the countre of Champayne.

Aube. Than they rode forthe the lorde of Newcastell[1] and Johan his brother, and Raymonde of saynt Marsyn, Gascoyns and other Englysshemen about a xl. speares of one and other. But they founde none adventure a great whyle, wherwith they were sore displeased. At last they saw comynge in the feldes a great company of men of armes, ridyng towarde Troyes, which was the lorde of Hangest and his company. Than the Englysshemen and Gascoyns proched their horses with their spurres, and folowed after them. The lorde of Hangest had well avewed them, and douted lest they had been a greatter company than they were in dede, and sayd to his company, Sirs, lette us ryde towarde Plancy and save ourselfe, for the Englysshmen hath discovered us, and are nere to us: lette us save ourselfe in the castell of Plancy. So they drue thyder, and the Englysshmen folowed fast after. There was a man of armes of the lorde of Vertaygnes retynewe, an experte man of armes, named Peter Berton,[2] well horsed. He layd his speare in the rest, and ranne after the lorde of Hangest, who fledde before him, so that his speare poynt touched his backe behynde hym, thinkyng to have stryken him out of his sadell. Howebeit, for all that the lorde of Dangest lost nother sadell nor styrroppe, and yet styll the other man of armes helde styll rennyng the speare poynt at his backe, and so he came to Plancy. And at the entryng into the castell, the lorde of Hangest sodaynly lepte fro his horse, and entred a fote into the dyke: than they of the castell entended to save hym, and so came to the barryer, and there was a great scrimysshe, for they of the castell shotte sore, for they had many good crosbowes: there was done many a proper feate of armes, of the one part and of the other. So with great payne the lorde of Hangest was saved, who right valiantly fought at his first entryng into the castell; and styll came thyder people of the vowarde. The lorde of Vertaygne, sir Thomas Tryvet, sir Hughe Caurell, and dyvers other came thyder, so that ther was a sore batayle, for ther were slayne and taken of the Frenche parte about a xxx. and the base courte of the castell brent, and the castell assayled on all partes, the whiche was well defended, and the mylles aboute Plancy brent and beten

[1] *Castelnau.*

[2] *Broton.*

Howe the Englysshmen brent and wasted the countre of Champayne.

downe. So than the hoost drewe agayne togyder and passed the ryver of Aube, at the bridge at Augle, and rode towardes Valant, on the ryver of Sayne. So thus that daye the lorde of Hangest was in great adventure.

The same day the lordes of the vowarde, sir Thomas Tryvet, sir Hughe Caurell, the lorde of Vertayne, the bastarde his brother, Peter Berton, and dyvers other rode forthe and encountred sir Johan of Roye, and a xx. speares parteyninge to the duke of Burgoyne rydinge to Troyes. The Englysshmen spyed theym, and folowed after as fast as they coulde drive their horses. The Frenchemen thought to save themselfe, for they were nat men ynowe to abyde them, and so the moost parte saved themselfe: and sir Johan of Roy and dyvers other put themselfe within the barryers of Troyes, for as than they were open. And so in the tournynge agayne of the Englysshemen, they tooke four prisoners, who came to shorte to save themselfe, among the whiche there was a squyer of the duke of Burgoins called Gyon,[1] an expert man of armes: his horse was right sore chafed; so he rested in the felde, and had at his backe a myre, and ther he fought right valiantly agaynst two Englysshemen, who spake to hym in Englysshe, and badde him yelde him; but he wyst nat what they sayd. The bastarde of Vertayne, as he retourned fro the chase, came to them, and sayd to the squyer in Frenche, Yelde the. And whan he understode him, he said agayne, What are you a gentylman? The bastarde answered and sayd, Ye trewely. Well, quoth he, than I yelde me to you; and so toke him his gauntelet and his swerde. Than the Englysshmen wolde have slayne hym in the bastardes handes, sayeng howe he was nat courtesse to take from hym their prisoner; howebeit the bastarde was stronger than they, and so saved his prisoner. Than at nyght questyon was made therof before the marshalles, and so all thynges consydred, the bastarde kept styll the prisoner, who raunsomed hym the same night, and trusted hym on his faythe, and sent hym the nexte day to Troys. Than the hoost lodged at Balande[2] on the ryver of Sayne, and came to a village a leage fro Troyes, called Bernare saynt Symple,[3] and ther the great lordes had a great counsayle togyder.

[1] *Guion Gouffier.*

[2] *Vallant.*

[3] *Barbery Saint Sulpice.*

CAP. CCCLXIIII

Howe thenglisshmen came before Troyes, and of the bastydes that the duke of Burgoyne made withoute Troyes to resyst the Englysshmen.

IN the cyte of Troyes was the duke of Burgoyne, and had made there his somons, for he had entensyon and was in wyll to fyght with thenglisshmen, bytwene the ryver of Sayne and Yone. And also the barons, knyghtes, and squyers of Fraunce desyred none other thyng. But Charles the Frenche kynge wolde in no wyse acorde therto, bycause of doute of fortune, for he remembred moche the great losses and domages that the nobles of his realme had of tyme past by the vyctories of the Englysshmen; wherfore he wolde in no wyse that they shulde fight, without it were to their great advauntage.

The duke of Burgoyne was at Troyes, and with hym the duke of Burbone, the duke of Bare, the erle of Ewe, the lorde Coucy, sir Johan of Vyen, admyrall of the see, the lorde of Vyenne and of saynt Croyse, sir James of Vyenne, sir Water of Vyen, the lorde of Tremoyle, the lorde of Vergy, the lorde of Reugemont, the lorde of Hambey,[1] the seneshall of Heynalte, the lorde of saynt Pye,[2] the barone of Habers,[3] the lorde of Roy, the vycont Dassey,[4] sir Wyllyam bastarde of Langers, and mo than two thousand knightes and squiers. And it was shewed me howe the lorde Tremoyle was sent by the duke to the kyng at Parys, to get lycence to fight with the Englysshmen, and he was nat returned the same day that thenglysshmen came before Troyes. The Frenchmen within Troyes thought surelye that the Englysshmen wolde not passe by without lokyng on the towne; wherfore they made without the towne, a bowe shotte of fro the gate, a bastyde of great tymbre, wherin myght well be a thousande men of armes. In the evenyng in the hoost all the capitayns went to counsayle, to determyne what they shulde do the next day: than it was concluded, that every man with their baners and penones well armed, shulde ryde before Troyes, and to abyde in the

[1] *Hambue.*
[2] *Sempi.*
[3] *le Barrois des Barres.*
[4] *Acy.*

Howe thenglisshmen came before Troyes.

felde, and to sende to them of the towne to demaunde batayle. So in the nexte mornynge they armed them, and sette theymselfe in thre batayls, and so came into a fayre playne before Troys, and there taryed. Than two harauldes, as Chandos and Aquitany, were sente for to the erle of Buckyngham. And whan they were come, the erle sayd, Sirs, go your wayes to Troyes, and shewe the lordes there howe we be yssued oute of Englande to do dedes of armes; and whereas we might have it to demaunde therfore, and bycause we knowe well howe a great parte of the floure delyse and of the chivalry of Fraunce is within the towne; therfore shewe them we be come this way; and if they wyll any thynge, say to them, they shall fynde us in the felde, in the same forme and maner as ye shall leave us, and in suche wyse as they ought to fynde their enemyes. So the haraldes departed and rode towardes Troys; thentre of the bastyde was opyned to them, but they coude nat gette to the gate of the towne. There yssued oute so many men of armes and crosbowes, settyng themselfe in order of batayle: the harauldes had on their cotes of armes of therle of Buckynghams. The lordes demaunded of them what they wolde, and they answered and sayd, howe they were sente to speke with the duke of Burgoyne.

In the same season that these harauldes shulde have done their message, the duke of Burgoyne and the lordes with hym were besy to sette their men in ordre of batayle. The Englisshmen thought verely to have had batayle, wherfore ther were made newe knyghtes; fyrst, sir Thomas Tryvet brought his baner rolled up toguyder to the erle of Buckyngham, and sayd, Sir, if it please you, I shall this day display my baner, for thanked be God I have revenues sufficyent to mayntayne it withall. It pleaseth me right well, quoth the erle. Than the erle toke the baner, and delyvered it to sir Thomas Tryvet, and sayde, Sir Thomas, I pray God gyve you grace to do nobly this day and alwayes after. Than sir Thomas toke the baner and displayed it, and delyvered it to a squier whome he trusted well, and soo went to the vowarde, for he was ordayned so to do by the capitayne the lorde Latymer, and by the marshall the lorde Fitzwater. And ther were made newe knyghtes, as sir

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Howe thenglisshmen came before Troyes.

Peter Berton,[1] sir John and sir Thomas Paulle,[2] sir John Syngule,[3] sir Thomas Dortyngues, sir John Vassecoq,[4] sir Thomas Brasey,[5] sir Johan Brauyne, sir Henry Vernyer,[6] sir Johan Colevyll, sir Wylliam Evrart, sir Nycholas Styngule, and sir Hughe Lunyt; and all these went to the fyrste batayle, bycawse to be at the first skrimysshe. Than the erle called forthe a gentyll squyer of the countie of Savoy, who had ben desyred before to have ben made knight, both before Arde and saynt Omers: this squier was called Rafe of Greuiers, sonne to the erle of Greuiers. The erle of Buckyngham sayd to him, Sir, if God be pleased, I thynke we shall have this day batayle; wherfore I wyll that ye be a knight. The squier excused hymselfe, and sayde, Sir, God thanke you of the noblenes that ye wolde put me unto; but, sir, I wyll never be knyght, without I be made by the handes of my naturall lorde the erle of Savoy in batayll: and so he was examyned noo farther. It was great pleasure to beholde the Englisshmen in the felde. And the Frenchmen made their preparacyon in their bastyde, for they thought well at the leest to have some scrymishe, thinkyng that suche men as thenglisshmen were, wolde never passe by without some maner of face or skrimysshe. The duke of Burgoyne was there without the towne, armed at all peces, with an axe in his hande, and soo all knyghtes and squiers passed by hym to the bastyde, so that there was so great prease that no man coulde go forewarde; nor the harauldes coulde nother go forwarde nor backewarde, wherby they coulde nat come to the duke to do their message as they were commaunded.

Besyde the erle of Buckynghams commaundement to the two harauldes, there were dyvers other, that sayd to them, Sirs, ye shall go forth and do your message, and besyde that, say to the duke of Burgoyne, howe that the duke of Bretayne and the countrey there hath sent to the kyng of Englande to have comforte and ayde, agaynst a certayne barons and knyghtes of Bretayne, rebels to the duke, who wyll nat obey to their lorde, as the moost parte of the countrey dothe, but make warre in the countre, and shadowe themselfe under the Frenche kyng. And bycause the kyng of Englande wyll ayde the duke and the countrey, he hath

[1] *Broton.*
[2] *Paveley.*
[3] *Stonckel.*
[4] *Walcot.*
[5] *Hercy.*
[6] *Thomas Bernier.*

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Howe thenglisshmen came before Troyes.

nowe specially sent one of his uncles, the erle of Buckyngham, with a certayne nombre of men of warre, to go into Bretayne, to confort the duke and the countre, who arryved at Calays, and hath taken their way to passe throughe the realme of Fraunce, and so they be forwarde in their journey hyder to the cytie of Troyes; where as they knowe well there is a great nombre of lordes, and specially the duke of Burgoyne, sonne to the French kyng disseased, and brother to the kyng that nowe is. Wherfore ye may say to him, howe sir Thomas erle of Buckyngham, sonne to the kyng of Englande disseased, and uncle to the kyng that nowe is, desireth of him batayll. The harauldes, or they went they demaunded to have hadde letters of credence consernynge that mater, and they were answered, how they shulde have had letters the next day. But in the mornynge, they had taken other counsayle, and sayde, howe they wolde sende no letters, but badde them depart: and sayd, Go your wayes, and say as ye have ben enformed: ye are credable ynough, if they lyst to beleve you. So the haraldes departed, as ye have herde before, and the newe Englysshe knyghtes hadde begon the scrimysshe, so that all was in trouble. And certayn knightes and other of Fraunce sayd to the haraudes, Sirs, what do you here? get you hens, ye be here in great parell, for here be yvell people in this towne; whiche doute caused the haraldes to retourne agayne, without any thyng doyng of their message.

Nowe let us shewe what was done in this scrimysshe.

First ther was an Englisshe squyer, borne in the byshoprike of Lyncoln, an expert man of armes; I cannat se whyder he coude se or nat; but he spurred his horse, his spear in his hande, and his targe about his necke. His horse came russhyng downe the waye, and lepte clene over the barres of the barriers, and so galoped to the gate, where as the duke of Burgoyn and the other lordes of Fraunce were, who reputed that dede for a great enterprise. The squier thought to have returned, but he coulde nat, for his horse was stryken with speares and beaten downe, and the squier slayne; wherwith the duke of Burgoyne was ryght sore displeased that he had nat ben taken alyve as prisoner. Therwith the great batayll of the erle of

Howe thenglisshmen came before Troyes.

Buckynghams came on afoote towarde these men of armes in the bastyde, the which was made but of dores, wyndowes, and tables; and to saye the trouth, it was nothyng to holde agaynst suche men of warre as the Englisshmen were, wherfore it coulde nat longe endure. Whan the duke of Burgoyne sawe them comyng so thicke and so great a nombre, consideryng howe his nombre was nat sufficyent agaynst them, commaunded every man to entre into the towne, except crosbowes: and so they entred in at the gate lytell and lytell, and whyle they entred the Genowayes crosbowes shot continually, and hurte dyvers of the Englisshmen. There was a sore scrymishe, but anone the bastyde was conquered, it coulde nat endure agaynst Englisshmen: so the Frenchmen entred agayne in at the gate, and as they entred they set themselfe in ordre in the stretes. There was the duke of Lorayne, and the lorde Coucy, the duke of Burbon, and dyvers other bytwene the gate and the barryers: there was many a feate of armes done, some slayne, hurt, and taken. Whan the Englisshmen sawe the Frenchmen withdrawe backe, they in lykewyse reculed backe, and stode styll in ordre of bataile the space of two houres, and than returned to their lodgyng. And the next day they went to Maylleroys[1] the Vycount, nere to Sence in Burgoyne, and there the hoost taryed two dayes to refresshe them, and to get vitayles in the countre, for they had no great plenty.

Thus ye have harde well howe the Englisshmen rode throughe the realme of Fraunce to go into Bretayne, and it was sayd, and they also mayntayned, howe the duke of Bretayne and the countrey had sent for them, and made no warre in the name of their lorde the kyng of Englande, but named themselfe to be sowdyers of the duke of Bretaynes. Kyng Charles of Fraunce was well enfourmed of all these maters, and sagely and wysely he advysed the parels and insydentes that might growe by this warre, and sawe well howe the countre of Bretayne with the ayde of the Englysshmen were contrary to hym, and therby he feared leest the fortune of the warr shulde be to him the more harder: and specially by reason of the duke of Bretayne, for by him the good townes of Bretayne shulde be his enemyes, and be

[1] *Maslay.*

CAP. CCCLXIIII

Howe thenglisshmen came before Troyes.

opyned to his enemyes, wherby he shulde have great prejudyce. Wherfore he sent swete letters and gracyous to them of Nauntes, the whiche was the key and chefe towne of all Bretayne, shewynge them howe thenglysshmen, as they rydde through the realme, do make their avaunt and afferme, howe they be soudyers and sent for by them, and by the other comons of Bretayne; and also shewyng them howe that if it be so that they wyll so contynue, they do yvell and ronne in the maledyction and sentence of the Holy Father the Pope, and in the forfeyture of two hundred thousande florens, the whiche he maye than laufully take of them, and wherunto they are bounde by their writynges sealed, and by the treaties made heretofore, wherof they have the copy, wherfore they ought nat to forget it. And also he shewed them howe he hath ben alwayes their frende and lover, and hath conforted and ayded them always in their busynesses, and counsaylinge them, that they shulde nat do so farre, wherby they might take wronge; sayeng, howe they had no suche tytell as to complayne of hym, or to entre into suche a warre as to receyve his ennemyes. Wherfore he counsayled them to be well advysed, and if they have ben yvell exorted and counsayled by feble counsayle, yet he wolde pardon it, so that they opyn nat their towne to the Englysshmen his enemyes; and in their so doyng, he promysed them to menteyne and kepe up their fraunchysses and lyberties, and to renewe it yf nede requyred. Whan these offers thus made by the Frenche kyng was presented to them of Nauntes, and well debated amonge them, than the most notable of the towne sayd howe the kynge had cause and right to say as he dyd. For surelye they sayde, howe they had sworne and writynges sealed, howe they shulde never do none anoyaunce to the realme of Fraunce, nor ayde, nor assyst none enemy to the kynge or to the realme: wherfore they toke hede to the mater, and sent secretly to the kynge, desyring hym to take no thought for that mater, for they sayd, thenglyshmen shulde nat be sustayned by them, nor entre into their towne, to renne or to make any warre to the realme of Fraunce. Howbeit, they desyred the kynge, that if nede requyred, to be ayded and conforted by some of his men, to whom they sayde they wolde open their towne, and to none other. Whan the Frenche kynge herde this treatie he was right gladde therof, and beleved well their wordes, for Nauntes had ben alwayes Frenche. And of all this knewe nothynge the duke of Bretayne, who was at Vennes; he beleved surely that they of Nauntes wolde have ben trewe and stedfast to hym, and to have opened their towne to the Englysshmen whan they came thyder.

Nowe let us retourne to the Englysshmen, who were lodged nere to Sence in Burgoyne, in the whiche cytie was the duke of Bare, the lorde Coucy, the lorde of saynt Puye,[1] the lorde of Fresures[2] and their companyes.

CAP. CCCLXV

Howe the Englysshmen rode and pylled the countre of Gastenoyse and of Beause, and howe a French squyer right valyaunt requyredde an Englisshe squier to just with hym.

WHAN the erle of Buckyngham and his hoost had well rested them at Maylleroyes the Vicount, than they toke counsayle to drawe into Gastenoyes. Than they passed the ryver of Dyone,[3] and theyr foreryders went to the faubories of Sence; and the next day they lodged at saynt Johns of Nemours and therabout, and than at Beause, in Gastenoyes, and ther the hoost taryed thre dayes, bycause of the good plentyfull countre that they founde there. Than they toke counsayle, whyder they shulde holde and kepe the playne way of Beause, or els by the ryver of Loyre: than they determyned to take the way of Beause, and to go towardes Tourey in Beause. In the castell of Tourey was the lorde of saynt Pye, sir Olyver of Manny, sir Guy of Baveux, and a great nombre of men of warre: and at Genvyll in Beause was the lorde of Vylaines, the Barroyse of Barres, and dyvers other, about iii. C. speares. So thus in all the castels and fortresses in Beause there were men of warr set to resyst agaynst thenglisshmen. The Englysshe vowarde came and scrimysshed with them of

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[1] *Sempi.*

[2] *Fransures.*

[3] *Yonne.*

Howe the Englysshmen pylled the countre of Gastenoyse and of Beause.

Tourey, and dyvers hurt on bothe partes; there the erle of Buckyngham and all his hoost was lodged about, and founde ther great plenty of vitayls. At the scrimysshe before Tourey ther was a squyer of Beause avaunsed himselfe without any settyng on by any other person, and came to the barryers scrimysshynge, and sayd to the Englysshmen, Sirs, is there any gentylman among you, that for the love of his lady wyll do any dede of armes? If there be any, here I am redy to issue out, armed at all peces a horsbacke, to ren thre courses with a speare, to stryke thre strokes with an axe, and thre strokes with a dagger. Nowe let us se if there be any amorous amonge you. This squyer was called Gawen Mychaell. This worde and request was anon spredde among the Englysshmen: than an Englysshe squyer, called Joachym Cathore, stept forthe and sayd, I am here, redy to delyver his request; let hym come out of the castell. Than the lorde Fitzwater, marshall of the hoost, came to the barryers, and sayd to sir Guy le Baveux, Cause your squyer to come forthe, he shall fynde one wyll be gladde to delyver him, and we shall assure hym in all thynges. Gawen Mychaell was right joyouse of those wordes, and armed hym incontynent, and the lordes dyde helpe to arme hym and sette hym a horsbacke: so he yssued out of the castell and thre with him, and the varlettes bare thre speares, thre axes, and thre daggers. He was greatly regarded by the Englysshmen, for they beleved afore that there was no Frencheman that wolde fyght body for body. And in the same chalenge they shulde have thre strokes with the swerde; so he had also thre swerdes borne after hym.

The erle of Buckingham was enformed of this chalenge, and sayd, howe he wolde go and se it hymselfe; and so he mounted on his horse, and the erle Stafforde[1] and the erle Dymestre[2] with hym; and for this cause seased the assaut at Tourey. The Englysshmen drewe thyder to se these justes: than the Englysshman came forthe, armed at all peces, mounted on a good horse. Whan they were come into the place, there speares were delyvered them, and so ran eche at other, and myssed by reason of stryvinge of their horses; the seconde course they met and ataynted. Than therle of Buckyngham sayd, Hola, cease, for it is late. And

[1] *Oxford.*

[2] *Devonshire.*

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Howe the Englysshmen pylled the countre of Gastenoyse and of Beause.

than he sayd to the constable, Cause them to cease, for they have done ynough for this day; they shall ende their enterprise another season at more leysar than we have as nowe. And take good heed that the French squyer lacke nothyng, but lette hym be as well kept as oure owne squyer; and shewe, or cause to be shewed to them of the castell, that they take no care for their squyer, for he shall go with us to performe his enterprise, nat as a prisoner, for if he scape alyve, he shall returne agayne without parell. The erles wordes were acomplysshed, and it was shewed to the squier by the marshall, howe he shulde ryde with them without any daunger, and whan the erle is content, ye shall be delyvered. Sir, quod the squyer, as God wyll, so be it. And a haraude was sent to the castell, to shewe all the mater to them within.

The next day they rode to Yenvyll in Beause, alwayes beyng in hope to fyght with their enemyes, for well they knewe howe they were pursued and costed on all parties by the Frenchmen, who were as great a nombre as they were, or greatter. And to say the trouthe, the Frenche lordes, knightes, and squiers had great wyll and desyre to fight with the Englysshmen, and sayd among themselfe, howe it was a great shame to suffre them so longe unfought withall. And whan they spake to the kynge therof, he sayd ever to them, Sirs, let them alone to kepe on their waye, they shall at lengthe lese themselfe. So thus the Englysshmen kept forthe their waye, to thentent to entre into Bretayne. And as ye have harde in Yenvyll in Beause there were mo than thre hundred speres, and all the hoost passed by before the barryers: ther was a lytell scrimysshe and so passed forthe, for they lost their payne; and without Yenvylle there was a fayre wyndmyll, the whiche was beaten downe. So the erle of Buckyngham came to Ytervyll,[1] and alighted at the house of the Templers, and the vouarde went to Puyset. And they were advertysed howe that there was a stronge towre and a xl. companyons within. Thenglysshmen went and assayled it; it stode on the playne grounde with lytell defence: so there was a great assaut, but it endured nat longe, for the Englysshe archers shotte so holly toguyder, that ther was none durst apere at any defence.

[1] *Outarville.*

So the towre was taken, and all they within slayne or taken: and than thenglysshmen sette fyre in the towre, and so passed forthe, for they coulde fynde no good waters, whiche was a great myschefe for them. Than they came to Ermoyne[1] and loged ther, and fro thens wente and lodged in the forest of Marcheaunoy.[2]

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Howe the Englysshmen pylled the countre of Gastenoyse and of Beause.

CAP. CCCLXVI

Of the justes bytwene Gawen Mychaell Fraunsois, and Joahym Cathore Angloys, and of the wordes that kyng Charles of Fraunce sayd on his deth bedde.

WITHIN the forest of Marcheaunoyr was an abbey of monkes Sesteause, wherin were noble houses and buyldynges of olde tyme; it was edified and bylded by a valyant and noble man, therle of Bloys, and he gave therunto revenewes and rentes, but the warres had sore mynisshed their lyvelode. There the erle of Buckynghame lodged and herde masse on Our Lady Day in Septembre; and there it was ordayned that Gawen Mychaell shulde furnysshe his chalenge agaynst Joachym Cathore the nexte day. The same day thenglysshmen came towarde Marcheaunoy, and within the towne there was capitayne the same tyme a knyght of that countre, called sir Wyllyam of saynt Martyne, a ryght sage knyght and a valyant in armes. Whan the Englysshmen sawe the maner of that castell, they withdrewe to their lodgynges. The lorde Fitzwater came before the castell of Verby; nat to gyve any assaute unto it, but to speke with the lorde therof at the barryers, bycause they knewe eche other; they had ben toguyder before that tyme in Pruce. So the lorde Fitzwater knowledged hymselfe to the lorde of Verby, and desyred hym, for olde acquayntance, to sende him some of his wyne of his courtesy, and promysed to save all his landes fro brennyng and wastynge. The lorde of Verby sent hym wyne largely, and thretie myches therwith, for the whiche the lorde Fytzwater gave hym great thankes, and kept well his promyse.

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[1] *Ormoy.*

[2] *Marchenoir.*

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Of the justes bytwene Gawen Mychaell and Joahym Cathore.

The next daye after Our Lady Day, Gawen Mychaell and Jochyme Cathore armed theym and mounted on their horses, to performe their enterprise. So they met at the speare poyntes rudely; the French squyer justed right plesantly: the Englysshman ranne to lowe, for he strake the Frenchman depe into the thygh, wherwith the erle of Buckingham was ryght sore displeased, and so were all thother lordes, and sayd howe it was shamefully ron. Than eche of them strake thre strokes with their swerdes; than therle sayd howe they had done ynough; and sayd howe they shulde do no more, for he sawe the squyer blede sore. Than Gawen Mychaell was unarmed, and the erle sent hym by an haraude a hundred frankes, and gave hym leave to departe home agayn to his owne company, sendyng them worde howe he had acquyted hym right valiantly. So this Gawen Mychaell retourned agayne to the Frenche lordes, and the Englysshemen departed fro Marcheaunoy, and toke the way towarde Vandone;[1] but or they came there they lodged in the forest of Coulonbers.[2]

Ye have herde before howe the Frenche kyng had sent dyvers treaties and covenauntes to certayne townes in Bretayne, to the entent that they shulde nat open their townes to the Englysshmen, shewyng them that if they dyde otherwyse, they shulde soore trespasse agaynst hym, so that it shulde be inpardonable. They of Nauntes had sent to the kyng secretely, that he shulde be in no doute of them, promysinge they wolde make no treatie that shulde be agaynst the kynge their lorde; so that yf the Englysshmen dyde aproche their towne, than the kynge to sende them some socoure; to the whiche the Frenche kyng was well agreed, and had charged his counsayle to take hede therto. Of all these treaties sir Johan de Bulle hadde the busynesse therof under the duke of Anjou, who lay at Angers. The duke of Burgoyne was in the cytie of Mans and therabout, and in the castelles and forteresses thereaboutc there were these lordes: the duke of Burbone, the erle of Bare, the lorde Coucy, the erle Ducke,[3] and the duke of Lorayne, and so moche people, that they were above the nombre of sixe thousande men of armes; who sayde amonge themselfe, howe they wolde, whyder the kynge wolde or nat, fight

[1] *Vendôme.*

[2] *Coulommiers.*

[3] *d'Eu.*

with the Englysshemen, or they were past the ryver of Sartie,[1] the whiche departeth Mayne and Anjowe.

Of the justes bytwene Gawen Mychaell and Joahym Cathore.

The same season a sickenesse toke the Frenche kynge, wherby hymselfe and all suche as loved hym were greatlye discomforted, for they sawe in hym no remedy but that shortly he shulde dye. He knewe it well hymselfe howe he coude nat lyve longe, for so sayde all his phisycions and surgyons; I shall shewe you why.

It was of trouthe, as the common brunte ranne, that the kynge of Naverr, whan the Frenche kyng was but duke of Normandy, and lay there, he wolde have poysoned hym. So that the kyng receyved the poyson, and was in the case that all the heare of his body went of, and all the nayles of his handes and fete, and than all his body became as drie as a staffe, so that he was without remedy. The emperoure of Rome his uncle, whan he herde speakynge of his malady, he sent hym a conyng phisycion, the greattest mayster reputed in that arte that was as than in all the worlde. Whan this mayster was come into Fraunce to the kynge, who as than was but duke of Normandy, and had ones knowlege of his disease, he said he knewe well that he was poysoned, and was in greate parell of dethe. And so he dyde there one of the greattest cures that hath been herde of, for he kylled the venym within hym, or the best parte therof, and made his heer and nayles to growe agayne, and made hym hole, and brought hym agayne to his strength. This venym ever yssued out of hym lytell and lytell at his arme by a lytell pype. And whan this mayster departed out of Fraunce, he gave the kynge a receyte to use as long as he lyved. And he sayd to the kynge and to them that were about him, Loke whan this yssue by this pype drieth up, than surely ye shall dye; but ye shall have a fyftene dayes respyte after ye fall sicke or ever ye dye, to remembre your soule. So the kynge remembred well his wordes, and bare this pype xxii. dayes,[2] whiche thynge often tymes abasshed hym. And suche phisycions as he had moost trust in, they often tymes rejoysed hym and sayd, Sir, by the good medycins that ye have, we shall make you to lyve long in great joye: wherin he had great trust. Besyde this, the kyng had other diseases right grevous, and specially in his tethe, wherof he hadde

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[1] *Sarthe.*

[2] *xxiii. ans.*

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Of the justes bytwene Gawen Mychaell and Joahym Cathore.

merveylous payne: and the kynge knewe well by these maladyes that he shulde nat lyve longe. At his later dayes, the thynge that moost conforted hym was, that God hadde sent hym thre fayre chyldren, two sonnes and one doughter, Charles, Lewes, and Katheryne.

Whan this issue in his arme began to drie up, the doutes of his dethe began to aproche. Than he provyded therfore, for like a noble, prudent, and sage prince, as he was ever in all his warkes, he sent for his thre bretherne, the duke of Berrey, the duke of Burgone, and the duke of Burbone; and he let his seconde brother, the duke of Anjowe, alone, and sent nat for hym, bycause he knewe well he was so sore gyven to covytousnesse. Than the king sayde to the other thre, My fayre bretherne, by the ordynaunce of nature I fele well, and knowe howe I shall nat lyve long; wherfore I recommaunde into your kepyng my sonne Charles, and loke that ye use youreselfe to him, as good uncles shulde do to their nephewe, and that ye acquyte yourselfe to hym trewely, and crowne hym kynge as soone as ye can after my dethe. Counsayle hym alwayes well and trewely, for in you lyeth all my trust. The chylde is yonge and lyght of spiryte, therfore it is great nede that he be well counsayled and governed; and teche him, or cause him to be taught, all the pointes and states ryall, the which he ought to kepe; and mary hym in so high a place that the realm may fare the better therby. Longe agone I herde a mayster of astronomy say and affirme, that in his youthe he shulde have moche ado, and shulde escape fro many daungerous parelles; wherfore I have had dyvers ymaginacyons howe it might be, without it growe by reason of Flaunders, for thanked be God, as for the busynesse of this our realme of Fraunce standethe in right good poynte. The duke of Bretayne is a craftie and a subtell man, and hath hadde alwayes his herte rather Englysshe than Frenche; wherfore it wyll be requysite that ye kepe the noble men and good townes of Bretayne in love and amyte, wherby ye shall breke parte of his entent. I prayse greatly the Bretons, for alwayes they have served me and helpte to kepe my realme fro myne ennemyes; and I wyll ye make the lorde Clysson constable, for all thynges consydred, I se no man so mete as he for that offyce. Seke for some maryage for my sonne Charles in Almaygne, to the entent that our alyaunce might be the stronger: ye well understande how our adversary the kyng of Englande wyll mary there, to have the more alyaunce. The poore people of our realme ar sore oppressed and tourmented by him and his; therfore putte them away as shortely as ye can, for they are thynges, though I have sustayned them, that greveth me ryght sore, and lyeth hevy in my courage. But the great alyance that we have in the good townes of Bretayne hath caused me to forbere fightynge with them so longe as we have done.

The kynge spake dyvers other wordes, the whiche I canne nat resyte. At this rehersall was the duke of Anjowe absent. The kyng douted hym, bycause he was so covytous; but thoughe the kynge dyde absent hym at the houre of his dethe, and putte hym farre of fro the busynesses of the realme of Fraunce, yet the duke of Anjowe thought to medyll never the lesse for all his absence, for he had alwayes messangers comynge and goynge bytwene Paris and Angers, who ever reported to hym the certayntie of the kynge his brother. And also the duke had some secrete persones alwayes about the kynge, by whome he knewe every thinge; for the same day that the kynge dyed he was in Paris, and nere to the kynges chambre, and so thought to prepare for himselfe, as ye shall her after. But nowe we wyll pursue on our mater as touchyng the Englysshmen goyng into Bretaygne.

CAP. CCCLXVII

Of the lorde of Mauvoysin, who was taken prisoner by the Englisshemen, and of the lorde of Hangest, who skaped, and of the dethe of kyng Charles of Fraunce, the fifte of that name.

WHAN the erle of Buckyngham, yongest sonne to kyng Edward the Thirde, departed fro the forest of Marcheaunoy, they rode towardes Vandon and to the forest of Colombiers. There rode togyder sir Thomas Trivet and sir Willyam Clynton, and with them a

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Of the lorde of Mauvoysin, who was taken prisoner by the Englisshemen.

xl. speres, and by adventure they encountred on the way the lorde of Hangest, comyng fro Vandone, with xxx. speares. The Englisshmen knewe incontynent that they were Frenchmen, and so ran feirsly at them. The Frenchmen sawe they were over matched, and thought nat therfore to abyde them, also they were nat farre of fro Vandon.[1] So they rode thyderwarde as fast as they myght, and the Englysshmen after: and there was overthrowen with a speare sir Robert of Hangest, cosyn to the lorde of Hangest and John of Mondecryes, and syxe other were takene prisoners. The lorde of Hangest came so to the barryers, that they were opyn as his happe was, and so entred in therat, and than toke his speare and tourned hym to defence right valiantly, but the Englysshmen hadde a twelfe prisoners.

The same daye rode forthe sir Robert Canoll[2] and his company, who encountred the lorde of Mauvoysin, defendyng himselfe right valiantlye; howebeit, finally sir Robert Canoll toke hym his owne handes. The same daye the hoost passed by Vandone and wente to Ausey,[3] and the next day to saynt Cales, and ther rested two dayes, and than went to Pount Volayne. Thus the Englysshmen rode forthe and founde no man that spake agaynst them: so all the countrey was full of men of warre. There were a great nombre in the cytie of Mauns, and the duke of Anjou rode by Towres in Tourayne, by Bloyes and by Orlyaunce, and so came to Parys, for he had knowledge howe his brother the kynge laye in great jeopardy, and nat likely to scape, wherfore he thought to be at his dyeng. His men of armes kepte styll their garysons, and pursued thenglysshmen. The men of armes of Fraunce ordayned to trouble the Englysshmen as moche as they might, thynkynge to enclose them in the countrey, and so to famysshe them if they coude, and than to fyght with them at their advantage, whyder the Frenche kynge wolde or nat: and they made on the passage of the ryver of Sartre, where as they thought the Englysshmen shulde passe, great defence, and brought thyder great pyles of wode, and drave them downe by force into the ryver, wherby no man coude passe there; and also at the yssuinge out of the ryver they made great and depe dykes, so that no man coude passe out. The erle of Buckyngham and his company departed fro Pount

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[1] *Vendôme.*

[2] *Knolles.*

[3] *Azay.*

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Of the lorde of Mauvoysin, who was taken prisoner by the Englisshemen.

Volayne, and came to the ryver of Sartre and there rested, for they coulde fynde no passage, for the ryver was great and depe and yvell to passe but at certayne places. The vowarde rode alonge the ryver and coulde fynde no passage, but there as the pyles were driven in the water. Than the lordes alyghted and advysed well the passage, and sayde, We must nedes passe this same waye, if we wyll go any farther; therfore let us go to it, and by force drawe out these pyles. Thanne ye shulde have sene lordes, knyghtes, and squyers entre into the ryver at adventure, and toke great payne or they coulde gette out these pyles; howebeit, finally they drewe them out, and so opyned the passage with great payne.

Nowe ye may consydre, that if the Frenchmen had as than pursewed them, and knowen of their dede, they might have done them great domage, for the formast coude nat have ben ayded with them that came after, bycause of the great marysses that they hadde past; but so moche dyde the Englysshemen, that they passed over, and so came to Noyen on the ryver of Sartre.

The same day that the Englisshmen passed the ryver of Sartre, Charles the Frenche kynge dyed in his house of saynt Poule in Parys. And as soone as the duke of Anjowe his brother knewe that his eyen were closed, he toke and seased all the kynges jewels, the whiche were without nombre, and dyde put them into save kepynge to his behove, thynkyng how they came right well to passe, to ayd hym in his warres that he thought to make; for he wrote hymselfe kynge of Cycell, of Pulle, of Calabre, and of Hierusalem.

The Frenche kynge was caryed through the cytie of Parys with open visage discovered, his bretherne and his two sonnes behynde hym, to the abbey of saynt Denyse. And there he was buryed right honourably, in lyke maner as he hadde ordayned in his lyfe tyme, and sir Bertram of Clesquy, his constable, laye at his fete. And though that kynge Charles in his lyfe tyme had well ordayned for the governyng of the realme, howe it shulde have ben ordayned, yet the duke of Anjou folowed nothinge that ordynaunce, for he toke on hym incontynent the governynge, and reygned above all his bretherne. Howebeit, he wolde that Charles his

CAP. CCCLXVII Of the lorde of Mauvoysin, who was taken prisoner by the Englisshemen.

nephewe shulde be kynge, but he wolde have the governyng of the realme above all other, bycause he was the eldest. And there was none in Fraunce that durst saye agaynst hym. Thus the kynge dyed about Myghelmas. Anone after his discease, the lordes of Fraunce advysed that sone after Halowen tyde, they wolde crowne the yonge kyng Charles at Reynes, to the which coronacyon the thre uncles to the kynge were well agreed: that is to saye, the duke of Anjowe, the duke of Berrey, and the duke of Burgoyne, so that they myght have the governynge of the realme, tyll the kynge came to the age of one and twentie yeres. To this sware all the nobles and prelates of Fraunce. Than knowledge of the coronacyon of this yong kinge was gyven into outwarde partes, as to the duke of Brabant, to duke Aubert of Bavyer, and to the erle of Savoy, to the erle of Bloyes, to the duke of Guerles, to the duke of Julyers, to the erle of Armynake, and to the erle of Foiz; the duke of Barle,[1] the duke of Lorayne, the lorde of Coucy, and the erle Dolphyne of Auvergne, were styll in the pursute of the Englyshmen, wherfore they were nat sent for to be at this coronacyon; the erle of Flaunders was desyred to come thyder. The day was assigned on Alhalowen day, the whiche was on a Sondaye, as it fell that yere. Of the dethe of the Frenche kynge were they of Gaunt ryght sorie, for he dyde them moche good in their warre, for he loved but lytell the erle of Flaunders.

Nowe let us speke of the Englysshmen, and leave the coronacyon of the Frenche kyng.

CAP. CCCLXVIII

Howe the Englisshmen arryved in Bretayne, and howe the duke excused hymselfe of his long taryenge fro them.

ALL this season the Englysshmen knewe nothynge of the parell that the Frenche kyng was in, and were passed the ryver of Loyre, and were lodged at Nogen,[2] and than departed and wente to Porle,[3] a two leages fro Sable; and all the power of France, was as than in the

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[1] *Bar.*

[2] *Noyen-sur-Sarthe.*

[3] *Poillé.*

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Howe the Englisshmen arryved in Bretayne.

cite of Mans, and therabout, but they dyde nothynge, but alwayes coosted the Englysshmen. Some sayde they wolde fight with theym, but whan the tydynges came amonge theym, howe the Frenche kyng was deed, than their purpose was broken, for dyvers of the lordes returned into France to herken for tidynges. And so the Englysshemen lay styll a thre or foure dayes: than they departed and went to saint Peters of Auren,[1] and fro thens to Argens,[2] and the next day the hoost passed the ryver of Mayenne, thorough a marys, with great payne, for they coulde nat passe but two or thre a front the space of two leages. If the Frenchmen had knowen therof, and had assayled the vowarde, the rerewarde coude nat have gyven them any maner of helpe. The Englysshmen doubted moche that passage; howebeit, they passed it, and came to Cosse,[3] and were there four dayes, alwayes in hope to here some newes out of Bretaine. The duke of Bretayne was in Hanybont, in the marchesse of Vannes, and herde often tymes worde of the Englysshemen, howe they aproched nere to Bretaygne; and he wyst nat well as than how to be demeaned. For whan the dethe of the Frenche kyng was shewed to hym, he lette it soone overpasse, for he loved hym but a lytell, and sayd to them that were about hym, The rancoure and hate that I had to the realme of Fraunce, bycause of kynge Charles nowe deed, is minisshed more than the one halfe; such have hated the father, that have loved right well the sonne, and some have made warre to the father, and after hath ayeded the sonne; howebeit, I must acquyte me trewely agaynst the Englysshmen, for they been come hyder at my request, and have passed thoroughe the realme of Fraunce, therfore I must kepe that I have promysed to them; there is one harde poynt for me, and for them, for I understande that the good townes of Bretaygne are closed fast, and wyll nat suffre them to entre. And therupon the duke called his counsayle to hym, as the lorde of Mounboursyer, sir Stephyn Guyon, sir Wylliam Tanneguy, sir Eustace Houssey, sir Geffray Caiemelle, and the Leslewe of Lyon,[4] and sayd to them, Sirs, ye shall ryde and mete the erle of Buckynghame, who aprocheth nere to this our countre of Bretaygne: I thynke ye shall mete them nat farre hens, wherfore go and recom-

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[1] *Saint Pierre sur Erve.*

[2] *Argentre.*

[3] *Changé.*

[4] *l'eslu de Lion*, i.e. *bishop elect of Léon.*

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Howe the Englisshmen arryved in Bretayne.

maunde me to hym, and salute all the other lordes, and say unto them fro me, that shortly I wyll be at Reyns, to mete them there; therfore lette them take that way, and ther we shall all togyder take advyse, how we shall contynue forthe. And shewe them how I fynde nat my countre in the same poynt that it was in, whan I sent for them into England, wherwith I am ryght sore displeased, and specially with them of Nauntes, who rebell more than any other. So these knyghtes departed with their message, and rode towarde Nauntes, and in their company a fortie speares. The Englysshmen departed fro Cosse, and entred into the forest of Gravell, and passed throughe and came to Vyter,[1] in Bretayne, for ther they were better assured than they were before, for thanne they knewe well they shuld no more be pursued by the Frenchemen. And fro thens they wente to Chateau Briant, and ther rested, bycause of comynge of the dukes knightes thyder to them.

The erle of Buckyngham, and the other lordes of Englande, receyved the sayde knightes, messangers to the duke of Bretayne right honorably, and there they had toguyder great counsayls. And the Englysshmen sayde to them, howe they had great marveyle that the duke of Bretayne nor the countrey were nat otherwyse aparelled than it apered to receyve them, seyng they were come thyder at their request, and taken suche payne, as to passe thorought the realme of Fraunce. Than the lorde Mountboursyer spake for all the resydue, in excusynge of the duke, and sayde, My lordes, ye have good cause and reason to say as ye do: and as for the duke, he is in great wyll to kepe and to acomplysshe the ordynaunces and covenantes that he made with you, and you with hym, accordynge to his power: but he canne nat do acordynge to his wyll. And specially he canne nat rule them of Nauntes, whiche is the kay of Bretaygne, who are as nowe rebelles, and have determyned to receyve into their towne menne of warre of the Frenche partie. Wherof my lorde the duke is gretly marveyled, for they were the first that alyed theymselfe with the other good townes of Bretaygne to have taken his parte and yours. Also my lorde thynketh, they have made a newe treatie and aliance with the newe yonge Frenche kynge,

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[1] *Vitré.*

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Howe the Englisshmen arryved in Bretayne.

who shall be crowned at Halowmas next comyng, wherfore sirs, my lorde desyreth you to holde hym excused; and moreover, that ye wyll take the way towardes Reynes, and thyder he wyll come to you, havyng great desyre to se you, and of this he wyll natte fayle. These wordes greatly contented the erle of Buckyngham, and the Englysshmen, and sayd, howe the duke coulde say no better. Than the dukes messangers retourned agayne to Hanibont, and so to Vannes, to the duke. And the Englysshemen taryed at the castell Briaunt foure dayes, and than departed, and came to the subbarbes of Reyns: but the gates of the cite were closed, and wolde suffre no man of armes to entre into the cytie. But the erle of Buckingham, the lorde Latymer, sir Robert Canolle, and a sixe other, were lodged within the cytie, and the dukes counsayle; and there they taryed a fyftene dayes, abydinge for the duke of Bretayne, who came nat, wherof they hadde great marveyle. Within the cytie of Reyns, was the lorde Monteraulewe, the lorde of Mountforde, in Bretaygne, sir Geffray of Quarmell,[1] sir Alayne de la Houssey, capitayne of Reynes, and sir Eustace, his brother, and dayly they excused the duke of Bretayne. I canne nat say whyder they hadde good cause so to do or nat, but the Englysshmen began nat to be well content, bycause the duke came nat. They of Nauntes kepte their cytie close, for they were nat well assured of the Englysshmen that were lodged at Reynes, wherfore they sente to the duke of Anjowe, who had made all the treaties with them, shewyng hym howe they were nat stronge of themselfe to kepe and defende their cytie, if they shulde have any assaut, without he wolde sende them some men of armes, desyringe hym so to do. To their request agreed the foure dukes, that hadde the realme in governaunce, Anjowe, Berrey, Burgoyne, and Burbone; and so they sent thyder mo than sixe hundred speares, of good men of armes, men of estate, and of gret valure. Thus they of Nauntes were well conforted; and these men of armes entended to repayre the towne in all poyntes, and to bringe it into that case, able to resyst any assaut gyven therto.

The Englisshmen beyng at Reynes and therabout, began to murmur and to grudge agaynst the duke, bycause he came nat. And than they determyned to sende unto hym:

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[1] *Kerimel.*

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and sir Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Tryvet was ordayned to go to the duke, and with them a fyve hundred speares, to conducte and dyscover them, and as many archers; and so they departed on a Thursdaye, and the hoost on the Saturday after. And than the erle of Buckyngeham wente and lodged at saynt Sulplyces, in Bretaygne, and there taryed a thre dayes; and than he went to Cambore, and there taryed foure dayes. And the duke of Bretayne was as than departed fro Hanybont, and was come to Vannes, and every daye he knewe the demeanyng of thenglysshmen by his owne menne, suche as were with them. Than he determyned, all thynges consydred, to speke with them, for acordynge to his honour, and to suche alyaunces as he had made with them, he coude no lengar drive them of; and understode howe sir Robert Canoll, sir Thomas Percy, and sir Thomas Tryvet, were comyng towarde hym. Than he toke the way to go to Reyns; and the same day that he departed fro Vannes, he met with these Englisshe knightes: than they made great rejoysynge eche of other in the felde, and the duke demaunded tidynges of therle of Buckyngham. The knightes answered and sayd, howe they left hym at Reynes, right marveylously displeased, bycause he herde no worde fro hym. The duke excused hymselfe, and sayd, howe by his faithe he was no lesse troubled than he was. Than they rode all toguyder, and were welcome to Vannes, and than they had knowledge howe the Englysshe hoost was dyslodged fro Cambre,[1] and were comynge towardes Hayde,[2] and to Mauseyre,[3] they helde that waye. The next day therle of Buckyngham and the duke mette; ther was shewed great love bytwene them, and ther the duke right honestly excused hymselfe to therle, and to thenglisshmen, in that he had taryed so long. But he sayde the cause was, bycause he founde nat his countre so well disposed, as he had trusted they had been, wherfore he coude nat kepe his promyse that he had made to the Englysshemen, in the begynnyng of somer. Than answered the erle and sayde, Fayre brother of Bretayne, for all that, and ye wyll, we wyll nat abyde, but that we shall correcte your rebels: for what with the ayde and puyssance that ye have, and ours toguyder, and that daylye maye come to us out of Englande, we shall

[1] *Combourg.*
[2] *Hédé.*
[3] *La Mézière.*

Howe the Englisshmen arryved in Bretayne.

bringe under your subgettes in suche wyse, that they shall be happy whan they may come to axe your mercy. With suche wordes and other, they were long toguyder talkynge, and than eche of theym drewe to their lodgynge; and the next daye they rode toguyder; and it was determyned, that the erles counsayle shulde go to Reynes with the duke, and ther to conclude all their maters. The same night, the duke of Bretayne, and the erles counsayle, abode at the Mauseyr, and the erle returned to Hayde. And so the next day the duke went to Reynes, and the lorde Latymer, sir Robert Canoll, sir Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Tryvet, and the erles counsayle in his company; so they were thre dayes counsayling their maters.

CAP. CCCLXIX

Howe the duke of Bretayne, and the Englysshmen, beseged Nauntes; and of the coronacyon of kynge Charles, the Sixt of that name; and of the scrimysshe done before Nauntes.

AT the last counsayle it was acorded and sworne on the holy evangelystes, that the duke of Bretayne shulde come and lay siege to Nauntes, in the erle of Buckynghams company, within fyftene dayes after the comynge of the Englysshemen thyder; and that the duke of Bretayne shuld bringe, and cause to be brought, by the ryver of Loyre, plentie of barges and barkes, the sorer therby to constrayne them of Nauntes; and the duke nor his men nat to departe fro the siege, tyll the towne were wonne. All the thynges to conclude and to determyne, therle of Buckyngham was sent for to Hayde, to be present at the confyrmynge of that treatie. So he came and lodged in the subbarbes of Reynes,[1] as he had done before; so the erle and the lordes entred into Reynes, and they dyned all with the duke. And there the duke solempnely sware by his faythe, and by the holy evangelystes, that he wolde come with all his power before Nauntes; and therupon departed, and went to Hanibont, and the Englysshemen abode at Reynes,

[1] *Rennes.*

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Howe the duke of Bretayne, and the Englysshmen, beseged Nauntes.

and there they were a fyftene dayes orderyng their busynesse. Of all these maters they of Nauntes were well enfourmed, and howe they shulde be beseged, wherfore they ordayned theymselfe redy to receyve them. One of the greattest capytens within Nauntes was sir Johan of Baroyes of Barres,[1] a ryght valyant and an expert knight; and with hym ther was the capitayne Clisson, Johan of Castell Moraunte,[2] Morfouace, sir Johan of Maletrayt,[3] the lorde of Tournemyn, and dyvers other, the floure of men of armes. They provyded wysely for suche thynges as they wanted, as well for the ryver, as for the gates and towres, on suche parte as they thought the siege shulde be on.

Nowe lette us leave spekyng of this mater, and retourne to the coronacyon of the younge kynge Charles of Fraunce, who was the same tyme crowned at Reynes.[4]

Ye must knowe that nothyng was spared touchyng noblenesse, at the coronacyon of the younge kynge Charles of Fraunce, who was crowned kyng, on a Sonday, the xii. yere of his age, the yere of oure Lorde, a thousande thre hundred and fourscore. At the solempnyte of his coronacyon, were great nombre of great lordes: his foure uncles were ther, Anjowe, Berrey, Burgoyne, and Burbone, and also his great uncles, Vyncelyn, duke of Brabant, the duke of Bare, and the duke of Lorayne, the erle of Savoy, the erle de la Marche, the erle of Ewe, sir Wyllyam de Namure; but the erle of Flaunders, and the erle Johan of Bloyes, excused themselfe: there were many other great lordes, whome I canne nat name. Thus the yonge kyng entred into Reynes, the Saturday at evensongtyme, ryght well acompanyed with nobles, and mynstrelles, and speciallye he had mo than xxx. trumpettes before him. And the kyng alighted before the churche of Our Lady of Reyns, his uncles and bretherne in his company; there were also his cosyns, yonge gentylmen of Naver, of Labreth,[5] of Bare, and of Harcourt, and a great nombre of yong squyers, chyldren to great lordes of the realme of Fraunce, whome the yonge kynge the day of his coronacyon made them all knightes. The Saturday the kynge herde evensong in the churche of Our Lady, and as the usage was, there he was the moost parte of the nyght, and all the newe knightes with him. And than the Sonday,

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[1] *Jean le Barrois des Barres.*

[2] *Chateaumorand.*

[3] *Malestroit.*

[4] *Rheims.*

[5] *Albret.*

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Howe the duke of Bretayne, and the Englyssh-men, beseged Nauntes.

Alhalowen day, the churche was richely apparelled, and there at the highe masse solempnely he was sacred and anoynted, by tharchbysshop of Reynes, with the holy ampell, wherwith saynt Remy consacred Clovis, the first Christen kynge that ever was in Fraunce. This oyntment was sent downe by Almighty God from hevyn by an holy angell, and ever sythe the kynges of Fraunce hathe be consacred therwith, and yet it apereth as it were nothyng touched, the whiche is a right worthy and a noble thyng. Before that, the kyng made all his yonge newe knightes, and than they went to the offyce of the masse right solempnely, and the archbysshop of Reynes sange the masse, and there the yonge kynge was in habyte ryall, in a chayre lypt up on high, apparelled with clothe of golde; and all the yong newe knyghtes on lower scaffoldes at his fete, covered with clothe of golde. There was the newe constable of Fraunce, sir Olyver of Clysson, who was but late before chosen to that offyce, who dyde right well his offyce, as it aparteyned.

The great lordes of Fraunce were there richely aparelled. The kynge sat in his magestie royall, with a right precyous and ryche crowne on his heed: the church that day was so full of noblenesse, that a man might nat a removed his fete. And so at this newe begynninge of the yong kyng, to rejoyse therby the people of Fraunce, all maner of imposycions, aydes, gabelles, fowages, subsydies, and other thynges yvell taken, wherby the realme was hurt and enpoverisshed, were utterly layd downe and sette apart; the whiche gretly pleased the people. After masse, they went to the palais, and bycause the hall was to lytell to receyve suche a nombre of people, there was made in the court of the palais a hyghe and a great stage covered, where as the dyner was ordayned. And there satte the yonge kyng, and his fyve uncles, Brabant, Anjowe, Berrey, Burgoyne, and Burbone, at the same table, a farre of fro the kynge; and the archbysshop of Reyns and other prelates sat on his ryght hande, and great lordes served them all; the lorde Coucy, the lorde Clisson, and Guy de la Tremoyll, admyrall of the see, and dyvers other, on great coursers trapped to the erthe in clothe of golde. Thus in all honour that daye contynued, and the next day many of the great lordes toke leave of the kyng

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and his uncles, and so retourned into their owne countrees. The same day the kynge went and dyned at the abbey of saynt Therrey, two leages fro Reynes, for they of the abbey shulde gyve hym that dyner, and they of Reynes, the day whan he is sacred. Thus ended the feest of the coronacyon of kynge Charles of Fraunce.

Than the kynge went to Parys, where as he was greatly feested at his entre. And after all this feest and solempnyte, there was a great counsayle on the governynge of the realme. And there it was ordayned that the duke of Berrey shulde have the governynge of Languedocke, the duke of Burgoyne of all Picardy and Normandy, and the duke of Anjou to abyde about the kyng, and to have the princypall governynge and mynistracyon of the realme. Than the erle of saynt Poule was repealed agayne, who had been out of the favour and grace of the kyng Charles last disceased. And the duke of Anjowe, and the duke of Brabant, made his peace at Reyns, in whose favoure greatlye was the erle of saynt Poule: and so he departed fro Hanne,[1] on the ryver of Hewre, in the bysshopriche of Leage, where as he hadde layne a longe space. Than he retourned into Fraunce, and his wyfe with hym, and so brought her unto the castell of Bouhaygne, and so put out all those that ocupyed his landes, and toke them agayne to his owne profyte.

Nowe let us a lytell leave spekynge of these sayd maters, and retourne to the insydentes of Bretayne, and to the erle of Buckyngham.

Ye knowe howe the covenauntes and treaties were made, bytwene the duke of Bretayne, and the erle of Buckyngham, as to besege Nauntes. Whan the duke of Bretayne was departed fro Reynes, the lorde of Mounbrousyer,[2] sir Stephyn Guyon, the lorde Houssey, in his company, rode to Vannes, and towarde Hanybonte. And the erle of Buckyngham, and his company, ordayned to go to the sege at Nauntes, and so departed fro Reynes, and ther about where as they were lodged, and went the same day and lodged at Castell Briant,[3] and the nexte day at Bayne, and the thirde day at Tyeull,[4] and the fourthe lodgyng they toke in the foubours of Nauntes. And the erle was lodged at the gate of Salvetout: and the lorde Latymer, constable of the hoost, the

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[1] *Ham.*

[2] *Montbouchier.*

[3] *Chatillon.*

[4] *Nozay.*

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Howe the duke of Bretayne, and the Englyssh-men, beseged Nauntes.

lorde Fytzwater, and the lorde Basset were loged at the gate saynt Nicholas, on the ryver syde, and sir Wyllyam Wynsore and sir Hughe Caurell[1] were lodged amonge their folkes ryght honourably, as nere to the erle as they might. Within the towne was a great nombre of knightes and squyers, of Bretaygne, of Beause, of Anjou, and of Mayne, who entended to defende the towne; so they had all the charge therof, in so moche that they of the towne had no busynesse therwith. And it was so, that on saynt Martyns nyght, sir Johan of Barroys of Barres styred and moved some of his company within the towne, and sayde, Sirs, we se well our enemyes are nere us, and as yet we have nat waked them: therfore I counsayle, that this night we go and scrimysshe with them. Certaynly sir, quoth they, ye speke nobly, shewe us what ye wyll have us to do, and we shall do it. So they gadered toguyder the same evenyng to the nombre of sixscore of choyse men; than they opyned the gate of saynt Peter, where as the constable, the lorde Bassette, and the lorde Fytzwater were lodged: so the Frenchmen set good order at the gate, bycause of their retrayt. Capitayns of that company was the Barrois of Barres, Johan of the castell Morant, and the capitayne of Clysson: and so they came on the hoost as they were at supper, and had to their crye The Barres; so they entred into their lodginges, and beate downe and hurt many: than anone the Englysshemen were raynged before their lodgynges. And whan the Frenchmen sawe that, they retourned, and kept theym toguyder ryght sagely, and so retourned to their towne. Than the Englysshmen came thyder and scrymysshed, ther was entryng and puttyng backe, and beatynge on bothe parties, and so the Frenchemen entred into their barryers. Ther were dyvers slayne and hurt on bothe sydes, but the Barroyes of Barres entred agayne the towne with lytell domage. And so this scrimyshe was reputed to be well done on bothe parties.

And on saynte Martyns daye at nyght, the Barroyes of Barres spake to his company and sayde, Sirs, I thinke it were well done that to morowe early we toke a sixe or sevyn great barges, and two hundred men, and two hundred crosbowes, and let us go by the ryver, and visyte our ennemyes;

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[1] *Calverley.*

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they take but lytell hede on that syde. So they were all agreed, and the same nyght they gote their company toguyder, and so by day they were entred their vesselles, and so rowed downe the ryver, and toke lande besyde the lodgynges. Sir Johan Harleston was lodged therby, and had a great lodgyng, and at the brekyng of the day, the Frenchemen were rounde about his lodgynge, and assayled it. Anone sir Johan Harlston, and his company, were armed and redy at their defence right valiantly, and archers shotte agaynst the crosbowes. There was a sore scrimysshe and dyvers hurt: and surely that lodgyng had ben taken and conquered, and sir Robert Canoll had nat ben, who was lodged nat farre thens. And so he and all his company, with his baner dysplayed, came prively to that parte: and also sir Wyllyam Wyndsore hadde knowledge therof, and so he and all his company came thyder, and styll Englysshmen drewe to them fro all partes. Than the Frenchmen drewe backe to the ryverwarde to come to their vesselles, so at their retourne into their barges, there was a sore scrymysshe, and so valiantly they departed. The capitayns dyde great feates of armes; howebeit, there were some of the Frenchmen taken, slayne and drowned, and so they retourned into Nauntes: in so moche that all that herde of this enterprise, reputed it of gret valure.

CAP. CCCLXX

Of the lettes that the duke of Bretayne had, so that he might nat come to the sege before Nauntes, and of the scrimysshes made there.

WHAN the Englysshmen parceyved howe they of Nantes woke them so often, than they tooke counsayle to kepe better watche. And so it fortuned on a night, the vii. night after that the Barroys of Barres had made his scrimysshe, he yssued agayne in the night at the gate, where the erle of Buckyngham was lodged, and with him a two hundred men of armes, and a hundred crosbowes. The same night the Almayns kept the watche, and ther capitayns were sir Algars, and sir Thomas of

Of the lettes that the duke of Bretayne had.

Rodes. Than the Barroys dasshed into the watche, and hymselfe one of the first; ther was a sore scrimysshe and sore beaten. Than they that were lodged about the erle, rose and drewe to the scrimysshe. Whan the Frenchemen parceyved howe the prease began to encrease, and multyply, they withdrewe towardes the gate, and scrimysshed ever as they went. Ther were dyvers hurt with shotte on bothe parties, and specially sir Thomas of Rodes, a knight of Almayne, was shotte through the bassenet, into the heed; of the whiche stroke he dyed within thre dayes after, whiche was great domage, for he was a valyant knight. So the Frenchmen and Bretons entred agayne into Nauntes with lytell domage, and had taken sixe prisoners. So thus the mater stode, and thenglysshmen ever made good watche, for every night they loked for none other thyng, but to be waked and reysed fro their rest.

Thus therle of Buckyngham lay before Nauntes, abyding dayly for the duke of Bretayne, who came nat, and to that he had promysed and sworne nothynge kepte; wherof the erle hadde marveyle what he ment, that he coude here no tidynges fro him. The erle had sent to him dyvers messangers and letters, shewyng hym howe he dyde yvell his devoure, in that he wolde nat kepe his promyse that he had made and sworne to acomplysshe in the cytie of Reynes; but for all the letters that therle sent, he hadde never none answere agayne. The Englysshmen supposed that the messangers were slayne by the waye, bycause none retourned agayne, and truely they were in great parell, and all other men, without so be they had ben of the same countre, or well acompanyed. For the wayes bytwene Nauntes and Hanybont were so sore watched that none coude scape that way without takyng; so that it shulde be knowen from whens they came, and whyder they wolde, to the entent that no letters nor worde shulde go bytwene the duke and the erle: yf any suche were taken they were slayne. Also the foragers of the hoost durst nat ryde forthe but in great companyes, for the knightes and squyers of the same countre were assembled togyder, and wolde in no wyse that their landes shulde be haryed or overrydden. So that somtyme whan they founde a xx. or xxx. of the Englysshmen toguyder a foragynge, they wolde

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Of the lettes that the duke of Bretayne had.

sette on them and take all that they had fro them, and sore beate and hurt them, without havyng of any remedy; wherwith they of the hoost were right sore displeased, but they wyst nat of whome to have amendes. To say the trouthe, the duke of Bretayne himselfe dyd as moche as he coude to bring the men of his countre to be agreed to go and ley sege to Nauntes with hym, acordyng to the promyse that he had made to therle of Buckyngham. But he coude nat bringe it about, for it was playnly sayd to hym, howe that nother knyght nor squyer of the countre wolde go with hym, to helpe to distroy their owne countre for the warre of the Englisshmen; nor as long as the Englysshmen shulde abyde in Bretayne they wolde never arme them to take his parte. Than the duke demaunded of them, why they dyde than consente to sende for thenglysshmen. They answered, howe it was more for to gyve feare to the Frenchmen, that they shulde nat lese their auncyent usages, rather than for any other thynge; and in case that the Frenche kyng wyll nothyng with them but good, they wyll make hym no warre. Other answere the duke coulde nat have of them. On the other parte, the lorde Clysson, constable of Fraunce, the lorde of Dynant, the lorde de Lavall, the vicont of Rohan, the lorde of Rochforde, and all the great lordes of Bretayne, had all toguyder closed fast their townes, and caused them to be well kept: and sayd to the duke, and caused to be shewed hym by their messangers, howe he shulde be well advysed what he dyde, sayeng, howe he was but simply counsayled to sende for the Englysshmen to make warre and to distroy his owne countrey; promysinge hym, howe he shulde have no conforte of any of them; and that yf he went to Nauntes to lay siege there, as he had promysed to the Englisshmen to do, whiche he ought nat to have done, they wolde distroy his landes in all parties, and put hym to suche trouble that he shulde nat knowe well what to do; but if so be he wolde knowledge and putte hymselfe under the obeysaunce of the Frenche kyng, as he ought to do, than they sayde they wolde do their best to make his peace with the yonge kynge: sayeng also, howe some have had their corage agaynst kyng Charles nowe deed, that wyll come and abyde in the love of his son. Of the moost highest lordes of all

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Of the lettes that the duke of Bretayne had.

Bretaygne the duke was thus served, in so moche, that the duke wyst nat what to say, for he coude fynde no sure astate in his people, wherfore it behoved hym to dissemble. And alwayes the sege lay styll before Nauntes.

On our Lady Daye in Advent at nyght, the Frenchmen went to counsayle, determynynge to awake the hoost the same nyght, bycause they had so longe lyen styll. So there yssued oute of the towne a two hundred speares, wherof sir Almery of Clysson, cosyn germayne to the lorde Clysson, and the lorde of Amboyse were capitayns and governours. And so they entred into the hoost, wher as sir Wyllyam Wynsore was lodged: they issued at the gate of Richbourge, and the same night sir Hughe Caurell kepte the watche. The same tyme the lorde of Amboyse was made knight, and sir Almery of Clysson made hym knyght. Than men of armes, Frenchmen and Bretons, came in with a fierse wyll, and at the first comyng they wan the barres of the watche, whiche was kept by sir Wyllyam of Gysenton.[1] There was a sore scrimysh, and many a man overthrowen. Sir William Wynsore, and sir Hughe Caurell, beyng in their tentes, heryng the noyse, armed them, and came thyder as the chiefe noyse was: there bothe parties fought valiantly. The Frenchmen and Bretons entred agayne in at the posterne Richebourge, wher they issued out, without any great domage. And they had taken a knyght prisoner, and ten other men of armes; and of their men ther were but thre taken.

CAP. CCCLXXI

Of the scrimysshe that the Barrois of Barres, and Almery of Clyssone, made on Christmasse evyn, agaynst the Englysshmen, beyng at Nauntes.

THE Monday before the Vygyll of Christmas, there yssued out of Nauntes, in the evenyng, at the gate of Savetout, sir Barrois of Barres, and the lorde of Solette,[2] with sixscore men of armes. They came and dasshed into the erle of Buckynghams lodgynge, and the same nyght the erle of Domestre[3] kept the watche. There was a great

[1] *Cossington.*

[2] *Cholet.*

[3] *Devonshire.*

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Of the scrimysshe agaynst the Englysshmen at Nauntes.

scrimysshe, and many a man overthrowen, but the Englysshmen were byggerr thanne the Frenchmen, wherfore they were driven backe into their baryers, and in at the gate by force. And ther were slayne and taken of them about xvi. And there was slayne an Englysshe knight, called sir Hughe Tytiell:[1] he was stryken through his bassenet, wherof he dyed. Than every man drewe to their lodgynges, and no more done that nyght. Than all the Frenchmen determyned agayne to make a scrimysshe on Christmas night with all their power, and so kept their enterprise secrete. Therle of Buckyngham and the other Englysshmen were awaked oftentymes by the Bretons and Frenchmen beyng within Nauntes, and also the foragers in the feldes had great payne, in serchyng for vitayle and forage for their horses, and durst nat ryde out but in great companyes. Therle and his company had great marveyle of the duke of Bretayne, who came nat, nor herde no maner of tidynges fro him, wherwith they were nat content, for they founde ever worse and worse, and feble covynaunt kepte by hym, and wyst nat to whome to complayne, nor who shulde do them right. And so they determyned, that about Christenmas, to sende agayne to the duke, sir Thomas Tryvet, sir Robert Canoll, and sir Thomas Percy, to Vannes, or to Hanybont, and they to shewe to the duke fro the erle, that he dothe yvell his devoyre, that he hath nat acquyted himselfe otherwyse than he hath done agaynst them. Howbeit, this apoyntment was broken, and they sayd among them, all thynges considered and ymagined, they thought they might nat feblysshe their hoost nor siege, nor that they coude nat go to the duke without they went all toguyder: for if they went a fyve or sixe hundred speres togyder, and happe to mete a thousande, it shulde be for them but an yvell matche. And for that dout they wolde nat depart fro the hoost, but kept themselfe toguyder.

And on Christmas evyn at night, the Barrois of Barres, sir Almary of Clysson, the lorde Damboise, the lorde Destolet,[2] the chateleyn of Clysson, John of Castelmorant, and all the capytayns within Nauntes, issued at the gate saynt Peter, in gret desyre to trouble their enemyes, and had in their company a vi. hundred men of armes. And

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[1] *Tyrell.*

[2] *Cholet.*

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Of the scrimysshe agaynst the Englysshmen at Nauntes.

whan they were without the gate in two partes, the one toke the way by the strete, and the other through the feldes, and set on the lodgynge of the lorde Latymer, and of the lorde Fitzwater, who kept the watche the same nyght, and sir Wylliam Renton.[1] And at their first comyng they wan the bayles of the watche, and drove them backe with great force to the constables lodgynge, the lorde Latymer; and they taryed before the lorde of Vertaynes lodgyng, and there was a great skrymishe, and a great assaute, for the Frenchmen had determyned to have taken him, and so he was in a great daunger of takynge. So they of the watche had moche ado, or any socour came to them. Sir Yon Fitzwaren, the lorde of Vertayne, and sir Nycholas Trayton,[2] dyd there many a great feat of armes. Than the constable and marshall enforsed themselfe to come thider, and sowned the trumpettes, and so armed them. Sir Wylliam Wyndsore, and sir Hugh Caurell, harde the noyse of the trompettes, and knewe that the vowarde had a scry: than they sowned trumpettes, and made great fyers and lyghtes, and displayed their baners, and came thyder with a hundred men of armes, and as many archers. Also sir Thomas Trivet, sir Thomas Percy, and the lorde Basset, every man under his owne standerd, came to the scrymisshe. The same tyme they of the vowarde had great nede of ayde, for they were lykely to have loste their lodgynges, but whan these lordes and knightes were come, than the Frenchmen reculed backe all togyder right sagely, and so drewe abacke towardes the towne skrimysshyng. There was done many a noble dede of armes, and some of the Frenche knyghtes adventured themselfe to avaunce their renowme, and for their ladyes sake, soo that sir Tristram de la Jaylle was taken prisoner, by his folyshe hasty enterprise, by a squire of Haynalte, called Thierry of Sommayne.

Thus contynued this scrymisshe, and so the moost parte of the Frenchmen entred into Nauntes; howebeit in suche dedes of armes ever some be slayne, hurt or taken, yet they retourned with no great domage, for they had as many prisoners, as the Englisshmen hadde of theirs, and so went to their lodgynges. And whan the gate was closed, than they caused their hurte men to be dressed. In likewyse

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[1] *Drayton.*

[2] *William Drayton.*

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Of the scrimysshe agaynst the Englysshmen at Nauntes.

they of the hoost drewe to their lodgynges, yet they brake nat their watch, but rather made stronger watche than they dyd before. On Christmas day, nor all the feestes after, there was nothynge doone; howebeit, the Englysshmen every nyght loked to be waked with scryes, yet the thyng that most touched them was, that they coude here no tydinges of the duke of Bretayne, and their vitayls and forages were soo scant, that it was moche payne to gette any; howebeit, they within the towne hadde ynough, for it came to them by the ryver of Loyre, oute of the good countreys of Poictou, Xaynton, and Rochell.

CAP. CCCLXXII

Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes, and of the fayre excuses that the duke of Bretayne made to the erle of Buckynghame.

WHAN the erle of Buckyngham and the Englysshemen had bene longe at siege before Nauntes, aboute the space of two monethes and foure dayes, they parceyved well that the duke of Bretayne kept nat his promyse, as in comynge to them. Than they determyned to dislodge fro thens, and go to Vannes, and there to speke with the duke, and to knowe all his entent. Than their dislodgynge was knowen in the hoost, and so disloged the next day after Neweres day, and rode forthe in ordre of batayle, in lyke maner as they dyd whan they past through Fraunce: and the first nyght after their departure they lodged at Niorch,[1] and there taryed thre dayes to refreshe them; and bycause the bridge was broken, they had moche trouble to make it agayne, to gette over their cariages. Yet they made it, and the hoost passed the ryver of Volayne; and on a Saturday they wente and loged at Loheacke, and there taryed two dayes, and so fro thens to Grosy,[2] and ther taryed two dayes, and the next day they passed the ryver of Aust,[3] at the brydge of Brehaigne, and there taryed in the fayre playne countre. The same day that they departed and passed the ryver, they of the cytie of Vannes were enformed by them of the countrey, howe that

[1] *Nort.*

[2] *Guer.*

[3] *Oust.*

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Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes.

the erle of Buckynghame and the Englisshmen were coming to lodge in their towne. They wist nat what to do, whyder to suffer them to entre their towne or nat, and so they went to Hanybont to the duke. But the same daye that they came towarde Hanybont, they mette the duke in the feldes, within two leages of Vannes, comyng thyder. And whan the duke sawe the men of Vannes comyng to him warde, he demaunded of them what tydinges, and whyder they went. Sir, quoth they, as for tydinges we can shewe you ynowe; sir, the erle of Buckynghame and the Englisshmen are comynge yonder, and it is their entencyon, as we be enfourmed, to lodge in your good towne of Vannes; sir, loke what it please you to do, for without your commaundement we wyll do nothyng; sir, they have made agayne the brydge at Brehaigne, the whiche was broken, on the river of Aust. Whan the duke harde of this, he studyed a lytell, and sayd, Sirs, be nat afrayde, have no dought, every thynge shal be well ynough, they are suche men as wyll do you no hurte: I ame some what bounde to them by certayne treaties, the whiche I must nedes upholde and acquyte me trewely therin. I wyll go to Vannes, and to morowe I thynke they wyll come thyder, and I wyll go and mete with the erle my brother, and do to him as moche honoure as I canne do, for I am bounde so to do; moreover, ye shall do as I counsayle you: ye shall offre and present to hym the keyes of the towne, and say unto hym, howe that you and all the towne are redy to receyve him: howebeit, desyre him to be sworne, that within xv. dayes that he be required to departe, that he wyll departe, and to yelde agayn to you the keyes of the towne: this is the counsayle that I wyll gyve you. The burgesses answered and sayd, Sir, we shall do as ye have ordayned. And soo they rode forthe with the duke to Vannes, and there the duke lodged that nyght, and the Englisshmen the same nyght lodged at saynt Johans, a lytell village two leages fro Vannes. The same nyght the erle of Buckynghame receyved letters fro the duke, who wrote to hym as his kynde brother, welcomyng him into the marches of Vannes. The next mornynge whan the erle hadde harde masse, he toke his horse, and all his company, and rode in good ordre towarde Vannes, the vowarde fyrst,

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Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes.

and the erle and his batayle after, and the rerewarde folowyng the erles batayle. Thus they met with the duke of Bretayn, who was yssued out of Vannes to mete with them, the space of a great leage, and whan they mette they made eche to other great honoure and reverence. After this metynge, whiche was right honourable, rydyng toguyder, the erle on the right hande, and the duke on the left, than the erle began to say, Saynt Mary, fayre brother of Bretayne, what a long space hath it bene that we have taryed before Nauntes at the siege ther, abydynge for you, accordyng to the treaty and covenant made bytwene you and me in that behalfe, and yet ye came nat. By my faythe, quoth the duke, I coude do none otherwyse, wherwith I ensure you I was greatly displeased; howbeit, I coulde nat amende it, for my men of this countrey, for any thynge that I coulde shewe unto them, nor for any alyaunces at their requestes that I hadde made to you, yet for all that they wolde never go to the siege to you before Nauntes, but kept themselfe stronge on the fronters; the lorde Clisson, the lorde Dynant, the lorde Dornall,[1] the vycount of Rohan, and the lorde Rochforde, to kepe thentreis and issues of Bretayne. And all suche as were joyned with me, as well knyghtes and prelates, as burgesses of the good townes, ar as nowe all rebell agaynst me, wherwith I ame greatly displeased, sythe by their faulte ye fynde me untrewe. Sir, I shall shewe you what ye shall doo: it is nowe in the harde of wynter, and colde, and an yvell season to kepe an hoost togyder. Ye shall come to Vannes, and there abyde tyll it be Aprell or Maye, and refreshe you, and I shall ordayne other places for your company, and so passe the tyme as well as ye may, and in somer we shall revenge us of all maters. The erle answered and sayde, As God wyll so be it: for he sawe well it wolde be none otherwyse. So the duke brought hym into Vannes, and at the entrynge into the towne, the comen people came into the erles presence, and sayd, Sir, bycause of the reverence of your great signory and noble honoure, we wyll nat be agaynst your entryng into this towne, but sir, to apease all the people of this towne, and for your surety, ye shall swere unto us on the Holy Evangelyst, that within xv. dayes after ye be required to departe out of this towne,

[1] *Laval.*

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Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes.

you and all yours, and that ye do nor suffre to be done to us any maner of domage or hurt. By my fayth, quoth the erle of Buckynghame, I ame content to swere to you to kepe and fulfyll all this; than all the other lordes sware the same othe, for they were fayne so to doo, or els to have lyen in the feldes. Thus the erle of Buckynghame was lodged in the cytie of Vannes: hymselfe lay in the dukes house, a pleasaunt and a fayre castell, standyng within the towne, named the Motte, and all his company were lodged in the towne, and in the subbarbes. And the duke of Bretayn and his company went to Asnotte,[1] and there abode, and somtyme he came to Vannes to se the erle, and to comen with hym. The lorde Latymer, and the lorde Fytzwater, sir Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and the vowarde, were lodged about the towne of Hanibont, but they never came within the gates, but laye in the subbarbes, and in the feldes. Sir Robert Canoll, and the lorde Fitzwaren, and divers other, shulde have lodged in the towne called Quynpercorentyn, but they wolde never open their gates, wherfore they were fayne to lodge in the subbarbes and in the feldes. So thus they endured and suffered that season great dissease and poverty, for that was nat worth thre pens, was solde to them for xii. pence, yea, and worse, for somtyme they coulde get nothynge for money, so that their horses dyed for povertie and colde, for they wyst nat whyder to go a foragyng; and whan they went they were in great parell, for their neighbours were their enemyes. The vicount of Rohan had that tyme in the marches of Vannes two stronge castelles, the one called Cayre, and the other Lynguisshant,[2] and in these two castelles there was great garysons layde by the vycount, the whiche dyd moche trouble to the Englissh foragers, with the helpe of other garysons, pertayning to the lorde of Clysson, as the castell of Josselyn, Montagu, and Moncountour: all this suffred the duke of Bretayne, and sayde, howe he coude nat amende it. The same tyme the constable of Fraunce, and the lorde Clisson, made warre for the Frenche kyng, and was in the countre with a great nombre of men of warre, wherfore the Englysshmen durst nat departe one fro another. All thynges consydered, howe they were lodged in the feldes without defence,

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[1] *Sucinio.*

[2] *Guémené-Guingamp.*

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Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes.

it was great marveyle they hadde no more hurt than they had, for they of Vannes coude nat lightly have reskewed them that lay about Campernell, or Hanybont, or Quinpercorentyne. But to say the trouthe, the duke went bitwene them, and defended them to his power that they shulde nat be distroyed, and sayde to his counsayle, howe that he had but febly acquyted hym towarde the erle of Buckyngham, seyng suche promyse as he had made unto him.

In the same season there was at Parys with the kyng foure great lordes, sent by the duke of Bretayn to purchase his peace, that is to say, the vicont of Rohan, sir Charles lorde of Dynnant, sir Guy lorde de Lawall, and sir Guy lorde of Rocheforde. These foure lordes of Bretayne hadde entysed dyvers tymes the duke, sayng thus, Sir, ye shewe yourselfe to all the worlde, howe that your corage is all Englisshe; ye have brought into this countrey the Englisshmen, who wyll take fro you your herytage, if they may get the uper hande. What profyte or pleasure have you in them, to love them as ye do? Beholde how the kyng of Naver, who trusted so moche in them, that he suffred them to entre into the towne and castell of Chierbourge, and never syth they wolde departe out of it, but kepeth it as their owne herytage: in lykewise if ye put them in any of your closed townes, they will never depart agayne out of them, for dayly they wyll be refresshed with newe men. Beholde howe they kepe styll Brest, and they be nat in mynde to delyver it agayne to you, the whiche is your right herytage. Sir, let it suffice you to be beloved with your owne men of this same countrey, who wyll never renounce the Frenche kynge to serve the kyng of Englande: sir, if your wyfe be of Englande, wyll you for that cause leve your owne herytage, the which hath cost you so moche payne to gette, and alwayes abyde in warr: ye can do no more than one man may do, if youre countrey close themselfe agaynst you. Sir, leave your counsaylynge with them, for the Frenche kyng, who loved you nat, is deed, and there is nowe a yonge kyng fayre and good and of bolde spiryte, and suche hath hated his father that nowe serve him. Sir, we shall make your peace with him, and sette you at acorde, and so ye shall abyde lorde and duke of Bretayne, and be of great puyssance, and let

Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes.

the Englisshmen returne home into their owne countre. These wordes and suche other the forsayd barons shewed to the duke dyvers tymes, so that they had nyghe conquered him to their wylles; howbeit, yet he fayned and dissymuled with the Frenche kynge and his counsayle, and with the Englysshemen also, tyll he myght se to what ende his warre shulde come unto. And of all these secrete treatyes that these foure barones of Bretayne had made at Parys with the kyng and his uncles, the erle of Buckyngham and the barones of Englande knewe nothyng tyll the conclusyon was taken. But or they perceyved it, and or they departed out of Bretayn, there was done in Nauntes a dede of armes before the erle of Buckynghame, wherof I shall make mencyon, for it is a mater nat to be forgotone.

So it was the same season that Gawen Mychaell and Jaques Cathore dyd their dede of armes before therle of Buckyngham: there were dyvers lordes, knightes, and squyers that came thyder to se it. Some of France came thyder fro Marcheaunoy[1] and Bloys, insomoche that sir Raynolde of Thowars, lorde of Pousances, a barowne of Poyctowe, spake wordes to the lorde of Vertaygne, and sayd, that gladly he wolde do dedes of armes with hym, as thre courses with a speare, and thre strokes with an axe. And the lorde of Vertaygne wolde nat refuce his request, but accorded therto, and wolde incontynent have delyvered hym, whatsoever profyte or domage he shulde take therby. But the erle of Buckyngeham wolde nat suffre it, and commaunded the knight to do nothing, nor to speke no more therof; howebeit, the wordes of the enterprise of armes abode styll in the purpose of the two knightes. And lyke wordes ther was spoken the same day by a squyer of Savoy, called the bastarde Clarens, to Edwarde Beauchampe, sonne to sir Roger: but all passed, as well the one as the other; in lykewise bytwene Galoys Daunoy[2] and sir Wylliam Clynton, and bytwene sir Hoyau Dareyns[3] and sir Wylliam Franke. Thus as the erle of Buckyngham was lodged in the subbarbes of Nauntes, and the knyghtes and squyers of Fraunce within Nauntes, thane the lorde of Vertayne and the other of his syde requyred them that had apealed them in armes, that they wolde come and delyver theym before Nauntes. The capi-

[1] *Marchenoir.*

[2] *Aunoy.*

[3] *Lionnel d'Araines.*

CAP. CCCLXXII

Howe the Englysshmen departed fro the seige of Nauntes.

tayns in Nauntes were nat agreed so to do, but excused their men, and said, howe they were within Nauntes as soudiers, sette and ordayned to kepe the towne. So these wordes passed over, tyll therle of Buckingham came to the towne of Hanybont, and to Campelle and Quynpercorentyne. But whan he was come to Arestes,[1] than sir Raynolde of Thowars, lorde of Barroyes of Barres, sir Hoyau Darreynes, and a great nombre of knyghtes and squyers, came to the castell Josselyne, a sevyn myles fro Vannes, where as the constable of Fraunce was, and also the erle of Marche, and a great nombre of other knightes of Fraunce: than the wordes were shewed to the constable, of the enterprise of the dedes of armes agaynst the Englysshmen. The constable herde well their wordes and sayd, Sirs, sende to them worde howe I shall gyve them save conducte to come to do these dedes of armes. And firste, Galoyes Daunoy and sir Lyonell Darraynes sende worde how they were redy to do their enterprise of armes, as thre courses a horsebacke with a spear. And whan sir Wylliam Clynton and sir Wylliam Franke understode howe they were desyred and sommoned to do these dedes of armes by the Frenchmen, they were right joyfull, and toke leave of the erle of Buckyngham and of the lordes of Englande to go thyder. And so thyder they wente, and a certayne knyghtes and squyers in their company, and ther justed right valiauntly bothe parties, and dyde their dedes of armes, as it was ordayned. Than sir Rainolde of Thouars and sir John of Castell Morant, and the bastarde of Clarens, desyred the lorde of Vertayne and sir Johan Dambretycourt and Edward Beauchampe to delyver their chalenge. And so these thre Englysshe knightes were of good wyll to go and fight with them at the castell of Josselyne, on the constables saveconduct.

[1] *fu arrestés à Vennes.*

CAP. CCCLXXIII

Of the dedes of armes done before therle of Buckingham bytwene the Englysshemen and the Frenchemen, and the answeres made to the haraldes on their saveconductes.

WHANNE the erle of Buckyngham was come to Vannes, and understode the Frenchemens request, he answered and sayde to the harauldes, Sirs, ye shall say to the constable, that therle of Buckynghame sendeth hym worde howe he is as puyssant and able to gyve his saveconduct to the Frenchemen as he is to gyve his to the Englysshemen. Therfore suche as desyreth to do dedes of armes, let them come to Vannes, and I shall gyve them saveconducte to come and retourne, and to bringe in their company suche as shall please them. And whane the constable herde this answere, he ymagined in hymselfe howe that therle of Buckyngham sayd trouthe, and howe it was but reason that he shulde se the dedes of armes done at Nauntes, as well as he hadde sene the dedes of armes at the castell Josselyne. Than the constable sayd, The erle of Buckynghame speketh lyke a noble valyant knight, and sonne to a kyng, and I wyll it be as he saythe, and for suche as wyll go thyder I shall sende to hym for his saveconducte for theym. Than knightes and squyers made them redy to the nombre of xxx. and a haralde came to Vannes for their saveconducte, the whiche was gyven and sealed by therle of Buckyngham. Than there departed fro the castell Josselyne the thre knightes that shulde do the dedes of armes and their company, and so came to Vannes and lodged in the subbarbes, and the Englysshemen made theym good chere.

The nexte day they apoynted to fyght, and so they came into a fayre playne place without that towne. Than came thyder therle of Buckingham, the erle of Suffolke, and the erle of Devonshyre, and the other barownes of their company, and brought theym forthe that shulde do the dedes of armes; firste, the lorde of Vertaygne agaynste sir Raynolde

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Of the dedes of armes done bytwene the Englysshemen and the Frenchemen.

of Thowars, lorde of Pousances, and sir Johan Dambretycourt, agaynst sir Trystram de Lavall and Edwarde Beauchampe, agaynst the bastarde of Clarens. There the Englysshmen toke the one syde, and the Frenchemen the other; and they that shulde just were afote, armed at all peces with bassenettes and vysures and good speres with heedes of Burdeaux redy to fight.

Hereafter foloweth their feates of armes.

First, the lorde of Pousances in Poictou and the lorde of Vertaygne in Heynaulte, two barownes of great prise and hardynesse, came eche agaynst other afote, holdyng their speares in their handes, sparynge nothynge eche other. The lorde of Vertaygne was stryken but nat hurte, and he strake the lorde of Pousances in suche wise that he pearsed the mayle on his brest and all that was theron, so that the blode folowed, and it was great marveyle that he had nat been worse hurt thane he was. And so they strake out their thre strokes, and finysshed their armes, without any more domage, and than went and rested theym and behelde the other. Than came sir Johan Dambreticourt of Heynalt agaynst sir Trystram de Lavalle[1] of Poictowe, and they dyde their armes right valyantly, without any domage, and so left. Than came Edwarde Beauchampe and Clarens of Savoy the bastarde, who was a squyer ryght hardy and stronge, and bygger in all his membres thane the Englyssheman was; so they came eche agaynst other, and mette with great wyll, and strake eche other on the brest in suche wyse that Edwarde Beauchampe was overthrowen backewarde, wherof the Englysshemen were sore displeased. And whane he was up agayne, he toke his speare and came agayne agaynst Clarens, and so mette agayne, and there Edwarde Beauchampe was agayne overthrowen to the erthe, wherwith thenglysshemen were more sorer displeased, and sayd, how that Edwarde was to weake to medyll with the Frenche squyer, the Devyll was on hym to juste agaynst hym. So than they were departed, and shewed howe they shulde do no more. And whan Clarens sawe the maner, desyringe to perfourme his armes, sayde, Lordes, ye do me

[1] *la Jaille.*

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wronge; and sythe ye wyll that Edwarde shall do no more, than sette some other to me in his stede, that I may performe myne entreprise. The erle of Buckynghame demaunded what he sayd, and it was shewed hym: than he sayd the Frencheman spake valyauntly. Than stept forthe an Englysshe squyer, who was after a knight, and was called Jenequyn Fetaceilles; he came before the erle and kneled downe, and desyred that he myght perfourme the batayle; and therle acorded therto. Than this Jenken Fetaceilles[1] came forthe, and armed hym at all peces, and toke his speare, and the bastarde Clarens his, and so mette eche at other, and foyned and thrust so sore eche at other, that the speares flewe all to peces over their heedes. And at the seconde coupe they dyde in lykewise, and at the thirde also: so all their speares were broken, so that all the lordes on bothe parties reputed this dede a goodly feate of armes. Than they toke their swerdes, the whiche were right byg, and in sixe strokes they brake foure swerdes. And thane they wolde have fought with axes, but the erle wolde nat suffre theym, and sayde he wolde nat se them fight at uttraunce, sayeng, they had done ynough. Than they drewe abacke, and other came forthe, as one Jeneken Clynton Englysshe agaynst one Johan de Castell Morant Frencheman, who made them redy to do armes.

This Jenken Clynton was a squier of honour with the erle of Buckynghame, and ryght nere about hym; howebeit, he was but sclender and small of body. Therfore the erle was nat content that he shulde have to do in armes with so bygge a man as Johan of the Castell Morant was; howbeit, they were putte toguyder to assay, and so they came right rudely toguyder. But the Englyssheman coude nat endure agaynst the Frencheman, but with their foyninge the Englyssheman was overthrowen to the erthe. Than the erle sayd, howe they were nothynge evenly matched. Thanne there came to Jenequyn Clynton certayne of the erles company, and sayd, Jenequyn, ye are nat metely to acomplysshe out this feate of armes, and the erle of Buckyngham is nat content of your enterprise, and commaundeth you to go and rest you: and so he departed. And Johan of the Castell Moraunt, seyng the maner, sayde, Sirs, if ye thynke

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[1] *Stincelee.*

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that your squyer be to lytell to deale with me, sende another to me at your pleasure, to the entent I may performe myne enterprise, or els it shulde be to my villany; and also I shulde have wronge if I shulde departe withoute doynge of any dedes of armes. Than the constable and the marshall of the hoost sayde, Ye say right well, and so it was done. Than it was sayd to all the knightes there about, Sirs, is there any of you that will delyver this knyght? to the whiche aunswered sir Wylliam of Fermyton,[1] and sayd, Shewe unto the knyght howe he shall nat depart hens without doyng of dedes of armes: if it please him a lytell to rest hym, he shall anone be delyvered, for I shall arme me agaynst hym. This answere pleased moche John of Castell Morant, and so went and satte downe to rest hym. Anon the Englysshe knyght was redy, and came into the place.

So the two knightes came afote eche agaynst other rudely, with their speares lowe couched, to stryke eche other within the foure quarters. Johan of Castell Moraunt strake the Englysshe knight on the brest in suche wyse, that sir Wylliam Fermyton stombled and bowed, for his fote a lytell fayled hym; he held his speare lowe with bothe his handes, and coude nat amende it, and strake sir Johan of the Castell Moraunt in the thighe, so that the speare went clene throughe, that the heed was sene a handfull on the other syde: and sir Johan with the stroke reled, but he fell nat. Thane the Englysshe knightes and squyers were ryght sore displeased, and sayd, how it was a foule stroke. Sir Wylliam Fermyntone excused hymselfe and sayde, howe he was sorie of that adventure, and howe that if he had knowen that it shulde have ben so, he wolde never have begon it: seyenge, howe he coulde nat amende it, bycause of glyaunsynge of his fote, by constraynt of the great stroke that sir John of the Castell Morant had gyven hym. So thus the Frenchmen departed, and toke leave of the erle and of the other lordes, and toke with them in a lytter sir John of Castell Moraunt, and brought him to the Castell Josselyne, and he was after in great paryll of dethe, by reason of his hurt. Thus ended these dedes of arms, and every man drewe to their owne parte, the Englisshmen to Vannes, and the Frenchmen to Castell Josselyn.

[1] *Faringdon.*

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Howe the duke of Bretaine made his peace with the Frenche kyng, and howe the Englisshmen retourned into their countrey, and of a dede of armes done bytwene a Frenche squyer and an Englisshe.

AFTER these dedes of armes done, whyle the erle of Buckyngham lay at Vannes, ther was nothyng don that ought to be remembred. And as it hath ben sayd here before, the Englisshmen laye at Vannes, at Hanybonte, at Camperle, and at Quynpercorentyne; and so they passed the wynter as well as they might. Dyvers of them had great dommage, and were in ryght great daungers, and lacked vitayle for theymselfe and for their horses, for they coude fynde no forage in the countre; and in that tyme of the yere the graunges and barnes were all voyde, and the fodder spente; the Frenchemen theymselfe had sore wasted and distroyed it, bycause their ennemyes shulde have no ease therby. In this daunger the Englysshemen were longe, for the Frenchemen were in their garisons on the fronters, wherfore the Englysshmen durst nat ryde. Some vitayle came to the Englysshmen by the see frome Cornewall, frome Gernesay, and fro the ysle of Wight, the whiche somwhat conforted theym, or elles they and their horses hadde dyed for famyne and hunger. And all this season there was at Parys with the kyng, fro the duke of Bretaygne, the Vycount of Rohane, the lorde de Lavalle, sir Charles of Dynaunt, and sir Guy of Rocheforde, and they dyde purchase the dukes peace; to the whiche he agreed, for he sawe well he coude nat kepe his promise to the Englysshemen without he wolde lese all his countrey. The entent of the erle of Buckyngham and his company was to passe over the wynter in the marchesse of Vannes as well as they might, and in the begynnynge of somer to retourne into Fraunce and make warr: and they hadde sende worde of their state and condycion to the kyng of Englande and to the duke of

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Lancastre. And the kyng of Englande and his counsayle thought the erle of Buckynghams entencyon right good, and wrote to hym that they wolde he shulde so do; and sende hym worde howe the same season they wolde sende over another armye of men of warre, to lande at Chyerbourge, to thentent that bothe armyes shulde mete toguyder, wherby it was thought they shulde do a great feate of warr in Fraunce. The Frenche kynge, his uncles and his counsayle ymagined well all those poyntes, and also they were somwhat enfourmed therof. And it was sayde also among theym in secrete counsayle, that if the duke of Bretaynge and some of his townes toke parte with the Englysshemen, the realme of Fraunce shulde thane have moche to do. And these foure barownes of Bretaygne representynge the duke conceyved well all this busynesse, and layde forthe all these doutes, and specially shewed it to the duke of Anjowe, who hadde the soverayne governynge of the realme of Fraunce at that tyme. And also the duke of Anjowe was entending to make a voyage within two yere or shorter tyme into Poule and Calabre, and was lothe that his vyage shulde have ben broken or lette; therfore he enclyned lightely to the duke of Bretaignes peace, so that he wolde become faythfull and true, and do homage to the Frenche kynge. And so he was agreed and his peace made. And it was also agreed, that he shulde helpe the Englisshmen with shyppes, to returne into their countreis; also it was agreed, that all they of the garison of Chierbourge that hadde ben in that viage to serve the erle of Buckyngham, that if they wolde retourne by lande to their garison, they shulde have good saveconducte of the kyng so to do, and to go throughe the realme of Fraunce without harnesse, and certayne knyghtes and squyers of Englande in their company, if they lyst so to do. And after the departynge of the Englysshemen out of Bretaynge, than the duke to come into Fraunce to the kyng and to his uncles, and to do faythe and homage to the kynge, as the duke of Bretayne ought to do to his natural lorde the Frenche kynge. All these maters were written and sealed, and suffyciently brought to the duke of Bretaygne, who as than was in the marchesse of Vannes. And he accorded to that his men hadde done with right an yvell wyll, for he knewe well he coude nat do it, without the yvell wyll of the Englysshmen.

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Whan the knowledge of this treatie came to the erle of Buckyngham and to the Englysshemen, howe that the duke of Bretaygne was agreed with the Frenche kyng, they were therwith greatly displeased, and were yvell content with the duke, sayeng, howe he hadde sente for them to come into Bretaygne, and never sythe they came he dyde never acquyte hymselfe trewely agaynst theym, as he ought to have done; wherfore they sayd, there was no poynt of trouthe in hym. Anone after, the duke of Bretaygne came to Vannes to the erle of Buckyngham, and there shewed them secretely howe his menne had made his peace with the Frenche kynge, to the whiche he was fayne to agree or elles to have lost his countre. There were great wordes bytwene them, but the duke humyled hymselfe, and excused hym as moche as he myght. For he knewe well in a maner that he was in the wronge; howebeit, he was fayne for to do it, to the entente that the Englysshmen shulde departe oute of Bretayne. Than therle made to be cryed through the cyte of Vannes, that if any of his men dyde owe any thynge in the towne, that they shulde come forthe and they shall be payed: and than therle rendred agayne the kayes of the towne to the burgesses therof, and thanked them of the pleasure that they had done to hym; and than they delyvered to the erle for his money, shippes at Vannes, at Hanybont, at Camperle, and whereas they were lodged. And so the erle of Buckyngham departed fro Vannes the xi. day of Aprell, with all his baners displayed in order of batayle, and so came to the havyn; and thyder came the duke of Bretayne, sir Alayne Housey, the lorde of Monbroiser,[1] sir Stephyn Gyon, sir Wyllyam of Tribiquidy,[2] sir Geffray of Quaresmell,[3] and dyvers other of the dukes counsayle. And they sent to the erle into his shyppe, desyringe hym to speke with the duke; but the erle wolde nat come agayne to lande, but sent to theym the lorde Latymer and sir Thomas Percy. These two came and spake with the duke of Bretaygne, and they comuned toguyder the space of thre houres; and the Englysshmen promysed at their departyng that they wolde do so moche, that the erle shulde

[1] *Montbouchier.*

[2] *Tanneguy.*

[3] *Kerimiel.*

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speke with them another day: and so retourned agayne to their shyppe; and than shewed the erle all that they had done with the duke. And anone after mydnight the fludde came, and the maryners had wynde at wyll: than they demaunded of the erle what he wolde do. And the erle, who wolde have no more speakynge with the duke, sayde, Sirs, drawe up your ankers and aveyle your sayles, and lette us go; the whiche was incontynent done. Thus departed the Englisshmen fro the havyn of Vannes, and sayled towarde Englande, and so dyde all other Englysshmen fro other havyns; so they all came toguyder on the see.

Nowe lette us speke of some knightes and squiers, that retourned to Chierbourg by lande, and recorde what adventures fell to them by the waye.

The constable of Fraunce was as than in the castell of Josselyn, a sevyn myles fro Vannes, and he had gyven safeconduct to dyvers knightes, Englysshe and Naveroyse, to go by lande to the garysone of Chierbourge, the which knyghtes hadde served the erle of Buckynghame in his sayde voyage. And amonge other there was sir Yon of Fitzwaren, sir Wyllyam Clynton, and sir Johan Burle. They departed fro Vannes, and toke their way by the castell of Josselyn, and there lodged in the towne without the castell, thynkinge no more but to dyne there and so departe. And whan they were alyghted at their lodgyng, certayne companyons of the castell, knyghtes and squyers, came to se them, as men of warre often tymes wyll do, and specially Englysshmen and Frenchmen. And amonge the Frenchemen there was a squyer, a good man of armes, parteyninge to the lorde of Burbone, erle of Marche, and one that he loved entierly, called Johan Boucinell. He had bene before that tyme in the garyson of Boloyne with sir Wylliam Bourdes, with the Frenchmen, agaynst the garyson of Chierbourge, at whiche tyme there had bene dyvers wordes spoken of dedes of armes to have ben done bytwene hym and an Englysshe squyer, called Nycholas Clyfforde, the whiche Nycholas was as than there present. And whan the Frenchmen were come to the Englysshmens lodgyng, and had comuned toguyder and behelde eche other, than Johan Boucinell began to speke, and sayde to Nycholas Clyfforde, Nycholas,

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dyvers tymes we have wysshed and devysed to do dedes of armes toguyder, and nowe we have founde eche other in place and tyme where we may accomplysshe it. Nowe we be here before the constable of Fraunce and other lordes that be here present; therfore I requyre you, let us nowe have thre courses afote with a speare, eche of us agaynst other. Than Nicholas answered and sayde, Johan, ye knowe ryght well we be here nowe goynge on our waye, by the saveconducte of my lorde youre Constable; therfore that ye requyre cannat nowe be done, for I am nat the chiefe of this saveconduct, for I am but under these other knightes that be here: for thoughe I wolde here abyde, they wyll nat do so. Than the Frenche squyer answered, Nycholas, excuse you nat by this meanes; let your company departe if they lyst, for I promyse you by covenaunt, the armes ones doone bytwene you and me, I shall bringe you into the vales of Chierbourge without domage or parell: make ye no dout therof. Than Nycholas answered and sayd, I thynke well that ye wyll bringe me thyder, and I beleve it of a very trueth; but ye se well howe we go throughe the countre without any harnesse: we have none with us; so that thoughe I wolde arme me, I have nat wherwith. Than answered Johan, Excuse you nat by that; I shall shewe you what ye shall do: I have harnes of dyvers sortes at my commaundement; they shall be brought into the place where as we shall do dedes of armes: than beholde them well, and chose whiche ye wyll, and I shal arme me with the other. Whan Nicholas Clifforde sawe himselfe so sore aposed, he was shamfast, bycause of them that were there present and herde the mater; and he sawe well howe this John offered hym so moche reason, that he coulde nat with his honestye refuse hym. And moreover Johan sayde to hym, Sir, take what parte and what covenaunt ye wyll, and I shall nat refuse it, rather thanne we shulde nat do dedes of armes. Than Nicholas sayd, howe he wolde take advyse, and shewe him his mynde or he departed; and if it be so that I may nat do it nowe, and that the lordes under whome I ame wyll nat agre therto, I promyse you, as soone as I come to Chierbourg and you to Boloyne, lette me knowe of your comyng thyder, and I shall incontynent come

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to you, and delyver your chalenge. Nay, nay, quoth John, seke no respite; I have offered, and yet do offer you, so many thynges so honourable, that in no wyse ye can departe, savynge your honoure, without doyng dedes of armes with me, sythe I requyre you of it. Than Nycholas with those wordes was sorer displeased than he was before, for he sawe well, and trewe it was, that he layd sore to his charge. Therwith the Frenchmen went to their castel, and the Englisshmen abode styll at their lodgynge, and so dyned. And whan the Frenchmen were in their castell, there was no lytell speakyng of the wordes that hadde ben bytwene Johan Boucmell and Nycholas Clyfforde, in soo moche that the wordes therof came to the hearyng of the constable, and he studyed a lytell therat. Than the knyghtes and squiers of the countrey desyred hym that he wolde put to his payne, that this dedes of armes myght be done; and the constable sayd he was content therwith. And whan they had dyned, the Englyssh knightes suche as were there and wolde departe, they went to the castell to se the constable, and to speke with him, bycause he shulde sende at the lest vii. knightes to conduct them through Bretayne and Normandy to Chierbourge. And whan they were come to the castell, the constable receyved them swetely, and than sayd to them, Sirs, I arest you all, so that ye shall nat departe this day; and to-morowe after masse ye shall se dedes of armes done bytwene our squier and yours, and than ye shall dyne with me, and after dyner ye shall departe with suche guydes as shall bryng you to Chierbourge. So they agreed to hym, and dranke of his wyne, and than returned to their lodgynge.

Than these two squiers, Johan and Nycholas, advysed them well of the batayle that they must furnyshe the next day; and so in the next mornynge they bothe harde one masse and were confessed, and so lept on their horses, and all the lordes of Fraunce on the one parte, and the Englisshmen on the other parte, and so came all togyder to a fayre playne place without the castell of Josselyn, and there taryed. Johan Boucinell had made redy two harnesses fayre and good, accordyng as he promysed too the Englysshe squier; and than he sayde to hym, Nycholas, chose whiche ye wyll have. But he wolde in noo wyse chose, and gave

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the fyrst choyse to the Frenche squier, and so he tooke the one and armed hym therwith, and Nycholas dyd helpe to arme hym, and so dyd he in lykewyse agayne. And whan they were bothe two armed, they toke good speares all of one length, and so eche of them tooke hys place, and came a fayre pace afoote eche agaynst other. And whan they shulde aproche they couched downe their speares. And at the fyrst stroke Nicholas Clifforde strake Johan Boucinell one the brest, and the stroke dyd slyde up to the gorget of mayle, and the speare heed dyd entre into his throte, and dyd cutte asonder the orgonall vayne, and the spere brake, and the tronchion stacke styll in the squiers necke, who was with that stroke wounded to dethe. The Englisshe squier passed forthe and went and sate downe in his chayre. Whan the lordes sawe that stroke, and sawe howe the tronchyon stacke styll, they came to hym and toke of his bassenet, and drewe out the tronchion: and as sone as it was out he turned about without any worde spekyng, and so fell downe deed sodenly, so that the Englysshe squier coulde nat come to hym tyme ynough, for he had certayne wordes to have staunched hym, that wolde have holpen. But whan he sawe that he was deed, he was sore dyspleased bycause of that adventure, seyng howe he shulde sle so valyant a man of armes: he that than had sene the erle of Marche, wolde have had pyte to se what sorowe he made for his squier, for he loved hym entierly. The constable reconforted hym, and sayd, In suche dedes of armes let no man loke for nothynge els; though this yvell fortune be fallen on our squier, the Englysshman is nat to blame, for he cannat amende it. Than the constable sayd to thenglisshmen, Sirs, let us go and dyne, it is tyme; and so the constable agaynst their good wylles had them with hym into the castell to dyner, for he wolde nat breke his promyse for the dethe of the squier. The erle of Marche wept piteously for his squier, and Nicholas Clifforde went to his lodgyng, and wolde nat dyne in the castell, what for sorowe and for doute of the Frenche squiers frendes: but the constable sent so for him, that it behoved hym to go to the castell. And whan he was come, the constable sayd, Certaynly, Nicholas, I beleve verely and se well, how ye be sory for the dethe of Johan Boucinell;

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but I excuse you, for ye cannat amende it: for, as God helpe me, if I had bene in the same case as ye were in, ye have done nothyng but I wolde have done the same, or more if I myght; for better it is a man to greve his enemy, than his enemy shulde greve him: suche be the adventures of armes. So they sate downe at the table and dyned at their leysar. And dyner done and the wyne dronke, the constable called to hym the lorde Barrois of Barres, and sayd to hym, Sir, make you redy; I wyll that ye shall conduct these Englysshmen to Chierbourg, and all the way open to them townes and castels, and mynistre to them all thynges necessary. The knight answered and said, Sir, with ryght a good wyll it shall be done. Than they toke their leave of the constable and of the other knightes there present, and so went to their lodgynge, and mounted on their horses and departed fro the castell of Josselyn, and rode to Pontorson and to Mount Saynt Michell, under the conduct of the gentyll knight the Barrois of Barres, who never left them tyll they came to Chierbourge. Thus as ye have herde departed the erle of Buckynghams army, bothe by see and by lande.

Nowe let us retourne to the busynesse of Flaunders in that season, how they of Gaunt maynteyned themselfe; and also of the erle of Flaunders their lorde, howe he parceyvered agaynst them, who made to them right sore and cruell warre.

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Howe the warre began agayne betwene the erle of Flaunders and the Flemynges, and how they of Ipre were disconfyted by a busshement.

IT is of trouthe that the erle of Flaunders at this begynning feared lytell the Flemynges nor the Gauntois, for he thought well to bring them under by wisedome and by armes, lytell and lytell, and specially sithe that John Lyon and John Pruniaux were deed. But the Gauntois had as than other great capitayns, in whom they had great affiaunce, and dyde all by their counsell. And Rase de Harsell[1] was capitayne of the chatelayne of Gaunt, and Johan of Bannoy[2] capitayne of Courtrey; and there were

[1] *Herzeele.*

[2] *Launnoit.*

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other capitayns, as Johan Bulle, Peter Boyse, Arnolde the Clerke, and Peter of Nuyte.[1] The same season there was a stryfe bytwene the great men and the comons within the towne of Bruges, for the meane craftes wolde have had every thing at their pleasure, and the great men wolde nat suffre it, and so they rebelled; and a certayne weyvers and fullers were slayne, and the other apeased. Than the great men of Bruges sente to the erle to Lysle, desyringe hym for Goddes sake to come to theym as their chiefe lorde, and to helpe to subdue the commons. The erle was gladde to here that tidynges, and so departed Lysle, and sir Wyllyam of Namure in his company, and a great nombre of knightes and squyers of Flaunders, and so came to Bruges, wher he was receyved with great joye. And at the erles comyng ther were taken all the principals of them that had their hertes Gauntoise, and suche as were suspecte, and so were put in prison mo than fyve hundred, and lytell and lytell their heedes were stryken of. And whan they of Franke understode that the erle was peasably in Bruges, they feared, and so put themselfe into the erles mercy, and he receyved them and had great joye, for dayly his power encreased; and also they of Franke alwayes have taken more the erles parte than all the resydue of Flaunders. The erle, seyng that he had brought under his subjection them of Bruges and of Franke, and that he had under hym knyghtes and squyers of the countre of Heynault and of Arthoyse, he thought than lytell and lytell to conquere agayne his country, and to punysshe his rebels. And first he ordayned and sayd, he wolde go and se them of Ipre, for he hated them greatly, bycause they opened their gates so lightly to theym of Gaunt; and sayd, how that they that had made that treaty, and to let in his enemyes to slee his knightes, shulde repent it, if he might gette the over hande of them. Than he made his somons through Franke and Bruges, sayeng howe he wolde go to Ipre. Tidynges came to Ipre that the erle their lorde ordayned hymselfe to come and assayle them. Than they toke counsayle, and determyned to sende worde therof to theym of Gaunt, to thentent that they shulde sende them some men to assyst the towne of Ipre, for they were nat bygge ynough of them-

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[1] *De Wintere.*

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selfe to kepe it without ayde of the Gauntoyse, who had promysed and sworne to ayde them whansoever they had any nede. So they sent covertly letters to Gaunt and to the capitayns, and signified to them the state of the erle, and howe he thretned to come and assayle them. Than they of Gaunt remembred well howe they were bounde by their fayth and promyse to ayde and confort them: than they set forthe two capitayns, John Bulle and Arnolde Clerke, and they sayd to them, Sirs, ye shall take with you thre thousande of our men, and go hastely to Ipre, to confort them as oure good frendes. Incontynent they departed fro Gaunte, and so these thre thousande men came to Ipre, wherof they of the towne had great joye. Than the erle of Flaunders issued out of Bruges with a great nombre of men, and so came to Tourande,[1] and the nexte day to Pourpringue, and there taryed thre dayes, tyll all his menne were come. And than he was aboute a twentie thousande men of warre.

They of Gaunt, who knewe right well all this mater, and how that the erle wolde go puissantly to Ipre, they determyned to assemble their puysaunce, and to go by Courtrey to Ipre, and so all togyder to fight with therle, sayeng, that if they myght one tyme overcome him, he shulde never be releved after. Than all the capitayns departed fro Gaunt, Rase de Harsell, Peter du Bouse, and Peter le Nuyte, Johan de Launoy, and dyvers other, as centenyers and cinquantenyers. And whan they were in the felde they were a nyne thousande. And so longe they rejourned that they came to Courtrey, where as they were receyved with great joye, for John de Launoy was capitayne there. Therle of Flaunders beyng at Pourpringue and therabout, understode that they of Gaunt were comyng to Ipre, and that they were at Cortrey on their way. Than the erle toke advyse and helde all his company togyder: they of Gaunt departed fro Courtrey and wente to Rolers, and there rested, and sent worde to theym of Ipre howe they were come thyder, shewyng them how that if they wolde yssue out of their towne with their power, and suche as were sent to them before, how they shulde be all togider men ynowe to fyght with the erle; of the whiche tidynges they of Ipre were right joyfull; and so

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[1] *Thourout.*

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the next day they issued out mo than viii. thousande, and Johan Bulle and Arnolde Clerke were their governours. Therle of Flaunders and his power, who was in those marchesse, knewe howe they of Ipre were yssued out of their towne to mete with them of Gaunt; I canne nat tell howe nor by what meanes: insomoche that therle ordayned at a passage, by the which they of Ipre must passe, two great busshmentes with his sone the Hase bastarde of Flaunders, and the lorde Danghien, with dyvers other knightes and squyers of Flaunders and of Heynalt, with them of Bruges and them of Franke; and in every company ther were x. thousande men. Than whan they of Ipre and the Gauntoise that were with them with Johan Bulle were in the feldes, and had nat journeyed past one myle, they founde two wayes, the one went to Rolers and the other to Tourande; than they rested, and toke advyse whiche way they shulde take. Than Arnolde le Clerke sayd, I counsayle let us go and se oure felowes at Rolers. By my faythe, quoth Johan de Bull, and I thynke it were better that we were lodged on the Mount dore, for be you sure I knowe so well Peter de Boyse and Rase de Harsell, sithe that they have sent for us, surely they wyll fyght with the erle; wherfore I am sure they wyll aproche as nere to hym as they can; therfore I counsayle let us go that way. So they determyned to take that waye; and whan they had gone a two myles they were wery of goyng afote, and or they were ware they were bytwene the two busshmentes. And whan they sawe that, they cryed all, We be betrayed. Ther were never men that made lasse defence than they dyde as than, for every man dyd what he coude to save himselfe; some retourned to Ipre, and some toke the feldes and fledde he that best might, without array or order. And the erles men toke and slewe them without mercy; howbeit John Bulle and Arnolde Clerke saved themselfe. They that fledde towardes Courtrey mette with the Gauntoise, who were departed fro Rolers, and were in the way to Rosebeque. Whan Peter de Boyse and the other sawe them that fledde, they demanded of them what they ayled; they answered and sayd, they coude nat tell, for they sayde they had nat the leyser to knowe the mater, but they sayd they fledde lyke men betrayed. Than Peter

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de Boyse had dyverse imaginations other to go forwarde, and to retourne agayne the fleers, and to fyght with theyr ennemies, who chased them, or elles to drawe to Courtray. All thynges consydered, they determyned to drawe backe for that tyme, the whiche they thought was for them as than moost profitable. So they drewe abacke in a batayle raynged in good ordre, and the same day returned to Courtray; and thither also drewe many of them that fled: so they lodged all within Courtray, and made the gates to be well kepte, to thentent that they shulde nat be sodenly taken. And whan John Bulle and Arnolde Clerke were returned, and had rekened all theyr people, than they knewe well that of them of Gaunte, suche as had ben sent to Iper before, they had loste in nombre a xii. C. and as many of them of Iper. And if they of the busshement had chased them that fled to Iper and to Courtray, there had but a fewe skaped, but all had ben deed or taken: but they chased nat farre; they toke hede to nothynge, but to slee them that were within theyr bushement, the whiche saved all the residue. They of Iper were sore abasshed whan they sawe theyr people returne beaten and disconfited the same day that they were issued out, and demaunded howe it myght be. And dyverse answered and sayde, howe John Bulle had betrayed them, and had brought them to be shamfully slayne.

Ye have harde often tymes recorded howe it is a harde warke to apease a commontie whan they be styrred. I say this bycause of them of Gaunte; whan they were the same day drawen backe to Courtray, they that were disconfytted knewe well that John Bulle was in the towne. Than mo than a thousande drewe together, and said, Let us go on the false traytour, John Bulle, who hath betrayed us: for by hym, and by none other, we toke that way that brought us into the bushement of our ennemyes. For if we had beleved Arnolde the Clerke, we had ben in suretie, for he wolde have brought us to oure owne company, and John Bull had nat ben, who hath solde and betrayed us, and brought us where as we were betrayed and discomfytted. Loo, ye may se howe these comons accused hym of treason, and yet I thynke veryly they had no cause so to do; for if it had ben as they sayd, and that he had solde and betrayed them to the erle, he wolde never have returned agayn to them, but rather have bydden styll with the erle. Howebeit, I cannat excuse hym so, but that it cost hym his lyfe, and I shall tell you howe. The Gauntoyse went and toke hym in his lodgynge, and so brought hym into the streat, and there he was striken all to peces, so that every man bare awaye a pece of hym. Thus ended John Bulle. The next day the Gauntoyse departed fro Courtray and returned to Gaunte, and dyd sende John de Launoy to the castell of Gavres, a castell of the erles standynge by the ryver of Lescaulte; and there this John made a garyson.

Howe the warre began agayne betwene the erle of Flaunders and the Flemynges.

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Howe they of Iper and Courtray turned to the erle of Flaunders parte, and howe the towne of Gaunte was besieged.

NOWE let us speke of the erle of Flaunders and of his company. Whan they had thus by theyr bushement overthrowen the Gauntoyse, and slayne a iii. M. of them or there aboute, what of them of Gaunte and of Iper, than the erle determyned to drawe towarde the towne of Iper, and to laye siege therto. And as he was counsayled so it was done, and he drewe thither with all his people, a great nombre of knyghtes and squyers of Flaunders, of Heynault, and of Artoys, who were come thyther to serve the erle. And whan they of Iper understode that the erle came on them so strongely, they were all sore afrayed. And the ryche men of the towne toke counsayle, and sayd amonge themselfe, howe they wolde open their gates, and go and mete the erle, and put themselfe under his obeysaunce, and crye hym mercy; and to shewe hym howe they were Gauntoyse by force, by reason of the comontie, as fullers, weavers, and suche other unhappy people in the towne; and they thought that the erle was so pytefull, that he wolde have mercy on them. And as they ordeyned, so they dyd; and so mo than iii. C. in a company came out of the towne of Iper, and had the keyes of the gates with them, and so they fell downe on theyr knees before the erle, cryenge for

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Howe they of Iper and Courtray turned to the erle of Flaunders parte.

mercy, and dyd put themselfe and theyr towne at his pleasur. The erle had pite on them, and toke them to mercy, and so entred with all his puyssaunce into the towne of Iper, and there taried a iii. wekes, and sent home agayne them of Franke and of Bruges. And while therle lay in Iper, he caused to be beheeded mo than vii. C. of fullers and weavers, and of suche maner of people as had brought fyrst into that towne John Leon[1] and the Gauntoyse, and slayne suche valyaunt men as the erle had sette ther; for the whiche cause the erle was sore displeased, and to thentent that they shuld no more rebell, he sent a iii. C. of the most notablest of them into prison in Bruges, and so than toke his way to Courtray to brynge that towne to his obeysaunce. Whan they of Courtray understode that therle theyr lorde came to them so strongely, and howe that Iper was under his obeysaunce, than they greatly doubted, for they sawe no comfort apparent fro them of Gaunte;[2] wherfore they were advised lyghtly to yelde them to theyr lorde, thynkynge it was better for them to holde with therle, to whom they ought to owe theyr fayth and homage, rather than to the Gauntoyse. Than they ordeyned a iii. C. of the best of the towne afoote to go into the feldes to therle, and the keyes of the towne with them: and whan therle came by, they all kneled downe and cryed for mercy. The erle had pitie of them, and receyved them to mercy, and entred into the towne joyously, and they al made to hym reverence and honor; than he toke a ii. C. of the best of the towne of Courtray, and sent them to Lisle and to Doway in hostage, to thentent that that towne shuld no more rebelle. And whan the erle had ben there a vi. dayes, than he went to Bruges, and there refresshed hym a xv. dayes. Than he made a great somons, to thentent to lay siege to Gaunte, for all the residue of Flaunders was as than at his commaundement. Than the erle departed fro Bruges, and so came and layd siege before Gaunte, and lodged at a place called the Briet.[3] Thither came to the erle, sir Robert of Namure to serve the erle with a certayne nombre of men of warre, accordynge as the erle had wrytten unto hym; but syr William of Namure was nat there: he was in Fraunce with the kynge, and with the duke of Borgoyn. This siege began

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[1] *Yoens.*

[2] *Graunte* P.

[3] *Ter Boote.*

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Howe they of Iper and Courtray turned to the erle of Flaunders parte.

about the feast of the decollacion of saynt John Baptist. And sir Water Danhien[1] was marshall of all the oost of Flaunders; he was yonge and hardy, and feared no payne nor perill, whatsoever fell. For all that the erle lay thus before the towne of Gaunte, yet he coude nat so constrayne them of the towne, but that they kept styll open iii. or iiii. of theyr gates, so that vitayles myght come in to them without any daunger, for they of Brussels and of Brabant were right favourable to them. And also they of Liege, to comforte them in theyr opinion, sent to them a message, sayenge thus: Ye good people of Gaunte, we of Liege knowe well howe ye be sore travayled, and have moche ado with the erle your lorde, wherof we are sore displeased; but, sirs, knowe for treuth, if we dyd marche nere you, as within iiii. or v. leages, we shulde gyve you suche comforte as men ought to do to theyr good neyghbours and frendes; but ye be farre of fro us, and also the countrey of Brabant is betwene you and us, wherfore we must forbeare; but though it be so that ye be as nowe besieged, yet be nat discomforted, for God knoweth, and so doth all other good townes, that ye be in the ryght of this warre; wherfore all your busynes shall acheve the better. Thus they of Liege sent to them of Gaunte to comforte them.

Therle of Flaunders who had thus besieged the towne of Gaunte on the syde towardes Bruges and towarde Courtray, but as toward Brussels therle coude nat come nor lay his siege, bicause of the great rivers, that is to say, the ryver of Lyse, and the ryver of Lescault. And I saye unto you, all thynges consydered, Gaunte is one of the most strongest townes of the worlde, for it behoveth mo than ii. C. M. men to besiege it rounde, and to stoppe fro it all the ryvers and passages, and also that the ostis lye nere together, for els they coude nat comforte one another, bicause of the rivers. And also there is moche people in the towne of Gaunte; they were in those dayes men of defence a iiii. score M. men able to beare harneis bitwene lx. yere and xv.

And whan therle had layen at this siege the space of a moneth, and that his men, and the Haze his sone, and his marshall had made many a skrymysshe with them of Gaunt, and some day wonne and some day loste, as the adventures

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[1] *Enghien.*

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Howe they of Iper and Courtray turned to the erle of Flaunders parte.

of warre falleth, than therle was counsayled on a day to sende them of Bruges, of Iper, and of Pourprynge to skrymysshe with the Gauntoyse, at a place called the Longe Brydge: for it was thought that if they myght wynne that place, it shulde be a great advauntage and profitte for them, for than they shulde entre into the iiii. craftes, and therby aproche nere to Gaunt. And so there was ordeyned syr Josse Valuin[1] to be chief capitayne of that enterprise: and so whan they were come to this passage, they founde it nat disgarnisshed, but well provyded for, with a great nombre of men of Gaunte. There was Peter du Boyse, Peter de Nuytee, and Rase de Harzelles. There beganne a sore skrymysshe; there was shotyng of gonnes and crosbowes on both parties, wherby dyvers were slayne and wounded; and right well the Gauntoyse dyd acquyte themselfe, for they reculed theyr enemies, and wanne by force the goldesmythes baner of Bruges, and there it was cast downe into the water. And ther were of the goldesmythes and other a great nombre slayne and hurte, and specially sir Josse Valuin was there slayne, whiche was great domage. And so the other returned agayne without doynge any more; so the Gauntoyse bare themselfe valiauntly.

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Howe the erle of Flaunders reysed up his siege fro the towne of Gaunte, and of the batayle betwene hym and the Gauntoyse.

DURYNGE this siege before Gaunte, there were many skrymysshes before the towne; for the lorde Danghien, and the seneschall of Heynault, and the Haze of Flanders, whan they myght spy any maner of advauntage, they toke none to raunsome. And some tyme they were so put abacke, that they had no leyser to loke behynde them. Than they of Gaunte drewe together to the nombre of vi. M., and Rase of Harzelles, Arnolde Clerke, and John Launoy were capitaynes, and they departed out of Gaunte without any daunger of the oste, and went to

[1] *Halewyn.*

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Howe the erle of Flaunders reysed up his siege fro the towne of Gaunte.

Alour,[1] a good closed towne. And the erle had lyenge there in garison dyverse knyghtes, but incontynent as they knewe of the comynge of the Gauntoyse, they fled out of the towne at the gate towarde Brussels, for els they had ben deed; for the towne incontinent was brent and spoyled by the Gauntoyse, wherin they conquered great pyllage. And fro thence they went to Teremonde, a stronge towne, yet by assaute they conquered it, and ther was slayne sir Philip of Namure;[2] and so the Gauntoyse were lordes of the towne, but nat of the castell, for the lorde of Wydscot kept it valiantly. Than the Gauntoyse went to Granmont, the whiche was newly turned to the erles parte by the treatie of the lorde Danghien; and I can nat tell whether it were by treason or nat, but the Gauntoyse entred by force, and many of them within slayne. And whan they had made this voyage, they retourned agayne to Gaunte with great praye and pyllage.

Whan the erle of Flaunders sawe that he lost his tyme, with lyeng at the siege before Gaunte, and howe that he laye there at great coste and charge, and great payn to hym and to his people, for he sawe well that they within lefte nat for all hym to issue out and bren the countrey, and knewe well howe they had conquered Teremonde, and Granmont, duryng the siege, therfore therle was counsayled to departe thence, bicause wynter approched. And so he dyd, and sent his people home to theyr owne houses to refresshe them. And he sente the lorde Danghien, and the lorde Montigny, to Andwarpe,[3] in garison; and beside the men of armes, he had a ii. CC. good archers of Englande, wherof he made great counte. And the erle went than to Bruges: and they that lay in Andwarpe made dyverse skrymysshes with the Gauntoyse, for they issued out nere hande every day into the feldes, so that none coude go to Gaunte to brynge thyther any vitayles or other marchaundise withoute they were slayne or taken. And whan it came to the monethe of Aprill, and that wynter was past, the erle than assembled agayne his people, both fro Iper, fro Cortray, fro Pourprynge, fro Dan,[4] fro Sluce, and fro Franke, and so he departed fro Bruges, and went to Nievle,[5] and there he taried a certayne space, and of all his men of armes he made capitayne the lorde Danghien. So than the erle was to the

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[1] *Alost.*

[2] *Masmines.*

[3] *Audenarde.*

[4] *Damme.*

[5] *Nevele.*

CAP. CCCLXXVII Howe the erle of Flaunders reysed up his siege fro the towne of Gaunte.

nombre of xx. M. and determyned to go to Gawres, where as John Launoy was. And whan he knewe the comynge of the erle, he sente worde therof to Gaunte, to Rase de Harzelles, for some ayde and comfort. Than Rase assembled together vi. M. and issued oute of Gaunte, and wente towarde Gawres, but there he founde nat John de Launoy, for he was at Donze,[1] on the other syde of the ryver, and pylled the countrey there. And so they drewe together, and rode forth all that daye, and met with them of Andwarpe, and Donze, goyng towarde therle; and there the Gauntoyse dyd assayle them, and slewe of them a vi. C.; but the lorde Danghien was nat in that company, for he was gone to therle, who was in the feldes betwene Bruges and Donze. And whan these tydynges came to the erle and to the lorde Danghien, howe they of Andwarpe had receyved suche domage, they were sore displeased: than it was ordeyned, that the lorde Danghien, with iiii. M. shulde go to Gavres, thynking to fynde John Launoy ther; but he was nat there, for he was drawen backe to Gaunte, with all his pyllage and prisoners, of the whiche ther was no great quantite. And the next day after, Rase de Harselles departed out of Gaunte, with vi. M. and John Launoy with hym. And also the same day there issued out of Gaunt, Peter du Boyse, with vi. M. and Arnolde Clerke in his company, and they went and brent the suburbes of Courtray, and than they retourned towarde Donse, to mete with theyr owne company; but they came to late. For whan Johan Launoy, and Rase of Harselles, came to Nyevle, there they founde the erle and all his company redy in the felde, abyding for non other thyng but for batayle; and so therles hoost and the Gauntoyse founde eche other, without any knowledge, in the mornynge. And whan Rase of Harselles, and John Launoy sawe that they must nedes fight, than they set their men in thre batayles, and in every batayle two thousande men, of the moost hardyest of Gaunt. And Peter du Boyse and Arnolde Clerke had as many with them, and they were abrode in the felde, and knewe nothynge that their company and the erle were so nere togyder, nor that they shulde fight as they dyd. For it was ordayned among them, or they departed fro Gaunte, that if

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[1] *Deynze.*

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Howe the erle of Flaunders reysed up his siege fro the towne of Gaunte.

they founde therle with his hole puissaunce, that they shulde nat fyght with hym without they were all toguyder: for they thought theymselfe nat bygge ynoughe to encountre the erle, without they were all toguyder in one batayle: and to this they were sworne to upholde. And to saye trouthe, Rase of Harsels might have let the batayle if he had lyst, for if he wolde have kepte himselfe styll in the towne, and have taryed tyll Peter du Boyse hadde come to hym, the erle wolde nat have assayled theym in the towne so shortely; but assoone as Rase de Harsels knewe that therle was there, incontinent by great pride he yssued out into the felde, and sayd, howe he wolde fight with his enemyes, and have the honoure hymselfe, and nat to abyde for Peter du Boyse and his company. He had so great trust in his owne company, and so good hope in the fortune of them of Gaunte, that he thought he coude lose nothyng; and well it shewed the same day the great wyll that he hadde to fight, as ye shall here after.

Greatly was therle of Flaunders rejoysed, whan he sawe that Rase of Harsels was issued out of Nievle, and was abrode in the felde redy to fight. Than therle ordred his men, and he was about the nombre of xx. thousande, and he had a xv. hundred speares, knightes and squyers, of Flaunders, Heynalt, Brabant, and Artoyse. Of Heynault, there was the lorde Danghien, marshall of the hoost, and with hym the lorde Montigny, and my lorde the bastarde Danghien, Gyles Ryston,[1] Johan Burlemont,[2] and dyvers other: and of Flaunders, ther was the lorde of Guystels, sir Guy of Guystels, the lorde Cornettes,[3] the lorde Hulluc, the lorde of Halwyn, sir Danyell of Halwyn, sir Tyrrey Disquetan,[4] sir Johan Discoubourcke,[5] the lorde of Gentus,[6] sir Johan Villayne, sir Gerarde of Mortigilier,[7] and dyvers other. And ther were made a certayne of newe knightes; before, the yong seneshall of Heynalt dyed on his bedde at Aubyes,[8] besyde Mortayne. Therle made fyve batayls, and in every batayle foure thousande men, every man in great desyre to ron on their enemyes: and that day the lorde of Lieurghien[9] bare therles baner. Whan all the batayls were well ordred, the fyve batayls aproched agaynst the thre batayles of the Gauntoyse: and at the first settynge on,

[1] *Risoit.*
[2] *Berlaymont.*
[3] *Escornay.*
[4] *Dixmude.*
[5] *Estainbourg.*
[6] *Gruthuse.*
[7] *Marquillies.*
[8] *Biez.*
[9] *Leeuwerghem.*

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Howe the erle of Flaunders reysed up his siege fro the towne of Gaunte.

there aproched but thre of the erles batayles, for the other two were as wynges, to comfort the bataylles, if nede requyred. There the erle hymselfe prayed all his company to do well their devoyre, and to take vengeance of these outragyous Gauntoise, who had putte hym to so moche payne; and also he sayd to them of the good townes, Sirs, be ye all sure, for if any of you flye away, ye were better here to be slayne, for without mercy it shall coost you all your heedes. And so therle set them of Bruges in the first batayle, they of Franke in the seconde, and they of Ipre and of Courtray in the thirde, and they of Propigne, of Bergues, of Cassell, and of Bourge, in the fourthe batayle, and he retayned with hymselfe them of Lyle, of Doway, and of Andwarpe. Thus they assembled their batayls, and came eche agaynst other. And of the Gauntoyse, Rase of Harselles ledde the first batayle, for he was the most hardyest, therfore he wolde be with the formast, to thentent to get honour if he coude: and so he encountred agaynst the batayle of them of Bruges, ledde by the lorde of Guystell and his brotherne. And there was a sore encountre, and so all the batayls assembled toguyder. Ther were many overthrowen, on the one parte and on thother, and the Gauntoyse dyd many proper dedes of armes, but the erle had a farre greatter nombre, for they were thre agaynst one. Ther was a good assaut and long endured, or it coude be knowen or sene who shulde have the better. And whan all the batayls were joyned togeder, they of Flaunders cryed Lyon, recomfortyng eche other: and thother cryed with an highe voyce, Gaunt, Gaunt. There was one tyme that the erles company were in adventure to have had the worse, and if they had lost their grounde, they had ben all slayne without remedy: for Peter de Boyse with vi. M. with hym were in the feldes, and might well se the batayle, but he coude nat come thyder to comfort or ayde his company, bycause of the marisshes and waters that were bytwene them. But and therle had lost the felde and his men fledde, Peter de Boyse shulde have met with them, so that none shulde have scaped, erle nor other, but all shulde outher have ben slayne or taken, whiche shulde have ben great domage to Flaunders, and by likelihod never to have ben recovered agayn.

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Howe the Gauntoyse were brent in the churche of Nievle, and howe the white hodes slewe dyvers noble men of the erle of Flaunders parte.

RASE of Harsels and John of Launoy had none avauntage in assaylinge the erles men, for the erle had there many a noble knight, and many a good man out of Bruges, Ipre, Courtray, Andwarpe, Danne, Sluse, and Franke. Also the erle was foure men agaynst one, so that whan all the erles batayls were assembled toguyder, there were so many, that the Gauntoyse coulde nat endure them, but opyned and reculed towardes the towne of Nievle. Assone as they brake their array, the erles men entred in among them, and slewe them by heapes. Than the Gauntoyse reculed towardes the mynster of Nievle, whiche was a stronge holde, and ther was a great slaughter at the entryng of the Gauntoyse into the mynster. John de Launoy, all abasshed and discomfyted, entred into the mynster to save himselfe, and went into the steple, and suche of his company as he coude get in with hym; and Rase de Harsels abode behynde him and reculed his company, and dyde great feate of armes at the dore; but finally he was stryken with a longe pyke through the body, and so slayne.

Thus ended Rase of Harsels, who had ben a great capitayne in Gaunt agaynst therle, and the Gauntoyse loved hym greatly, bycause of his wysdome and prowes, but for his valyantnesse this was his ende and rewarde. Whan therle of Flaunders came to the mynster, and sawe howe the Gauntoyse fledde into the churche, than he commaunded to sette fyre on the mynster: his commaundement was shortely done; fyre, fagottes and strawe were set togyder rounde about the churche, the fyre anone mounted up to the coverynge of the mynster. There dyed the Gauntoyse in great payne, for they were brent quicke, and suche as issued oute were slayne, and cast agayne into the fyre. Johan Launoy, who was in the steple, seinge hymselfe at the poynt to be brent, cryed to them without, Raunsome, raunsome, and

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Howe the Gauntoyse were brent in the churche of Nievle.

offred his cote, whiche was full of florens, to save his lyfe. But they without dyd but laughe and scorne at hym, and sayde to hym, Johan, come out at some windowe and speke with us, and we shall receyve you: make a leape, in lykewise as ye have made some of us to leape within this yer, yt behoveth you to make this leape. Whan John Launoy sawe himselfe in that poynt, and that he was without remedy, and that the fyre toke hym so nere, that he sawe well he shulde be brent, he thought it were better for hym to be slayne than to be brent, and so he lept out at a wyndowe among his enemyes, and ther he was receyved on speres and swerdes, and cut all to peces, and cast agayne into the fyre. Thus ended John Launoy.

Of sixe thousande men that Rase de Harsels, and Johan de Launoy, had out of Gaunt, and about Gaunt, and suche as served the Gauntoise for their wages, ther scaped away alyve about thre hundred: all the resydue were slayne in the dykes, in the felde, and in the towne, and brent in the mynster. And Peter de Boyse, who had a great batayle in the felde, coulde nat ayde them, for bytwene his batayle, and Rase de Harselles, there was a great marys, and moche water, wherfore he coude nat come to them. Than he departed fro the place there as he was and all his men, well raynged in good order of batayle, and sayde, Lette us go fayre and easely towardes Gaunt; Rase of Harselles and Johan of Launoy, with their company, hath spedde but yvell, they are disconfyted: I can nat say what shall fall of us, yf we be folowed and assayled by the erles men; let us kepe us togyder, and let us fight valyantly, lyke theym that fight for our right. And all they that herde hym, said, So they wolde do. And so than he departed, and toke the way towarde Gaunt, in a fayre bataile, well rainged and in good order. Some of them that fledde fro the batayle retourned to Gaunt, and shewed all the adventure, howe Rase of Harsels, and Johan of Launoy, and their company, were discomfyted and slayne in the batayle of Nievle. Whan they of Gaunt herde those tidynges, they were sore afrayed, and sorоufull for the dethe of Rase, for he was wel beloved, and they had a great trust in hym, for they had ever founde him a good capitayne and a true; and bicause that Rase

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was a gentylman borne, and sonne to a lorde and to a lady, and that he had served them trewely for their money, they loved and honoured him the more. Than they of the towne demaunded of them that were come thyder flyeng fro the felde, wher Peter de Boyse was, durynge the felde; and they that had nat sene hym, nor knewe nat where he was, answered and sayd, We can nat tell you wher he was, for we sawe hym nat. Than some of them of the towne of Gaunt, began to murmure agaynst Peter de Boyse, and sayde, howe he had yvell aquyted hymselfe, in that he was nat at the felde, seyng that he had a sixe M. men of warr with him; and so they of the towne were determyned, that as soone as Peter du Boyse shulde returne, they wolde slee him, and than agre with their lorde therle, and put them all into his mercy. I beleve if they had doone thus, they had done wisely, and I thynke shortlye have come to peace: but they dyde nat thus, the whiche they derely bought after, and in likewyse so dyde all the countre of Flaunders, for yet to this day, every thynge is nat as it ought to be in Flaunders. Whan this bataile at Nievl was done, the erle understode that Peter du Boyse and a great batayle of Gauntoyse were styll abrode in the feldes, and were goynge to Gaunt. Than the erle demaunded counsayle, whyder he shulde go and fyght with them or nat; and his lordes and knyghtes aunswered hym, howe he had done ynoughe for that daye, and howe that his men were wery, and had nede of rest; but they counsayled to sende a fyve or sixe hundred men of armes to pursue them, and to se what they dyde; sayeng, howe paraventure they myght happe to fynde their enemyes lodged that night in suche a place, that they wolde loke on them at their dislodgynge in the mornyng. The erle was content with this counsaile, and so it was done. Anone they were apoynted out that shulde go in this company, and the lorde Danghien was chefe capitayne. So they departed fro Nievle, and rode under covert, to se the demeanour of the Gauntoyse; and at laste they sawe the Gauntoyse wher they discended downe a hyll, kepynge themselfe close and in good order. The lorde Danghien and his company pursued them a farre of, on the one syde. And Peter de Boyse, and the Gauntoyse, sawe them well,

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but they made no semblant. Than sayd Peter de Boyse to his company, Sirs, lette us kepe on our way, and breke none order: yf they come on us, let us receyve theym, but I thynke they wyll nat medyll with us: thus they rode tyll they came to Gaunt. Than the lorde Danghien retourned to the erle, and Peter de Boyse, and his company, entred into Gaunt. Than Peter du Boyse was so receyved, that he was at the poynt to have bene slayne, bycause he had nat holpen Rase de Harsels, at the batayle of Nievle. Peter de Boyse excused hymselfe, and sayd, howe he had sende to Rase, that in no wyse he shulde fight with the erle without he were in his company, bycause the erle had so great a puissaunce. But Rase dyde the clene contrary, and therfore though yvell be come to hym, I can nat do therwith; and sirs, knowe surely, that I am as sorie, and as moche displeased for his dethe, as any man may be, for the towne of Gaunte hath lost of hym a right valyant man, and a sage capitayne; therfore it is convenyent to seke out for another, discrete, sage, and of good renome, or els let us all put ourselfe under the obeysance of the erle, and he shall distroye us all, and make us to dye a villayne dethe; beholde nowe, chose what ye wyll do, outher perceyver and contynue as we have done, or els to put us into the erles mercy. And as than ther were none that answered hym, but as for the batayle of Nievle, and of the dethe of Rase de Harselles, he was excused: and bycause they gave hym none answere to that he sayde, he was sore dyspleased in his mynde. And specially he was nat content with some of the burgesses that were ther present, of the best and moost notablest of the towne, as sir Guysbert Grut,[1] and sir Symonde Brette;[2] he made as than to them no semblant, but he shewed well his displeasure to them or the yere past, as ye shall here after.

Whan the lorde Danghien, and the lorde Montigny, the Hase of Flaunders, and their routes, were retourned from Nievle to the erle, and had shewed him all that they had sene, than therle departed and went to Bruges, and sent home his people of the good townes, and he sende them of Franke with the lorde Danghien, to Andwarpe. And whan they of Gaunte understode that the erle was gone backe to Bruges, and that his people were departed fro hym, than

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[1] *Gilbert de Grutere.*

[2] *Bette.*

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by the styrring and movyng of Peter de Boyse, they of Gaunt drewe togyder. For he sayd to them, Sirs, let us go forwarde, let us nat be this a colde to make warr, let us shewe ourselfe lyke people to do an enterprise. And so there departed out of Gaunt mo than fyftene M. and so came strongly before Courtray, and layd siege to the towne, whyle the feest and processyon was at Bruges, the whiche was the yere of our Lorde a thousande thre hundred lxxxi. There they were ten dayes, and brent the subbarbes, and the countrey about. And whan the erle herde therof, he sente for all his gentylmen and garisons, and for the commons of Ipre, and Franke, and so departed fro Bruges, and he was to the nombre of xxv. thousande, and so he toke the waye towardes Courtray, to fyght with the Gauntoyse, and to reyse the siege. And whan Peter de Boyse, and the Gauntoyse, herde how the erle was comyng to them warde with so great a nombre, than they determyned no lenger to kepe the siege, but so departed and went and lodged at Donse, and at Nievle, sayeng, howe they wolde abyde the erle there: and sent worde of their estate to Gaunt, and sent for the rerebande, to the entent to be the stronger, and to have the more people. And so there departed agayne fro Gaunte, to the nombre of xv. thousande, and so came to their company to Nievll, and to Donse, and there lodged all togyder in the feldes abydinge the erle. And whan the erle was come to Harlbecke, besyde Courtrey, than he understode that the Gauntoyse were departed towardes Gaunte, and were lodged about Nievle, and Donse. Than the erle was counsayled nat to pursue them, and so gave leave to his men to departe; and he sent the lorde Danghien, and Heynowers, and his bastarde sonne the Hase of Flaunders, to Andwarpe, in garyson. And whan the Gauntoyse sawe that therle came nat on them, than they departed fro Nievle, and fro Donse, and toke the highe way by Andwarpe, to come to Gaunt. And the same daye that they passed, they sente to Andwarpe a certayne nombre of their men, of whom Arnolde Clerke was capitayne, to the barryers of the towne, to scrimysshe with them within the towne; and the knightes and squyers that were within coulde nat absteyne themselfe, but came and scrimysshed with them, so that ther were hurt

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and slayne dyvers on bothe parties: and at last they departed and entred into Gaunt, every man to his owne house. And thre dayes after, Arnolde Clerke was ordayned to go to Gavres with a xii. hundred of the whyte hodes, to lye in the castell and ther about, in maner as a countre garysone agaynst Andwarpe: and so thyder went Arnold Clerke with his company. And he had nat ben ther long, but he understode that certayne knyghtes and squyers were issued out of Andwarp, to seke adventures. Than Arnolde Clerke departed fro Gavres, and with him a xv. C. and so layd themselfe in a busshment, to mete with them that were issued that mornynge out of Andwarpe, wherof there were dyvers gentylmen, as the lorde of Cornayse,[1] the lorde of Remseles,[2] sir Johan of Vyllayns, the lorde Danghien, the Galoys of Mamynes, the bastarde of Cornayse, and the Blancharde of Calemey.[3] And as these knightes and squyers were retournynge to Andwarpe, the busshment brake out on them; and ther were dyvers slayne, hurt, and overthrowen, for the Gauntoyse toke non to mercy: ther these knightes and squiers horses dyde them good servyce, for they broched their spurres to their horses, and so retourned to Andwarpe, and at the barriers of the towne they alighted, and put themselfe to defence, abyding for their company and varlettes: yet they coude nat entre so clene, but that there were slayne mo than thre score. And than Arnolde Clerke retourned, and lodged the same night at an abbey therby, called Chem,[4] and in the abbey they founde Peter Destonehoux,[5] and the Galoys of Mamynes, and a C. of their company with them. Than Arnolde Clerke assayled the abbey, and with great payne the Galois of Mamynes saved hymselfe, and departed out at a backe posterne and entred into a bote, and by night tyme went to Andwarp, and shewed the lorde Danghien, the lorde Montigny, and sir Danyell of Halwyn, and the other knightes that were ther, how the same night Arnolde Clerke and the whyte hodes were in thabbey of Chem, and had slayne dyvers of their company, and said howe he thought verily that Peter Destonehoux was there slayne. And so he was in dede, for Arnolde Clerke and his company made him to leape out at a wyndowe, and ther was receyved with glayves, and slayne, whiche was great domage.

[1] *Escornay.*

[2] *Reighersvliet.*

[3] *Calonne.*

[4] *Eenaeme.*

[5] *de Steenhuyse.*

CAP. CCCLXXIX

Howe the white hoodes and their capitayn were slayne, and how Phylyppe Dartvell was chosen capiteyn of Gaunt.

WHAN the knightes and squyers that were within Andwarpe understode that Arnolde Clerke, and the whyte hodes, to the nombre of xii. hundred, were at the abbey of Chem, and had taken ther dyvers of their companyons, they were right sore displeased, and so determyned to sende the same night their spyes, to se where they myght fynde their enemyes in the next mornyng; and as they ordayned, so they dyde. And in the mornyng the spyes brought report, howe the white hodes were determyned to abyde there all that day, wherwith these lordes and knightes were right joyfull. Than they armed theym, as the lorde Danghien, the lorde of Montigny, the lorde of Bresuell,[1] sir Michaell de la Hamarde,[2] and mo than sixe hundred knightes and squiers of Heynalt, and as many of Flaunders, and out of Andwarpe a thre hundred speares, and mo than a thousande crosbowes, and other varlets. And whan they aproched nere to them, they sent before sir Olyver of Chem,[3] and a hundred speares with hym to begyn the assaut, to the entent to drawe out of the abbey Arnolde Clerke, and to ocupy the tyme, whyle their fote men and crosbowes were come to theym. Than sir Danyell, and sir Peter of Disquemake,[4] and the Hase of Flaunders, came before the abbey of Chem, and cryed Flaunders, with the Lyon of the bastarde. The Gauntoyse, who were nat ware of the busshment, bycause it was so early, nor they were nat fully redy, and are Arnolde Clerke coude bringe his men toguyder in good arraye, the lorde Danghien, the lorde of Lens, the lorde of Bresuell, the lorde of Cornayes, the lorde of Montigny, and their batayls, entred behynde into the towne, in cryeng Danghien, and set on the Gauntoise and whyte hodes so valiauntly, that they coulde nat endure, but brake their order. So that there was slayne of them, what in the abbey, and in the feldes, xi. hundred, and they were

[1] *Briffeuil.*

[2] *Hamayde.*

[3] *Daniel de Halewyn.*

[4] *Thierri de Dixmude.*

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but xii. hundred in all. And there was Arnolde Clerke slayne with two pikes as he was flyeng, and so he was layd up leanyng agaynst a hedge. And after this disconfytur, the lorde Danghien, and the other knyghtes, retourned to Andwarpe, and so this dede was reputed a great prowes. And whan therle of Flaunders knewe these tidynges, he was greatly rejoysed, and sayd to the lorde Danghien, how he was his fayre goodson, and shulde prove a noble valiant man. To say the trouthe of the lorde of Danghien, in him was all the honour of the countie of Flaunders. And so whyle therle lay at Bruges, he called him nat onely his cosyn, but also his fayre sonne.

Whan it was knowen at Gaunte, that Arnolde Clerke was deed, and his men disconfyted, there were many than that were sore abasshed, and said among themselfe, Our besynesse proveth but yvell, lytell and lytell our capitayns and men are slayne; we thynke we have done yvell to move this warre thus against our own lorde, for he dothe minysshe us thus lytell and lytell; the yvell wyll and hatered that was bytwene Gylbert Mahue and Johan Lyon turneth to our great domage: I trowe we have to longe sustayned the opinyons of Johan Lyon and Peter de Boise; they have brought us so depe into this warr and into the hatered of the erle our lorde that nowe we can nat nor knowe nat howe to fynde any remedy, to have mercy and peace: yet it wer better that xx. or xxx. dyd repent it, thane all the hole towne. Thus there were dyvers that sayde eche to other prively, they durst nat speke it generally, for dout of them that were yvell. For they were all of one sect, and daylye encreased in puissaunce; and in the begynnynge they were but poore companyons, without any substaunce, but than they had golde and sylver ynough. For whan they neded, and complayned to their capitayns, they were well herde and conforted, for than anone some of the riche men of the towne shulde be sent for to them; and whan they were come, for feare they durste nat refuce so to do, than the capitayns wolde say to them, Sirs, it behoveth that the good towne of Gaunt make some shyft to pay our soudyers, who aydeth and helpeth to defende and to kepe our jurysdictyons and fraunchiese, and it behoveth that our companyons muste

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lyve. And so they wolde aske of every man as they lyst themselfe, and none durst saye nay: for and they hadde, incontynent they shulde have bene slayne, and borne in hande howe they had bene traytours to the good towne of Gaunt, and loved nat the welthe, honoure, nor profyte therof. Thus the knaves and yvell dysposed people were maysters in the good towne of Gaunt, and so contynued, as longe as the warre was bytwene them, and the erle of Flaunders their lorde. And to say the verye trouthe, thoughe the ryche and noble men of the good towne of Gaunt were thus beaten with suche roddes, ther ought none to be sorie therof, nor they coude nat excuse themselfe, but that by theyr owne fautes they were cause of theyr owne trouble: reason proveth howe. For whan therle of Flaunders sende to them his baily, to have done justyce on certayne rebels and evyll disposed people, they myght, if they had lyst, abydden by hym, and have gyven hym confort in doyng of justice; the whiche they dyd nat, but it semed that they hadde leaver the mater had gone yvell as it dyd, rather than well: and had rather to have warr with theyr owne lorde than peace; for well they myght knowe, that if they had warre, that the yvell people shuld be lordes of the towne, and shulde be theyr maisters, and nat to be put downe agayne whan they wolde. This proved well by John Faucell, who, to the entent to dissymule the mater, departed out of the towne of Gaunte, and went and dwelte in Heynaulte, wherby he thought to be pourged out of blame for the warre bytwene therle and the towne, thynkynge to beare no blame of neyther party; howebeit, the matier was so layde to his charge, that he dyed therby, whiche was great domage. For this John Faucell was in his tyme a right sage and a noble wyse man; but it is hard haltynge before lordes and theyr counsayles, for they se clerely. This man coude well ayde and counsayle other, but as touchyng hymselfe, he coude nat take the best waye. I can nat say whyder he were culpable or nat of the artycles that he was examyned of at Lyle, by sir Symon Rayn;[1] but the knyghtes and yvell fortune turned all agaynst hym, so that he dyed. And in likewyse so is fallen of all the capitaynes of Gaunt, that susteyned the rebellion agaynst theyr lorde. Also it hath

[1] *Rym.*

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coste syth many a mans lyfe in Gaunt, and paraventure many a one that were in no defaulte.

Whan Peter du Boyse sawe that the towne of Gaunte dayly enpaired and febled, as well in theyr capitayns, as in theyr men; and sawe well howe the riche men began to waxe wery, and were in mynde to leave the warre, wherfore he doubted greatly, and imagined and sawe well that by no meanes of the worlde, there coude any peace be made with the erle, so that he shulde be sure of his lyfe, than he remembred hymselfe of John Lyon, who was his maister, and studyed by what meanes he wrought. And he saw well that he coude nat do all thynge alone, nor that he had nat the wytte and understandyng to governe the hole towne of Gaunte; wherfore he thought he wolde nat have the pryncypall charge, but in all folisshe enterprises he thought covertly to have the study of them. Than he remembred hymselfe of a man, the whiche was nat greatly taken hede of in the towne of Gaunt; he was a wyse man, but his wysdome was nat knowen, nor he was nat taken hede of tyll the same day. He was called Philip Dartvell, sone to Jaques Dartvell, who in his tyme vii. yere togyder had the governaunce of all the countie of Flaunders. And he harde Peter du Boyse, and John Lyon, his maister, and dyverse other auncient men of Gaunte oftentymes saye that the countrey of Flaunders was never more loved, honored, and feared, than it was in the tyme of Jaques Dartvell, the whiche endured the space of vii. yere. And as than he hard dayly the Gauntoyse say, howe that whan Jaques Dartvell lyved, theyr busynes was in good estate, for than they sayd, they might have peace at their wyls, and the erle was glad whan he might pardon us all. Peter de Boyse remembred well these wordes in hymselfe, and sawe how Jaques Dartvel had a sonne called Philip, a right covenable and gracious man; and the quene of Englande, while she lay at Gaunt, during the sege before Turney, was his godmother, and so for the love of her he was named Philyp. Than Peter de Boyse, in an evenynge came to this Philip, who was abydynge in his mothers house, and lyved honestely on theyr rentes; and Peter de Boyse began to reason with hym, and began to open the mater, wherfore he was come to hym, and sayd

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Howe the white hoodes and their capitayn were slayne.

thus, Philyp, if ye wyll take good hede to my wordes, and beleve my counsayle, I wyll make you the greattest man in all the countie of Flaunders. Howe can that be, syr, sayd Philip. I shall shewe you, sayd Peter. Ye shall have the governynge and mynistration of all them in the towne of Gaunte, for we be nowe in great necessyte to have a soverayne capitayne of good name, and of good renoume. And so by this meanes your father, Jaques Dartvell, shall ryse agayne in this towne, by the remembraunce of you. For every man saythe, that syth his dayes, the countrey of Flaunders hath nat ben so loved, honored, nor feared, as it was while he lyved; and I shall lyghtly set you in his stede, if ye lyst yourselfe. And whan ye be in that auctorite, than ye shall governe yourselfe by my counsaile, tyll ye have ful understandyng of every case, the whiche ye shall soone lerne. Than this Philip, who was at mannes state, and naturally desyred to be avaunced, honored, and to have more than he had, answered and sayd, Peter du Boyse, ye offre me a great thynge, and I beleve you: and if I were in the state that ye speke of, I swere to you by my faythe, that I shulde do nothynge without your counsayle. Than Peter answerd and said, Howe say you? can ye beare yourselfe high and be cruell amonge the comons; and specially in suche thynges as we shall have to do, a man is nothynge worthe without he be feared, doubted, and some tyme renowmed with crueltie; thus must the Flemmynges be governed; a man must set no more by the lyfe of men, nor have no more pitie therof, than of the lyves of swalowes or larkes, the whiche be taken in season to eate. By my fayth, sayd Philip, all this can I do right well. That is well sayd, quoth Peter, and I shall make you so, that ye shal be soveraygne above all other. And so therwith he toke leave of hym and departed. The nyght passed, the next daye came: than Peter du Boyse came into a place, where as there were assembled moo than iiii. M. of his secte, and other, to here some tydynges, and to knowe howe they shulde be ordered, and who shulde be chief capitayne of Gaunte. And there was present the lorde of Harzelles,[1] after whom moche of the busynes within Gaunte was ordred, but of goynge outwarde he wolde nat medle; and so there amonge them, there was named dyvers persones

[1] *Herzeele.*

Howe the white hoodes and their capitayn were slayne.

of the towne of Gaunt. And Peter de Boyse stode styll, and harde them well; and than he spake openly and sayd, Sirs, I beleve well all this that ye say: ye speke of good affection, and by great deliberation of corage, that ye have to the kepynge of the honour and profite of this towne; and also suche persones as ye have named be right able, and have well deserved to have parte of the governynge of the towne of Gaunte; but sirs, I knowe one, that if he wyll medle therwith, I thynke ther shulde nat be a meter man therfore, nor of a better name. Than Peter was desired to shewe his name, and so he named hym, and sayd, Sirs, it is Philip Dartvell, who was cristened at saynt Peters, in this towne of Gaunte, by the noble quene of Englande, called Philip, the same season that Jaques Dartvel was before Tournay with the kynge of Englande, and the duke of Brabant, the duke of Guerles, and therle of Heynault; the whiche Jaques Dartvell, this Philips father, governed the towne of Gaunte and the countrey of Flaunders so well, that it was never so well ruled syth, as I have hard say and do here dayly of the auncient men, who had knowlege therof, who say the towne was never so well kepte syth as it was in his tyme. For Flaunders was in a great jeopardie to be lost, and by his wysdome he recovered it; sirs, knowe for trouthe, we ought better to love the braunches and membres that cometh from so high a valiant man as he was, than of any other. And as soone as Peter du Boyse had sayd those wordes, Philip Dartvell entred so into every mans courage, that they said all with one voyce, Let us have hym, we wyl have none other: go send for hym. Nay, nat so, quoth Peter du Boyse, let hym nat be sent fore, it were better we went to hym; we knowe nat as yet howe he wyll mayntayne hymselfe; let hym first be examyned.

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Of the ordynaunce of Gaunte. And of the warre of Spaygne, and of Portyngale.

AND so with Peter du Boyse wordes, all they that were ther, and dyverse other that folowed them, came to the house where as Phylyp Dartvell was, who knewe right well before theyr comynge the mater. There was the lorde of Harsell, Peter du Boyse, Peter le Mite,[1] and a x. or xii. of the chief aldermen of the craftes. And there they shewed to Phylyp Dartvell, howe the good towne of Gaunte was in great daunger, withoute they myght have a capitayne and a soverayne, who both without and within might ordre al maner of people abidynge in Gaunte; wherfore they said they gave al theyr voyces to hym, and dyd chose hym to be theyr soveraygne capitayne; for the good renome of his name, and for the love of his good father, they were better content with hym than with any other: wherfore they desyred hym affectuously, that he wold take on hym the charge, and they sware unto him fayth and trouth, as to theyr lorde, promysynge how every body within the towne shuld be under his obeysaunce. Philip understode well all theyr wordes and requestis, and than right sagely he answered and sayd, Sirs, ye require me of a great thyng; and I thynke ye remembre nat well howe the case standeth, whan ye wolde that I shulde have the governynge of the towne of Gaunte: ye say how the love that your predecessours had to my father draweth you to this purpose; but for al the service that my father dyd, yet at the last he was slayne among you; and so if I shuld take on me the governyng as ye speke of, and than at last to be slayne, than I shulde have but a small rewarde. Philip, quod Peter du Boyse, that is past can nat be recovered: worke by counsayle, and ye shall alweys be so well counsayled, that every man shall prayse you. Than sayd Philip, I wolde be loth to do otherwyse. There he was taken up amonge them, and brought into the market place, and there they made to hym assuraunce, both mayres, aldermen, and maisters of every crafte in Gaunte.

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[1] *de Wintere.*

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Of the ordynaunce of Gaunte.

Thus Philip was made chief capitayne in al Gaunte, and thus at the begynnyng he was in great grace, for he spake swetely to every man that had any thynge to do with hym, and delt so wysely, that every man loved hym. For parte of the revenues that perteyned to the erle of Flaunders, in Gaunt, as his heritage, he caused them to be distributed to the lorde of Harzels, bicause of gentylnes, and the more honestely to mainteyne his estate; for all that ever he had in Flaunders, without the towne of Gaunte, he had loste it clerely.

Nowe let us leave a lytell to speke of the busynes of Flaunders, and let us somwhat speke of Englande, and of Portyngale.

Ye have harde well before, howe that after that kyng Henry of Castile was disseased, and his eldest sone John crowned kynge, and his wyfe crowned quene, who was doughter to Peter of Aragon, than the warre beganne betwene the kynge Fernando of Portyngale, and the kynge of Castile, for certayne occasions betwene them, and specially for the dealynge of the ii. ladyes, Constance and Isabel, doughters to the kynge Dampeter; the fyrst maryed to the duke of Lancastre, and the seconde to the erle of Cambridge. And the kynge of Portyngale sayd, howe that the kyng of Castile had wrongfully withoute cause disherited his two cosyns of Castile, and that it was nat to be suffred, that suche two so noble ladyes shulde be dysheryted fro theyr heritages: for the matier myght ronne so longe, that it shulde be forgoten, wherby the ladyes shulde never recover theyr ryght. The whiche thynge he sayd he wolde nat suffre, seynge that he was one of theyr next kynsmen, and as wel for the love of God, as for to kepe the reason of justice, to the whiche he sayde every noble man ought to entend and inclyne. And so he defied the yonge kyng John of Castile, who was crowned kynge of Spaigne, Galise, Castile, and Cyvyll; and so thus the kynge of Portyngale made hym warre on these sayde articles. Kynge John defended hym ryght valiantly agaynst hym, and he sent to his fronters into garison, great nombre of men of armes to resist agaynst his enemyes, so that at the begynnynge he lost nothynge: he had right sage and good knyghtes of Fraunce with hym, who comforted hym greatly in his warris, and gave hym

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good counsaile, as the Begue of Vilaines, and sir Peter his sonne, sir John of Bergettes, sir William of Lignac, sir Water Puissac,[1] the lorde of Taride, sir John and sir Tristram of Roy, and dyverse other, that were gone thyther after the erle of Buckingham had ben in Britayne; for the Frenche kynge had great aliaunce and confederacions with the kynge of Castile. Wherfore the kynge of Portingale advysed to sende certayne messangers into Englande, to the kynge and to his uncles, to thentent to have ayde of hym in suche wyse, that he myght be able to maynteyne hys warre agaynst the Spaignardes. Than he called to hym a wyse and valiant knyght, and a great lorde, called John Ferrande, and to hym he shewed all his entent, and sayd, John, ye shall beare me these letters of credence into Englande: I can nat sende a better messanger than you, nor none that knoweth so well the besynes of France as ye do: ye shall recommende me to the kynge with these letters, and shewe hym howe I susteyne my cosyns in theyr right of Spaigne, Galice, and Cyvill, wherfore say that I require hym to sende to me his uncle the duke of Lancastre, and his wyfe, and a certayn nombre of men of armes, and archers; and whan they be come, we trust than to make good warre, what with them and with our owne puissaunce, so that we trust to recover our heritages. Sir, said the knyght, at your pleasur I shall fulfyll your message. And nat longe after he entred into shyp to do his voyage, and so departed fro the havyn and the citie of Lissebone, and so longe sayled that he arryved at Plommoth, the same day, the same houre, and same tyde that therle of Buckyngham arryved, and certayne of his vessels, as they returned fro Britayne. The Englisshemen had so sore fortune on the see, that they lost iii. of theyr shippes charged with men and provision, and all his flete was sprede abrode by a great storme of wynde, and they arryved in great perill in iii. havyns of Englande. Of the comynge of this knyght oute of Portingale, therle of Buckyngham was right joyfull, and made hym ryght good chere, and demaunded of hym tydynges; and he shewed hym dyverse thynges, both of Portyngale, and of Spaygne. And so after, they rode together tyll they came to the good citie of London, where the kynge of Englande was.

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[1] *Passac.*

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Of the ordynaunce of Gaunte.

Whan therle of Buckyngham was come to Londun, they of the cite made hym good chere, and than he went to the kynge, who was at Westmynster, and his ii. uncles with hym, the duke of Lancastre, and the erle of Cambridge, and the knyght of Portingale was in his company. And whan the kynge and the lordes had knowlege of hym, they made great semblant of joy, and greatly honored hym; he presented his letters to the kynge, who red them in the presence of his uncles. The kynge as than dyd nothynge but by the counsayle of his uncles, for he was but yonge. Than the knyght was examined, bicause he brought letters of credence, and demaunded the cause of his comyng out of Portingale into Englande; and he answerd sagely, and shewed them all the mater, as ye have harde before. And whan the lordes had well understande hym, they answered, sayenge in the kynges name, We thanke our cosyn, the kynge of Portingale, that he putteth hymselfe so forewarde in our besynes, in that he maketh warre agaynst our adversary, and that he requireth is reasonable: wherfore he shall hastely have ayde, and the kynge shall take advise howe it shall be ordered. And so as than there were no mo wordes. This knyght straunger, for the love of these tydynges that he had brought pleasaunt to the duke of Lancastre, and to the erle of Cambridge, he was feasted and dyned with the kynge, and so taried the space of xv. dayes, tyll the utas of saynt George, where as the kynge and his uncles were. And thyther was come syr Robert of Namure, to se the kyng, and to make his relef for that he helde of the kynge in Inglande. Than was there the parliament and counsaile assigned to be at Westminster, I shall tell you why: as well for the besynes of Portingale, the whiche was a newe mater, as for other, for the truce was expired the fyrst day of June. And so there was a great counsaile of the prelates and barones of Englande, howe they shulde ordre all these maters. And so they were in mynde to send the duke of Lancastre into Portingale, and some sayd, it was a farre and a longe voyage to sende hym thyther; and if he went, they myght happe to repent it, for they understode that the Scottes made great apparell to entre into Englande. And so than it was determined in theyr counsaile, that the duke of

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Lancastre, who knewe well the marches of Scotlande, and the dealyng of the Scottis, and it was thought that they wolde sooner fall at a treatie with hym, rather than with any other great lorde of all Englande, and howe that the Scottes wolde do more for hym than for any other: and how that the erle of Cambrydge, with v. C. speares, and as many archers, shulde goo into Portingale. And if that the duke of Lancastre coulde do so moche with the Scottes with the honour of the realme, that a truce might be had to endure iii. yere, than he myght well go into Portingale about the moneth of Auguste or Septembre, if the kynge and his counsayle thought it best, and so therby to enforce the army of hys brother.

Also there was another poynt, wherfore the duke of Lancastre went nat out of Englande, bicause the kynge of Englande had sente certayne messangers with the duke of Tasson,[1] and the archebysshoppe of Ravenne, to the kynge of Almayne, to have his syster to wyfe, or elles to knowe howe the mater shulde stande, for ther had be longe treatye therof, more than the space of a yere. Of Englande, there was the bysshop of saynt Davys, and syr Symond Burle, to have a conclusion of this matier, if they myght: and so to this counsayle accorded the kynge and all the lordes. And so the parliament brake up on this poynt, and there were named and wrytten the barones and knyghtes that shulde go into Portyngale, with the erle of Cambridge.

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Howe the erle of Cambrydge departed oute of Englande to goo into Portyngale, and howe the comons of Englande rebelled agaynst the noblemen.

THE duke of Lancastre ordered his busynes and departed fro the kyng and fro his brethern. And at his goyng he sware to his brother the erle of Cambrydge, that at his returnyng out of Scotlande he wolde ordre so his busynes that he wolde hastely folowe hym into

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[1] *Tesschen.*

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Portyngale, if there were no great cause to lette. Thus the duke of Lancastre departed towarde Scotlande, but with his owne men. And at the same laste parliament holden at London, it was ordeyned that sir Henry Percy erle of Northumberlande shulde be wardeyn of all the lande of Northumberlande, and of the bysshopriche of Duram, and fro thens into Wales to the ryver of Severne. And so he departed fro London to go to his charge, and that was a xv. dayes after that the duke of Lancastre was departed. Also than departed fro the kynge and fro therle of Buckyngham his brother the erle of Cambrydge, to go towardes his voyage into Portyngale, and so made provysion about Ploumoth, and vitayled his shyppes, and toke with hym his wyfe the lady Isabell, and his sone John; his entent was to bryng them into Portingale, the whiche he accomplisshed. And with the erle of Cambrydge were these lordes; first, the lorde Mathue Gornay, constable of the host, the lorde Chanon Robsard, the lorde John of Newcastell,[1] the lorde Wyllyam Beauchampe marshall of thost, the Souldic of Lestrade,[2] the lorde of Barrere, the lorde Thalebore,[3] sir Willyam Helmon,[4] sir Thomas Symon, Mylles Wyndesore, sir John of Canderut,[5] and divers other, to the nombre of v. C. men of armes, and as many archers. So these lordes and theyr men came to Ploumoth and lodged there about, abyding for wynde, and lytle and lytell shypped all their stuffe: but they toke with them no horses, bicause the way was farre asondre bytwene Englande and Lucebone in Portingale. And the Portingale knyght was alwayes styll in their companye. And so they taryed there iii. wekes, abydynge for wynde, the which was contrary to them; in the meane tyme the duke of Lancastre went toward Scotlande, and so came to the cyte of Berwike, the next towne to Scotland of all England. And whan he was ther he rested hym, and sent an haralde of armes into Scotland, towarde the barons ther, shewyng them howe he was come thyder to speke with them on the marches, as the usage had ben before; and if they wolde come and treat with him, to send hym worde, or elles he knewe ryght well what to do. The harauld departed and rode to Edenbourg, wher kyng Robert of Scotland, therle Duglas, the erle de la Mare,[6] the

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[1] *Castelnau.*

[2] *Latrau.*

[3] *Talbot.*

[4] *Elmham.*

[5] *Chaudevich.* ? *Cavendish.*

[6] *Mar.*

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Howe the erle of Cambrydge departed oute of Englande to goo into Portyngale.

erle Morette,[1] and the other lordes of Scotland were assembled together, for they hadde knowledge how the duke of Lancastre was comyng thyder to treat with them; wherfore they were assembled in the chife towne of Scotland joynyng to the fronters of England. And ther the harauld dyd his message, and was well herde at length; and he had aunswere, that they were well content to here the duke speke; and so the harauld brought a salveconduct for the duke and his company, to endure as longe as he were in the marches, and comuned togyder. Thus the harald retourned to Berwyke, and shewed howe he sped; and so the duke departed fro Berwyke, and left all his provision behynd hym in the towne, and so went to Rosebourge, and there lodged. And the next day he went and lodged at the abbey of Mamos[2] on the ryver; yt was an abbey that departed England and Scotland asundre. There the duke taryed and his company tyll the Scottes were come to Monbanne,[3] iii. lytle myle thens; and whan they were come thyder, they sent worde to the duke. Thus the treatie began bytwene the Scottes and Englysshmen, the whiche endured a xv. dayes. In the meane season whyle this treate was, ther fell in England great myschife and rebellion of movyng of the comon people, by which dede England was at a poynt to have ben lost without recovery. Ther was never realme nor countrey in so great adventur as it was in that tyme, and all bycause of the ease and ryches that the comon people were of, whiche moved them to this rebellion; as somtyme they dyd in Fraunce, the which dyd moche hurt, for by suche incidentes the realme of Fraunce hath ben greatly greved.

It was a marveylous thing and of poore foundacion that this myschife began in Englande; and to gyve ensample to all maner of people, I wyll speke therof as it was don, as I was enfourmed, and of the incidentes therof. Ther was an usage in England, and yet is in diverse countreys, that the noble men hath great fraunches over the comons, and kepeth them in servage. That is to say, their tenauntes ought by custome to laboure the lordes landes, to gather and bring home theyr cornes, and some to threshe and to fanne, and by servage to make theyr hey, and to heaw their wood and bring it home; all these thynges they ought to do by ser-

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[1] *Moray.*

[2] *Melrose.*

[3] *Mourlane* Fr.

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vage; and ther be mo of these people in Englande than in any other realme: thus the noblemen and prelates arre served by them, and specially in the countie of Brendpest,[1] Sussetter,[2] and Bedford. These unhappy people of these sayd countreys began to styrre, bycause they sayde they were kept in great servage; and in the begynning of the worlde they sayd ther were no bonde men. Wherfore they maynteyned that none ought to be bonde, without he dyd treason to his lorde, as Lucifer dyde to God; but they sayd they coude have no such batayle, for they were nother angellès nor spirittes, but men fourmed to the similytude of their lordes, sayng, why shuld they than be kept so undre lyke bestes, the which they sayd they wold no lengar suffre, for they wolde be all one; and if they labored or dyd any thyng for theyr lordes, they wold have wages therfor as well as other. And of this imaginacion was a folisshe preest in the countre of Kent, called Johan Ball,[3] for the which folysshe wordes he had ben thre tymes in the bysshop of Canterburies prison. For this preest used often tymes on the Sondayes after masse, whanne the people were goynge out of the mynster, to go into the cloyster and preche, and made the people to assemble about hym, and wolde say thus: A ye good people, the maters gothe nat well to passe in Englande, nor shall nat do tyll every thyng be common; and that there be no villayns nor gentylmen, but that we may be all unyed toguyder, and that the lordes be no greatter maisters than we be. What have we deserved, or why shulde we be kept thus in servage? We be all come fro one father and one mother, Adam and Eve: wherby can they say or shewe that they be gretter lordes than we be? Savynge by that they cause us to wyn and labour for that they dispende. They ar clothed in velvet and chamlet furred with grise, and we be vestured with pore clothe; they have their wynes, spyces, and good breed, and we have the drawyng out of the chaffe, and drinke water; they dwell in fayre houses, and we have the payne and traveyle, rayne, and wynde in the feldes; and by that that cometh of our labours they kepe and maynteyne their estates: we be called their bondmen, and without we do redilye them servyce, we be beaten; and we have no soverayne to whom we may

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[1] *Kent, Essex.*

[2] *Sussex.*

[3] *Wall* P.

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complayne, nor that wyll here us nor do us right. Lette us go to the kyng, he is yonge, and shewe hym what servage we be in, and shewe hym howe we wyll have it otherwyse, or els we wyll provyde us of some remedy. And if we go togyder, all maner of people that be nowe in any bondage wyll folowe us, to thentent to be made fre; and whan the kyng seyth us, we shall have some remedy, outher by fayrnesse or otherwyse. Thus John Ball sayd on Sondayes whan the people issued out of the churches in the vyllages; wherfore many of the meane people loved him, and suche as entended to no goodnesse sayde howe he sayd trouth. And so they wolde murmure one with another in the feldes and in the wayes as they went togyder, affermyng howe Johan Ball sayd trouthe. The archebysshoppe of Canterbury, who was enformed of the sayeng of this John Ball, caused hym to be taken and put in prison a two or thre monethes to chastice hym; howbeit, it had ben moche better at the begynnyng that he had been condempned to perpetuall prison, or els to have dyed, rather than to have suffred hym to have ben agayne delyvered out of prisone: but the bysshop had conscience to let hym dye. And whan this Johan Ball was out of prison, he retourned agayn to his errour as he dyde before. Of his wordes and dedes there were moche people in London enformed, suche as had great envy at them that were riche and suche as were noble. And than they beganne to speke among them and sayd, howe the realme of Englande was right evyll governed, and how that golde and sylver was taken fro them by theym that were named noble men. So thus these unhappy men of London began to rebell and assembled them togyder, and sent worde to the forsayd countreys that they shulde come to London, and bring theyr people with them, promisyng them howe they shulde fynde London open to receyve them, and the comons of the cytie to be of the same acorde: sayeng how they wolde do so moche to the kynge, that there shulde nat be one bondman in all Englande.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedforde, and of the countreis about, that they rose and came towardes London, to the nombre of lx. thousande. And they had a capitayne, called Water Tyler, and with

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him in company was Jaques Strawe and Johan Balle. These thre were chefe soveraygne capitayns, but the heed of all was Water Tyler, and he was in dede a tyler of houses, an ungracious patron. Whan these unhappy men began thus to styrre, they of London, except suche as were of theyr bande, were greatly afrayed. Than the mayre of London and the riche men of the cytie toke counsayle togyder; and whan they sawe the people thus comynge on every syde, they caused the gates of the cite to be closed, and wolde suffre no man to entre into the cytie. But whan they hadde well imagyned, they advysed nat so to do, for they thought they shulde therby put their subbarbes in great parell to be brent; and so they opened agayne the cytie. And there entred in at the gates, in some place a hundred, two hundred, by twentie, and by xxx.; and so whan they came to London they entred and lodged. And yet of trouthe the thirde parte[1] of these people coude nat tell what to aske or demaunde, but folowed eche other lyke beestes; as the shepherdes dyde of olde tyme, sayeng, howe they wolde go conquere the holy lande, and at last all came to nothynge. In lykewise these villayns and poore people came to London a hundred myle of, lx. myle, l. myle, xl. myle, and xx. myle of, and fro all countreis about London, but the moost part came fro the countreis before named; and as they came they demaunded ever for the kyng. The gentylmen of the countreis, knightes and squyers, began to doute, whan they sawe the people began to rebell, and though they were in dout, it was good reason: for a lesse occasyon they might have bene afrayed. So the gentylmen drewe toguyder as well as they might.

The same daye that these unhappy people of Kent were comynge to London, there retourned fro Canterbury the kynges mother princes of Wales, comynge from her pylgrimage. She was in great jeopardy to have ben lost, for these people came to her chare and delt rudely with her, wherof the good lady was in great doute lest they wolde have done some vilany to her or to her damosels. Howebeit God kept her, and she came in one day fro Caunterbury to London, for she never durst tary by the waye. The same tyme kyng Richarde her son was at the towre of London; there his

[1] *les III pars.*

mother founde hym, and with hym there was the erle of Salisbury, the archebysshoppe of Caunterbury, sir Robert of Namure, the lorde of Gomegines, and dyvers other, who were in dout of these people that thus gadered toguyder, and wyst nat what they demaunded. This rebellyon was well knowen in the kynges courte, or any of these people began to styrre out of their houses; but the kyng nor his counsayle dyde provyde no remedy therefore, whiche was great marveyle. And to thentent that all lordes and good people, and suche as wolde nothing but good, shulde take ensample to correct them that be yvell and rebellious, I shall shewe you playnlye all the mater as it was.

CAP. CCCLXXXI
Howe the erle of Cambrydge departed oute of Englande to goo into Portyngale.

CAP. CCCLXXXII

The yvell dedes that these comens of Englande dyde to the kynges offycers, and howe they sent a knight to speke with the king.

THE Monday before the feest of Corpus Christy, the yere of our Lorde God a thousande thre hundred lxxxvii. these people yssued oute of their houses, to come to London to speke with the kynge to be made fre, for they wolde have had no bondeman in Englande. And so first they came to saynt Thomas of Caunterbury, and there Johan Balle had thought to have founde the bysshop of Canterbury, but he was at London with the kyng. Whan Wat Tyler and Jacke Strawe entred into Canterbury, all the comon people made great feest, for all the towne was of their assent. And there they toke counsayle to go to London to the kyng, and to sende some of their company over the ryver of Thames, into Essexe, into Sussexe, and into the counties of Stafforde and Bedford, to speke to the people, that they shulde all come to the farder syde of London, and therby to close London round about, so that the kynge shulde nat stoppe their passages, and that they shulde all mete toguyder on Corpus Christy day. They that were at Caunterbury entred into saynt Thomas churche, and dyde there moche hurte, and robbed and brake up the bysshoppes

CAP. CCCLXXXII

The yvell dedes that these comens of Englande dyde to the kynges offycers.

chambre. And in robbynge and bearing out their pyllage, they sayd, A this chaunceller of Englande hath had a good market to gette toguyder all this richesse; he shall gyve us nowe accompte of the revenues of Englande, and of the great profytes that he hath gathered sythe the kynges coronacyon. Whan they had thys Monday thus broken the abbey of saynt Vyncent, they departed in the mornyng, and all the people of Canterbury with them, and so toke the way to Rochester, and sende their people to the vyllages about; and in their goynge they beate downe and robbed houses of advocates, and procurers of the kynges courte, and of the archebysshoppe, and had mercy of none. And whan they were come to Rochester they had there good chere, for the people of that towne taryed for them, for they were of the same secte; and than they went to the castell ther, and toke the knyght that had the rule therof; he was called sir Johan Moton; and they sayde to hym, Sir, it behoveth you to go with us, and you shall be our soverayne capitayne, and to do that we wyll have you. The knight excused hymselfe honestly, and shewed them dyvers consyderacions and excuses; but all avayled hym nothyng, for they sayde unto hym, Sir Johan, if ye do nat as we wyll have you, ye are but deed. The knyght seyng these people in that fury, and redye to slee hym, he then douted dethe and agreed to them, and so they toke hym with them agaynst his inwarde wyll. And in lykewise dyd they of other countreis in Englande, as Essexe, Sussexe, Stafforde, Bedforde, and Warwyke,[1] evyn to Lyncolne;[2] for they brought the knightes and gentylmen into suche obeysance, that they caused them to go with them wheder they wolde or nat, as the lorde Molayne,[3] a great barone, sir Stephyne of Hales, and sir Thomas of Guysighen,[4] and other.

Nowe beholde the great fortune. If they might have come to their ententes, they wolde have distroyed all the noble men of Englande, and therafter all other nacyons wolde have folowed the same, and have taken fote and ensample by them, and by them of Gaunte and Flaunders, who rebelled agaynst their lorde. The same yere the Parisyens rebelled in lykewyse, and founde out the mallettes of yron, of whom ther were mo than xx. thousande, as ye

[1] *de l'évesquiet de Nordvich (Norwich).*

[2] *Lynn.*

[3] *Morley.*

[4] *Stephen Cosington.*

shall her after in this hystorie. But first we wyll speke of them of Englande.

The yvell dedes that these comens of Englande dyde to the kynges kynges offycers.

Whan these people thus lodged at Rochester departed, and passed the ryver and came to Branforde, alway kepynge styll their opynions, beatyng downe before them, and all about, the places and houses of advocates and procurers, and strikyng of the heedes of dyvers persons; and so long they went forwarde tyll they came within a foure myle of London, and ther lodged on a hyll, called Blacheth; and as they went, they sayd ever they were the kynges men and the noble comons of Englande. And whan they of London knewe that they were come so nere to them, the mayre, as ye have herde before, closed the gates, and kept straitely all the passages. This order caused the mayre, who was called Nicholas Walworthe, and dyvers other riche burgesses of the cyte, who were nat of their sect, but ther were in London of their unhappy opinyons mo than xxx. thousande. Than these people thus beyng lodged on Blacheth, determyned to sende their knight to speke with the kyng, and to shewe hym howe all that they have done or wyll do is for hym and his honour, and howe the realme of Englande hath nat ben well governed a greet space, for the honoure of the realme nor for the comon profyte, by his uncles and by the clergy, and specially by the archebysshop of Caunterbury his chaunceller, wherof they wolde have accompt. This knight durst do none otherwise, but so came by the ryver of Thames to the towre. The kynge and they that were with hym in the towre, desyrynge to here tidynges, seyng this knyght comyng, made him way, and was brought before the kynge into a chambre. And with the kynge was the princesse his mother and his two bretherne, therle of Kent and the lorde John Holland, the erle of Salisburye, the erle of Warwyke, the erle of Oxenforthe, the archebysshop of Caunterbury, the lorde of saynt Johans, sir Robert of Namure, the lorde of Vertaigne, the lorde of Gomegynes, sir Henry of Sanselles,[1] the mayre of London, and dyvers other notable burgesses. This knight, sir Johan Moton, who was well knowen amonge them, for he was one of the kynges offycers, he kneled downe before the kynge and sayd, My right redoubted lorde, lette it nat displease your

[1] *Senzeille.*

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The yvell dedes that these comens of Englande dyde to the kynges offycers.

grace, the message that I must nedes shewe you; for, dere sir, it is by force and agaynst my wyll. Sir John, sayd the kyng, say what ye wyll, I holde you excused. Sir, the commons of this your realme hath sente me to you, to desyre you to come and speke with them on Blacheth, for they desyre to have none but you; and, sir, ye nede nat to have any dout of your persone, for they wyll do you no hurte, for they holde and wyll holde you for their kynge. But, sir, they say they wyll shewe you dyvers thynges, the whiche shall be ryght necessarie for you to take hede of, whanne they speke with you; of the whiche thynges, sir, I have no charge to shewe you; but, sir, and it may please you to gyve me an answer suche as may apease them, and that they may knowe for trouth that I have spoken with you: for they have my chyldren in hostage tyll I retourne agayne to theym, and without I retourne agayne they wyll slee my chyldren incontynent. Thane the kyng made hym an answere, and sayd, Sir, ye shall have an answere shortely. Than the kyng toke counsayle what was best for hym to do. And it was anone determyned that the next mornyng the kynge shulde go downe the ryver by water, and without fayle to speke with them. And whan sir Johan Moton herde that answere, he desyred nothynge els, and so toke his leave of the kyng and of the lordes, and retourned agayne into his vessell, and passed the Thames and went to Blackeheth, where he had left mo than threscore thousande men. And ther he answered them that the next mornynge they shulde sende some of their counsayle to the Thames, and ther the kyng wolde come and speke with them. This answere greatlye pleased theym, and so passed that night as well as they might. And the fourthe part[1] of them fasted for lacke of vitayle; for they had none, wherwith they were sore displeased, whiche was good reason.

All this season therle of Buckynghame was in Wales, for there he had fayre herytages by reason of his wyfe, who was doughter to the erle of Northumberlande and Hereforde; but the voyce was all through London howe he was amonge these people. And some sayd certaynlye howe they had sene hym there amonge them. And all was, bycause there was one Thomas in their companye, a man of the countie of

[1] *les IIII pars.*

Cambridge, that was very lyke the erle. Also the lordes that lay at Plummouth to go into Portyngale were well infourmed of this rebellyon, and of the people that thus began to ryse; wherfore they douted lest their vyage shulde have bene broken, or els they feared lest the comons about Hampton, Wynchestre, and Arundell wolde have come on them. Wherfore they wayed up their ancres and yssued out of the havyn with great payne, for the wynde was sore agaynst them, and so toke the see, and there cast ancre abyding for the wynde. And the duke of Lancastre, who was in the marches of Scotlande, bytwene Morlane and Roseburg, entreatyng with the Scottes, where it was shewed hym of the rebellyon, wherof he was in doute, for he knewe well he was but lytell beloved with the comens of Englande; howebeit, for all those tidynges yet he dyde sagely demeane hymselfe, as touchynge the treatie with the Scottes. The erle Duglas, therle of Moret, the erle of Surlant,[1] and therle Thomas Vesay[2] and the Scotes that were there for the treatie knewe right well the rebellyon in Englande, howe the comen people in every parte began to rebell agaynst the noble men; wherfore the Scottes thought that Englande was in great daunger to be lost, and therfore in their treaties they were the more styffer agayne the duke of Lancastre and his counsayle.

The yvell dedes that these comens of Englande dyde to the kynges offycers.

Nowe lette us speke of the commons of Englande, and howe they perceyvered.

CAP. CCCLXXXIII

How the commons of Englande entred into London, and of the great yvell that they dyde, and of the dethe of the bysshoppe of Caunterbury and dyvers other.

IN the mornyng on Corpus Christy day kynge Rycharde herde masse in the towre of London, and all his lordes, and than he toke his barge, with therle of Salisbury, therle of Warwyke, the erle of Suffolke, and certayn knightes, and so rowed downe alonge Thames to Redereth,[3] where as was discended downe the hyll a x. M. men to se the kyng and to speke with him. And whan they sawe the kynges

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[1] *Sutherland.*

[2] *Erskine.*

[3] *Rotherhithe.*

CAP. CCCLXXXIII

How the commons of Englande entred into London.

barge comyng, they beganne to showt, and made suche a crye, as though all the devylles of hell had ben amonge them. And they had brought with them sir Johan Moton, to the entent that if the kynge had nat come, they wolde have stryken hym all to peces, and so they had promysed hym. And whan the kynge and his lordes sawe the demeanour of the people, the best assured of them were in drede. And so the kynge was counsayled by his barownes nat to take any landynge there, but so rowed up and downe the ryver. And the kyng demaunded of them what they wolde, and sayd, howe he was come thyder to speke with them; and they said all with one voyce, We wolde that ye shulde come a lande, and than we shall shewe you what we lacke. Than the erle of Salisbury aunswered for the kyng and sayd, Sirs, ye be nat in suche order nor array that the kynge ought to speke with you; and so with those wordes, no more sayd. And than the kyng was counsayled to returne agayne to the towre of London, and so he dyde. And whan these people sawe that, they were enflamed with yre, and retourned to the hyll where the great bande was, and ther shewed them what answere they had, and howe the kynge was retourned to the towre of London. Than they cryed all with one voyce, Let us go to London; and so they toke their way thyder. And in their goyng they beate downe abbeyes and houses of advocates, and of men of the courte, and so came into the subbarbes of London, whiche were great and fayre, and ther bete downe dyvers fayre houses. And specially they brake up the kynges prisones, as the Marshalse and other, and delyvered out all the prisoners that were within, and there they dyde moche hurt; and at the bridge fote they thret them of London, bycause the gates of the bridge were closed, sayenge, howe they wolde brenne all the subarbes, and so conquere London by force, and to slee and brenne all the commons of the cytie. There were many within the cytie of their accorde, and so they drewe toguyder, and sayde, Why do we nat let these good people entre into the cyte? They are our felowes, and that that they do is for us. So therwith the gates were opyned, and than these people entred into the cytie, and went into houses, and satte downe to eate and drinke: they desyred nothynge

How the commons of Englande entred into London.

but it was incontynent brought to them, for every manne was redy to make them good chere, and to gyve them meate and drinke to apease them. Than the capitayns, as John Ball, Jacke Strawe, and Watte Tyler wente throughout London, and a twentie thousande with them, and so came to the Savoy, in the way to Westmynster, whiche was a goodlye house, and it parteyned to the duke of Lancastre. And whan they entred, they slewe the kepars therof, and robbed and pylled the house, and whan they had so done, than they sette fyre on it, and clene distroyed and brent it. And whan they had done that outrage, they left nat therwith, but went streight to the fayre hospytalle of the Rodes, called saynt Johans, and there they brent house, hospytall, mynster and all. Than they went fro strete to strete, and slewe all the Flemmynges that they coulde fynde, in churche or in any other place; ther was none respyted fro dethe. And they brake up dyvers houses of the Lombardes and robbed theym, and toke their goodes at their pleasur, for there was none that durst saye them nay. And they slewe in the cytie a riche marchaunt, called Richarde Lyon, to whome before that tyme Watte Tyler had done servyce in Fraunce; and on a tyme this Rycharde Lyon had beaten hym whyle he was his varlet; the whiche Watte Tyler than remembred, and so came to his house and strake of his heed, and caused it to be borne on a spere poynt before him all about the cyte. Thus these ungracyous people demeaned themselfe, lyke people enraged and wode, and so that day they dyde moche sorowe in London.

And so agaynst night they wente to lodge at saynt Katherins, before the towre of London, sayenge howe they wolde never depart thens tyll they hadde the kynge at their pleasure, and tyll he had accorded to them all that they wolde aske acomptes of the chauncellour of Englande, to knowe where all the good was become that he had levyed through the realme; and without he made a good acompte to them therof, it shulde nat be for his profyte. And so whan they had done all these yvels to the straungers all the day, at night they lodged before the towre.

Ye may well knowe and beleve that it was great pytie, for the daunger that the kyng and suche as were with him

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were in. For some tyme these unhappy people showted and cryed so loude, as thoughe all the devylles of hell had bene among them. In this evennynge the kynge was counsayled by his bretherne and lordes, and by sir Nycholas Walworthe, mayre of London, and dyvers other notable and riche burgesses, that in the night tyme they shulde issue out of the towre and entre into the cyte, and so to slee all these unhappy people whyle they were at their rest and aslepe; for it was thought that many of them were dronken, wherby they shulde be slayne lyke flees; also of twentie of them ther was scant one in harnes. And surely the good men of London might well have done this at their ease, for they had in their houses secretely their frendes and servauntes redy in harnesse; and also sir Robert Canolle[1] was in his lodgyng, kepyng his treasure, with a sixscore redy at his commaundement; in likewise was sir Perducas Dalbret, who was as than in London; insomoche that ther myght well assembled togyder an eyght thousande men, redy in harnesse. Howebeit, ther was nothyng done, for the resydue of the commons of the cytie were sore douted, leest they shulde ryse also, and the commons before were a threscore thousande or mo. Than the erle of Salisbury and the wyse men about the kynge sayd, Sir, if ye can apese them with fayrnesse, it were best and moost profytable, and to graunt theym every thynge that they desyre; for if we shulde begyn a thynge, the whiche we coulde nat acheve, we shulde never recover it agayne, but we and oure heyres ever to be disheyrited. So this counsaile was taken, and the mayre countermaunded, and so commaunded that he shulde nat styrre; and he dyde as he was commaunded, as reason was. And in the cytie with the mayre there were xii. aldermen, wherof nyne of them helde with the kynge, and the other thre toke parte with these ungracyous people, as it was after well knowen, the whiche they full derely bought.

And on the Friday in the mornynge, the people beyng at saynt Katheryns, nere to the towre, began to apparell themselfe, and to crye and shoute, and sayd, without the kyng wolde come out and speke with them, they wolde assayle the towre and take it by force, and slee all them that were within. Than the kyng douted these wordes, and so was

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[1] *Knolles.*

How the commons of Englande entred into London.

counsailed that he shulde issue out to speke with them; and than the kynge sende to them, that they shulde all drawe to a fayre playne place, called Myle-ende, wher as the people of the cytie dyde sport them in the somer season, and there the kyng to graunt them that they desyred. And there it was cryed in the kynges name, that whosoever wolde speke with the kyng, let hym go to the sayd place, and ther he shulde nat fayle to fynde the king. Than the people began to departe, specially the commons of the vyllages, and went to the same place, but all went nat thyder, for they were nat all of one condycion: for ther were some that desyred nothynge but richesse and the utter distruction of the noble men, and to have London robbed and pylled. That was the princypall mater of their begynnynge, the whiche they well shewed; for assoone as the towre gate opyned, and that the kynge was yssued out with his two bretherne, and the erle of Salisbury, the erle of Warwike, the erle of Oxenforthe, sir Robert of Namure, the lorde of Bretaygne,[1] the lorde Gomegynes, and dyvers other, than Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and Johan Ball, and more than foure hundred entred into the towre, and brake up chambre after chambre, and at last founde the archebysshoppe of Caunterbury, called Symon, a valyant man and a wyse, and chefe chaunceller of Englande; and a lytell before he hadde sayde masse before the kynge. These glottons toke hym and strake of his heed, and also they beheded the lorde of saynt Johans, and a Frere Mynour, maister in medicyn parteyning to the duke of Lancastre: they slewe hym in dispyte of his maister, and a sergeant at armes, called John Laige.[2] And these four heedes were set on foure long speares, and they made them to be borne before them through the stretes of London, and at last set them a highe on London bridge, as though they had ben traytours to the kyng and to the realme. Also these glottons entred into the princes chambre and brake her bed, wherby she was so sore afrayed that she sowned, and ther she was taken up and borne to the water syde, and put into a barge and covered, and so conveyed to a place called the quenes Warderobe. And there she was all that daye and night, lyke a woman halfe deed, tyll she was conforted with the kyng her sonne, as ye shall here after.

[1] *Vertaing.*

[2] *Leg.*

CAP. CCCLXXXIIII

How the nobles of England were in great paryll to have ben dystroyed, and howe these rebels were punisshed and sende home to theyr owne houses.

WHAN the kyng came to the sayd place of Myleende without London, he put out of his company his two bretherne, the erle of Kent and sir Johan Holande, and the lorde of Gomegynes, for they durst nat apere before the people. And whan the kynge and his other lordes were ther, he founde there a threscore thousande men, of dyvers vyllages, and of sondrie countreis in Englande. So the kynge entred in amonge them, and sayd to them swetely, A ye good people, I am your kyng; what lacke ye? what wyll ye say? Than suche as understode him sayd, We wyll that ye make us free for ever, our selfe, our heyres, and our landes, and that we be called no more bonde, nor so reputed. Sirs, sayd the king, I am well agreed therto; withdrawe you home into your owne houses, and into suche villages as ye came fro, and leave behynde you of every vyllage ii. or thre, and I shall cause writynges to be made, and seale theym with my seale, the whiche they shall have with them, conteyning every thynge that ye demaunde; and to thentent that ye shal be the better assured, I shall cause my baners to be delyvered into every bayliwyke, shyre, and countreis. These wordes apeased well the common people, suche as were symple and good playne men, that were come thyder and wyste nat why: they sayd it was well said; We desyre no better. Thus these people beganne to be apeased, and began to withdrawe them into the cyte of London. And the kyng also said a worde, the whiche greatlye contented them. He sayde, Sirs, amonge you good men of Kent, ye shall have one of my baners with you, and ye of Essexe another; and ye of Sussexe, of Bedforde, of Cambridge, of Germeney,[1] of Stafforde, and of Lyn, eche of you one; and also I pardon every thinge that ye have done hyderto, so that ye folowe my baners and retourne home to your houses. They all answered how they wolde so do: thus these people departed and went

[1] *Yarmouth.*

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into London. Than the kynge ordayned mo than xxx. clerkes the same Fridaye, to write with all dilygence letter patentes, and sayled with the kynges seale, and delyvered them to these people. And whan they had receyved the writynge, they departed and retourned into their owne countreis; but the great venym remayned styll behynde. For Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and John Ball sayd, for all that these people were thus apesed, yet they wolde nat departe so, and they had of their acorde mo than xxx. thousande: so they abode styll, and made no prese to have the kynges writyng nor seale; for all their ententes was to putte the cytie to trouble, in suche wyse as to slee all the riche and honest persons, and to robbe and pylle their houses. They of London were in great feare of this, wherfore they kepte their houses previly with their frendes, and suche servauntes as they had, every man accordynge to his puyssaunce. And whane these sayde people were this Fridaye thus somewhat apeased, and that they shulde departe assoone as they hadde their writynges, everye manne home into his owne countrey, than kynge Rycharde came into the Royall, where the quene his mother was, right sore afrayed; so he conforted her as well as he coulde, and taryed there with her all that night.

Yet I shall shewe you of an adventure that fell by these ungracyous people, before the cyte of Norwiche, by a capitayne among them called Guillyam Lystre, of Stafforde.

The same daye of Corpus Christy that these people entred into London, and brent the duke of Lancasters house, called the Savoye, and the Hospytall of saynt Johannes, and brake up the kynges prisons, and dyd all this hurte, as ye have herde before, the same tyme there assembled toguyder they of Stafforde, of Lynne, of Cambridge, of Bedforde, and of Germeney; and as they were comynge towardes London, they hadde a capitayne amonge them, called Lystre. And as they came they rested them before Norwiche, and in their comynge they caused everye man to ryse with them, so that they left no villayns behynde them. The cause why they rested before Norwyche I shall shewe you. There was a knight capitayne of the towne, called sir Robert Sale; he was no gentylman borne, but he had the grace to be reputed

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sage and valyant in armes, and for his valyauntnesse kynge Edwarde made hym knight; he was of his body one of the biggest knightes in all Englande.

Lyster and his company thought to have had this knyght with them, and to make hym their chife capitayne, to the entente to be the more feared and beloved: so they sende to hym, that he shulde come and speke with them in the felde, or els they wolde brenne the towne. The knight consydered that it was better for hym to go and speke with them, rather thane they shulde do that outrage to the towne: than he mounted on his horse and yssued oute of the towne all alone, and so came to speke with them. And whan they sawe hym they made him gret chere and honoured hym moche, desyring hym to alyght of his horse and to speke with theym, and so he dyde, wherin he dyde great folly. For whane he was alyghted, they came rounde about hym, and began to speke fayre to hym and sayde, Sir Robert, ye are a knight and a man greatlye beloved in this countrey, and renowmed a valyaunt man; and thoughe ye be thus, yet we knowe you well; ye be no gentylmanne borne, but sonne to a villayne suche as we be; therfore come you with us, and be our maister, and we shall make you so great a lorde, that one quarter of Englande shal be under your obeysaunce. Whan the knight herde them speke thus, it was greatlye contraryous to his mynde, for he thought never to make any suche bargayne, and answered them with a felonous regarde, Flye away, ye ungracyous people, false and yvell traytours that ye be: wolde you that I shulde forsake my naturall lorde, for suche a company of knaves as ye be, to my dishonoure for ever? I had rather ye were all hanged, as ye shall be, for that shall be your ende. And with those wordes he had thought to have lepte agayne upon his horse, but he fayled of the styrroppe, and the horse sterted away. Than they cryed all at him, and sayde, Slee hym without mercy. Whan he herde those wordes, he let his horse go, and drue out a good swerde, and began to scrimysshe with them, and made a great place about hym, that it was pleasur to beholde him. Ther was non that durst aproche nere hym: ther were some that aproched nere hym, but at every stroke that he gave, he cutte of outher legge, heed, or arme: ther

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was none so hardye but that they feared hym. He dyde there suche dedes of armes, that it was marveyle to regarde; but there were mo than fourty thousand of these unhappy people; they shotte and caste at hym, and he was unarmed: to say trouthe, if he had bene of yron or stele, yet he muste nedes have ben slayne; but yet or he dyed he slewe xii. out of hande, besyde theym that he hurte. Finally, he was stryken to the erthe, and they cutte of his armes and legges, and than strake his body all to peces.

This was the ende of sir Robert Salle, whiche was great dommage, for whiche dede afterwarde all the knyghtes and squyers of England were angry and sore displeased whan they harde therof.

Nowe let us retourne to the kynge.

The Saturday the kynge departed fro the Warderobe in the Royall, and went to Westmynster and harde masse in the churche there, and all his lordes with hym; and besyde the churche there was a lytle chapell, with an image of our lady, whiche dyd great myracles, and in whom the kynges of Englande had ever great truste and confydence. The kynge made his orisons before this image, and dyde there his offryng; and than he lepte on his horse and all his lordes, and so the kynge rode towarde London; and whan he had ryden a lytle way on the lyft hande, there was a way to passe without London.

The same propre mornynge Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and John Ball had assembled their company to comon together, in a place called Smythfelde, where as every Fryday there is a markette of horses. And there were together all of affinite mo than xx. thousande, and yet there were many styll in the towne, drynkynge and makynge mery in the tavernes, and payed nothyng, for they were happy that made them beste chere. And these people in Smythfelde had with theym the kynges baners, the whiche were delyvered theym the daye before. And all these glottons were in mynde to overrenne and to robbe London the same daye, for theyr capitaynes sayde, howe they had done nothynge as yet; These lyberties that the kynge hath gyven us, is to us but a small profitte; therfore lette us be all of one accorde, and lette us overrenne this riche and puyssaunt citie or they of

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Essex, of Sussex, of Cambrydge, of Bedforde, of Arundell, of Warwyke, of Reedynge, of Oxenforde, of Guylforde, of Linne, of Stafforde, of Germeney, of Lyncolne, of Yorke, and of Duram, do come hyther; for all these wyll come hyther, Wallyor[1] and Lyster wyll bringe them hyther; and if we be fyrst lordes of London, and have the possession of the ryches that is therin, we shall nat repent us; for if we leave it, they that come after wyll have it fro us. To thys counsayle they all agreed: and therwith the kynge came the same waye unware of theym, for he had thought to have passed that waye withoute London, and with hym a xl. horse; and whan he came before the abbaye of saynt Bartilmeus, and behelde all these people, than the kynge rested and sayde, howe he wolde go no farther, tyll he knewe what these people ayled, sayenge, if they were in any trouble, howe he wold repease them agayne. The lordes that were with hym taried also, as reason was whan they sawe the kynge tarye. And whan Watte Tyler sawe the kynge tary, he sayd to his people, Syrs, yonder is the kynge, I wyll go and speke with hym; styrre nat fro hens without I make you a signe, and whan I make you that sygne, come on, and slee all theym, excepte the kynge. But do the kynge no hurte; he is yonge, we shall do with hym as we lyst, and shall leade hym with us all about Englande, and so shall we be lordes of all the royalme without doubt. And there was a dowblette maker of London, called John Tycle, and he hadde brought to these glotons a lx. doublettes, the whiche they ware; than he demaunded of these capitaynes who shulde paye hym for his doublettes; he demaunded xxx. marke. Watte Tyler answered hym and sayd, Frende, appease yourselfe, thou shalte be well payed or this day be ended; kepe the nere me, I shall be thy credytour. And therwith he spurred his horse and departed fro his company, and came to the kynge, so nere hym that his horse heed touched the crope of the kynges horse. And the first worde that he sayd was this: Syr kynge, seest thou all yonder people? Ye, truly, sayd the kynge: wherfore sayest thou? Bycause, sayd he, they be all at my commaundement, and have sworne to me fayth and trouth to do all that I wyll have theym. In a good tyme, sayd the kyng, I wyll well it

[1] *Baker.*

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be so. Than Watte Tyler sayde, as he that nothynge demaunded but ryot, What belevest thou, kynge, that these people, and as many mo as be in London at my commaundement, that they wyll departe frome the thus, without havynge thy letters. No, sayde the kyng, ye shall have theym, they be ordeyned for you, and shal be delyvered every one eche after other; wherfore, good felowes, withdrawe fayre and easely to your people, and cause them to departe out of London, for it is our entent that eche of you by villages and towneshippes shall have letters patentes, as I have promysed you. With those wordes Watte Tyler caste his eyen on a squyer that was there with the kynge, bearynge the kynges swerde; and Wat Tyler hated greatlye the same squyer, for the same squier had displeased hym before for wordes bytwene theym. What, sayde Tyler, arte thou there; gyve me thy dagger. Nay, sayde the squier, that wyll I nat do; wherfore shulde I gyve it thee? The kynge behelde the squyer, and sayd, Gyve it hym, lette hym have it. And so the squyer toke it hym sore agaynst his wyll. And whan this Watte Tyler had it, he began to play therwith, and tourned it in his hande, and sayde agayne to the squyer, Gyve me also that swerde. Naye, sayde the squyer, it is the kynges swerde; thou arte nat worthy to have it, for thou arte but a knave; and if there were no moo here but thou and I, thou durste nat speke those wordes, for as moche golde in quantite as all yonder abbaye. By my faythe, sayd Wat Tyler, I shall never eate meate tyll I have thy heed. And with those wordes the mayre of London came to the kynge with a xii. horses, well armed under theyr cootes, and so he brake the prease, and sawe and harde howe Watte Tyler demeaned hymselfe, and sayde to hym, Ha, thou knave, howe arte thou so hardy in the kynges presence to speke suche wordes? It is to moche for the so to do. Than the kynge began to chafe, and sayd to the mayre, Sette handes on hym. And while the kynge sayde so, Tyler sayd to the mayre, A Goddesname, what have I sayde to displease the? Yes, truely, quod the mayre, thou false stynkynge knave, shalt thou speke thus in the presence of the kynge my naturall lorde? I commytte never to lyve without thou shalte derely abye it. And with those wordes

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the mayre drewe oute his swerde and strake Tyler so great a stroke on the heed, that he fell downe at the feete of his horse; and as soone as he was fallen, they environed hym all aboute, wherby he was nat sene of his company. Than a squyer of the kynges alyghted, called John Standysshe, and he drewe out his sworde and put it into Watte Tylers belye, and so he dyed. Than the ungracious people there assembled, perceyvynge theyr capytayne slayne, beganne to mourmure amonge themselfe and sayde, A, our capitayne is slayne; lette us go and slee them all. And therwith they araynged themselfe on the place in maner of batayle, and theyr bowes before theym. Thus the kynge beganne a great outrage; howebeit, all turned to the beste, for as soone as Tyler was on the erthe, the kynge departed from all his company, and all alone he rode to these people, and sayde to his owne men, Syrs, none of you folowe me, let me alone. And so whan he came before these ungracious people, who put themselfe in ordinaunce to revenge theyr capitayne, than the kynge sayde to theym, Syrs, what ayleth you, ye shall have no capitayne but me: I am your kynge, be all in rest and peace. And so the moost parte of the people that harde the kynge speke, and sawe hym amonge them, were shamefast, and beganne to waxe peasable, and to departe; but some, suche as were malicious and evyll, wolde nat departe, but made semblant as though they wolde do somwhat. Than the kynge returned to his owne company, and demaunded of theym what was best to be done. Than he was counsailed to drawe into the feld, for to flye awaye was no boote. Than sayd the mayre, It is good that we do so, for I thynke surely we shall have shortely some comforte of them of London, and of suche good men as be of our parte, who are pourveyed, and have theyr frendes and men redy armed in theyr houses. And in this meane tyme voyce and bruyte ranne through London, howe these unhappy people were lykely to sle the kynge and the maire in Smythfelde; through the whiche noyse, all maner of good men of the kynges partye issued out of theyr houses and lodgynges, well armed, and so came all to Smythfelde, and to the felde where the kynge was; and they were anone to the nombre of vii. or viii. thousande men well

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armed. And fyrste thyther came sir Robert Canoll, and sir Perducas Dalbret, well accompanyed, and dyvers of the aldermen of London, and with theym a vi. hundred men in harneys; and a pusant man of the citie, who was the kynges draper, called Nicholas Membre,[1] and he brought with hym a great company. And ever as they came they raynged them afoote in ordre of bataylle; and on the other parte these unhappy people were redy raynged, makynge semblaunce to gyve batayle; and they had with theym dyvers of the kynges baners. There the kynge made iii. knyghtes; the one the mayre of London sir Nycholas Walworthe, syr Johan Standysshe, and syr Nycholas Braule.[1] Than the lordes sayde amonge theymselfe, What shall we do? We se here our ennemyes, who wolde gladly slee us, if they myght have the better hande of us. Sir Robert Canoll counsayled to go and fight with them, and slee them all; yet the kyng wolde nat consent therto, but sayd, Nay, I wyll nat so; I wyll sende to theym, commaundynge them to sende me agayne my baners, and therby we shall se what they wyll do: howbeit, outher by fayrnesse or otherwise, I wyll have them. That is well sayd, sir, quod therle of Salysbury. Than these newe knightes were sent to them, and these knightes made token to them nat to shote at them; and whan they came so nere them that their speche might be herde, they sayd, Sirs, the kyng commaundeth you to sende to him agayne his baners, and we thynke he wyll have mercy of you. And incontinent they delyvered agayne the baners, and sent them to the kyng: also they were commaunded, on payne of their heedes, that all suche as had letters of the king to bring them forthe, and to sende them agayne to the kynge. And so many of them delyvered their letters, but nat all. Than the kyng made them to be all to torne in their presence: and as soone as the kynges baners were delyvered agayne, these unhappy people kept none array, but the moost parte of them dyde caste downe their bowes, and so brake their array, and retourned into London. Sir Robert Canoll was sore dyspleased in that he myght nat go to slee them all; but the kyng wolde nat consent therto, but sayd he wolde be revenged of them well ynough, and so he was after.

[1] *Brembre.*

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Thus these folysshe people departed, some one way and some another; and the kyng and his lordes and all his company ryght ordynately entred into London with great joye. And the firste journey that the kynge made, he wente to the lady princesse his mother, who was in a castell in the Royall, called the quenes wardrobe; and there she hadde taryed two dayes and two nightes right sore abasshed, as she had good reasone. And whan she sawe the kyng her sonne she was greatly rejoysed, and sayde, A fayre sonne, what payne and great sorowe that I have suffred for you this day. Than the kynge answered and sayd, Certaynly, madame, I knowe it well; but nowe rejoyse yourselfe and thanke God, for nowe it is tyme. I have this day recovered myne herytage and the realme of Englande, the whiche I hadde nere lost. Thus the kyng taryed that day with his mother, and every lorde went peaseably to their owne lodgynges. Than there was a crye made in every strete in the kynges name, that all maner of men, nat beyng of the cytie of London, and have nat dwelt there the space of one yere, to departe; and if any suche be founde there the Sonday by the sonne risyng, that they shuld be taken as traytours to the kyng, and to lose their heedes. This crye thus made, there was none that durste breke it; and so all maner of people departed, and sparcled abrode every man to their owne places. Johan Balle and Jaques Strawe were founde in an olde house hydden, thinkyng to have stollen away, but they coulde nat, for they were accused by their owne men. Of the takyng of them the kyng and his lordes were gladde, and thanne strake of their heedes, and Watte Tylers also, and they were set on London bridge; and the valyaunt mennes heedes taken downe that they had sette on the Thursday before. These tidynges anone spredde abrode, so that the people of the strange countreis, whiche were comyng towardes London, retourned backe agayne to their owne houses, and durst come no farther.

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Howe the duke of Lancastre kepte himselfe styll in Scotlande, for feare of this rebellyon: and howe the kynge punysshed of these traytours the chefe maisters.

NOWE lette us speke how the duke of Lancastre in the meane season of this rebellyon was in the marchesse of Scotlande, treatyng for a peace with therle Duglas and the other lordes of Scotlande. The Scottes knewe right well of this rebellyon in Englande, and in likewise so dyde the duke of Lancastre; howebeit, he never made any semblant therof to the Scottes, but was as sore in his treatie as thoughe Englande had ben in good rest and peace. So longe this treatie was debated amonge them, that at last a truse was taken to endure thre yer bytwene Englande and Scotland; and whan this truse was thus accorded, the lordes of eche parte made good chere eche to other. Than the erle Duglas sayd to the duke of Lancastre, Sir, we knowe right well of the rebellion of the comon people in England, and the parell that the realme of England is in by that incidence. Sir, we repute and take you for ryght sage and a valiant man, sith ye have continued your treaty so frely as ye have done, for ye wolde never make any semblant therof. Sir, we say to you that we offre ourselfe, yf ye have nede, to be redy to ayde you with v. or vi. C. speres, and to do you service. By my faith, sayd the duke, fayre lordes, I thanke you, I woll nat refuse your offre; howebeit, I thynke veryly that the kynge my lorde hath so good counsayle, that the mater shall right well come to passe; howbeit, I desyre you to have a salveconducte for me and myne to returne into your countrey, if nede be, tyll the mater be apeased. The erle Duglas and the erle Moret, who had the kynges auctorite, graunted hym his desyre, and so than they departed. The Scottes returned to Edenbourge, and the duke and his went to Berwyk, wenyng to the duke[1] to have entred into the towne; for whan he passed that waye, ther he left all his provision. But the capitane

[1] *et quidoit li dus rentrer en la citté.*

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of the towne, called sir Mathue Redmayn, refused to hym the entre, and closed the gates agaynst hym and his, sayng howe he was so comaunded by the erle of Northumberlande, who as than was princypall and soveraygne of all the marches and frounters of Northumberlande. And whan the duke herde those wordes he was sore displeased, and sayd, How, sir Mathue Redmayne, is ther in Northumberlande a gretter soveraygne than I am, that shall lette me to passe this way, and left all my provisyon with you. What meaneth these tydynges? By my faith, sir, said the knyght, this is true that I say, and by the commaundement of the kynge. Sir, this that I do to you is ryght sore agaynst my wyll; howbeit, I must nedes do it; therefore, sir, for Goddessake holde me excused, for I am thus commaunded, on payne of my lyfe, that ye shall nat entre into this towne, nor none of yours.

Ye may well knowe that the duke of Lancastre hadde great marveyle, and was sore displeased with these wordes, but nat with the knyght all onely, but with theym that ordeyned that mater, seyng that he hadde traveyled for the besynes of England, and than to have hym in suche suspecte, as to stoppe fro hym the first towne bytwene England and Scotlande; and so imagyned greatly in hymselfe, and discovered nat all that he thought in his courage. And so he made no more prease on the knyght, and thought well the knyght wolde nat so do without some expresse commaundement, and so brake out of that mater and sayd, Sir Redmayn, have you any knowlege of the tidynges in England? Sir, sayd he, I know none, but that the countrey is sore mevyd, and the kyng our soveraigne lorde hath written to all the lordes, knyghtes, and good townes of this contrey, to be all redy to come to him whan soever he sendith for them, and all constables and kepars of cyties, townes, and castelles, in Northumberland, he hath sent strayt commaundement on payne of deth, to suffre no man to entre into any place under theyr rules, and to take good hede of theyr charge; and as for the comon people that rebelleth about London, I knowe no certayn worde of them, but that the offycers of the bysshopryche of Lincolne, of Cambridge, of Stafforde, of Bedford, and of Norwich, have writen, how

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that the comon people under them have great desyre that the mater shuld go evyll, and that ther shulde be trouble in England. Ya, sayd the duke, what here you of our countreys of Lancastre, Derby, and Lynsetur;[1] here you of any rebellion ther? Sir, sayd the knyght, I here nothynge that they passe Lyncolne. Than the duke mused a lytle, and departed fro the knyght, and toke his way to Roseburge, and there he was receyved of the constable, for whan he passed he set him ther. Then the duke of Lancastre was counsayled, bycause he knewe nat surely how the maters dyd in Englande, nor of whome he was beloved nor hatyd, that he shuld send to the lordes of Scotland, desyring them to send a quantite of men of warre to convey hym into Scotlande, with a saveconduct. And so thus he sent to the erle Duglas, who lay as than at Alquest.[2] And whan the erle sawe his lettre he had great joy, and made great cher to the messanger, and sent worde therof to the erle Moret,[3] and to therle de la Mare his brother, desyring them incontinent without any delay to mete with him at Morlane, the thyrd day after, with a certayne nombre well horsed and aparellyd. Assone as these lordes knewe this, they sent for theyr men and frendes, and so came to Morlan, and ther they founde the erle Duglas, and so they rode all together to the nombre of v. C. speres, and came to the abbey of Mauros,[4] a ix. lytle myle fro Roseburge. And on the way they met the duke, and ther they made great chere eche to other: and so longe they rode together tyll they came the cite of Edenbourge, wher as the kynge of Scottes was: and for the moost parte ever the kyng lay there, for there was a good castell, a bigge towne, and a fayre havyn, but as at that tyme the kyng was nat there, he was in the wylde Scottysshe. There the duke of Lancastre was greatlye honoured of the erle Duglas, and of the barownes of Scotlande, and the castell was delyvered to the duke to lye in: and so there he lay a season, tyll other tidynges came to hym out of Englande; but that was nat so soone as he wolde. Than it was marvell to regarde the yvelles of these unhappy people, howe in malyce and hatered they spake of this duke, without cause. The voyce and brute ran about in Englande, the tyme of this rebellyon, howe that the duke of Lancastre was a traytor to the kyng,

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[1] *Lancaster. 'dist li dus de Lancastre, de Derbi et de Lancastre y a nulle rebellion.'*

[2] *Dalkeith.*

[3] *Moray.*

[4] *Melrose.*

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and howe he was become Scottysshe; but anone after it was founde false and contrary. But these ungracyous people, to bringe the realme into trouble, sowed abrode these wordes, and that they knowleged at the hour whan they were executed to dethe; that is to say, Lyster, Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, Vaquyre,[1] and Johan Balle: these fyve were throughout all the realme chiefe and soverayne capitayns, for in fyve partes of the realme they were maisters and governours. And specially they had in hatered the duke of Lancastre, and that they well shewed; for at their first entryng into London, they brent his house of the Savoy clene to the erthe. And besyde that, they had spredde abrode in Englande by their false wordes, howe the duke was of the Scottysshe parte. And in dyvers places they turned his armes up so downe lyke a traytor, the which was after derely bought, for they that dyde it lost their heedes for their labour.

Nowe I shall shewe you the vengeaunce that the kyng of Englande toke of these ungracious people, in the meane season while the duke of Lancastre was in Scotlande.

Whan these people were repeased, and that Vaquyre was executed to dethe, and Lystre of Stafforde, Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, Johan Balle, and dyvers other at London, than the kyng was counsayled to go visyte his realme, through every shire, bayliwyke, and vyllage, to pourge and punysshe all the sayd yvell doers, and to gette agayne all suche letters as byforce he had gyven them in dyvers places, and so to bring agayne his realme in good order. Than the kyng sent secretely for a certayne nombre of men of armes to come to him, at a day apoynted; and so they dyde, to the nombre of a fyve hundred speares, and as many archers. And whan they were all come as the kyng had devysed, the kyng departed fro London with his housholdmen all onely, and toke the way into Kent, wher as first these ungracyous people began to styrre. And these forsaid men of warre folowed after the kynge, and costed hym, but they rode nat in his company. The kyng entred into Kent, and came to a vyllage called Comprimbre,[2] and called the mayre and all the men of the towne before hym; and whan they were all come into a fayre place, the kyng made to be shewed them

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[1] *Baker.*

[2] *Ospringe.*

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by one of his counsayle, howe they had erred agaynst the kyng, and howe they had nere tourned all Englande to trybulacyon and to losse. And bycause that the kynge knewe well that this busynesse was begon by some of them, and nat by all, wherfore it were better that some dyde beare the blame than all, therfore he commaunded them, that they shulde shewe what they were that were culpable, on pain to be for ever in the kynges indygnacion, and to be reputed as traytours agaynst hym. And whan they that were ther assembled herde that request, and sawe well that suche as were culpable shulde excuse all thother, than they behelde eche other, and at last sayd, Sir, beholde hym here, by whom this towne was first moved. Incontynent he was taken and hanged, and so there were hanged to the nombre of sevyn, and the letters that the kyng had gyven them were demaunded agayne, and so they were delyverd agayne, and torne and broken before all the people. And it was sayd to them all, Sirs, ye that be here assembled, we commaunde you in the kynges name on payne of dethe, every man to go home to his owne house peasably, and never to grudge nor ryse agaynst the kyng, nor none of his offycers; and this trespace that ye have done, the kynge dothe pardon you therof. Than they cryed all with one voyce, God thanke the kynges grace, and all his counsayle.

In lyke maner as the kyng dyde at Comprimbre, he dyd at Caunterbury, at Sandwyche, at Germeney,[1] at Conculle,[2] and in other places in Kent;[3] in likewise he dyde in all other places of his realme, wher as any rebellyon had ben; and there were hanged and beheeded mo than fyftene hundred. Than the kyng was counsayled to sende for his uncle, the duke of Lancastre, out of Scotlande; so the kyng sent for hym by a knyght of his house, called sir Nycholas Carnefell. The knight rode so long that he came to Edenbroughe, and there he founde the duke and his company, and delyvered his letters of credence fro the kynge. The duke obeyed, as it was reason, and also gladly he wolde retourne into Englande to his owne herytage, and so toke his way to come to Rosbourge; and at his departyng he thanked the lordes of Scotlande, of the conforte that they had done to hym, as in susteyninge hym in their realme, as longe as it pleased hym: the erle

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[1] *Yarmouth.*

[2] *Orwell.*

[3] '*in Kent*' *not in Fr.*

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Howe the duke of Lancastre kepte himselfe styll in Scotlande.

Duglas, therle Moret, and other of Scotlande, brought him to the abbey of Maurose. Thus the duke came to Rosebourge, and to Newcastell upon Tyne, and so to Dyrham, and to Yorke, and in every place he founde cyties and townes redy apparelled, as it was reason.

And the same season there dyed in London, a knight, called sir Rycharde Dangle, erle of Huntyngdon, and maister to the kynge: he was reverently buryed in the Freres Prechers, in London. And on the day of his obsequy, there was the kynge, his two bretherne, the princesse his mother, and a great nombre of prelates, barownes, and ladyes of Englande, and there dyde hym great honour. And truely this gentyll knight was well worthy to have honoure, for in his tyme he had all noble vertues that a knight ought to have; he was mery, true, amorous, sage, secrete, large, prewe, hardy, adventurous and chyvalrous. Thus ended the gentyll knight sir Rycharde Dangle.

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The yvell wyll that the duke of Lancastre conceyved in his courage, for the refuce that was made him at Berwyke. And howe the erle of Cambrige arryved in Portyngale.

WHAN the duke of Lancastre was retourned out of Scotlande into Englande, and had shewed to the counsayle howe he hadde spedde with the trewse that he had taken with the Scottes, he forgate nat than howe sir Mathue Reedmane, capitayne of Berwyke, had closed the gates agaynst him, by the strayte commaundement of the erle of Northumberlande. Than the duke enquered, if the kyng his nephue wolde avowe that dede or nat, and so it semed to him, that the kynge dyde avowe it but faintly. So the duke helde his pease, and abode tyll the feest of Oure Lady, in the myddes of the moneth of Auguste, at whiche tyme the kyng helde a solempne court at Westmynster, and there were than a great nombre of nobles and lordes of Englande: there was the erle of Northumberlande, and the erle of Nottyngham, and dyvers other lordes of the northe: and the kyng made knightes the same day, the yong erle of Penbroke, and sir Robert Maubre,[1] sir Nycholas Twyforde, and sir Adam Francoys. And after the feest, the kyng was in purpose to ryde to Reedyng, to Oxenforthe, and to Coventre, to punysshe the yvell doers of the sayde rebellyon; and so he dyde, in lyke maner as he had done in Kent, in Sussexe, in Essexe, in Bedforde, and in Cambridge. At this feest of Oure Lady at Westmynster after dyner, there were great wordes bytwene the duke of Lancastre, and the erle of Northumberlande; the duke sayd to hym, Henry Percy, I beleved nat that ye hadde bene so great in Englande, as to close the gates of any cytie, towne, or castell, agaynst the duke of Lancastre. The erle humyled hymselfe in his spekyng, and sayd, Sir, I deny nat that the knight dyde, for I canne nat. For by the strayt commaundement of the kynges grace here presente, he straitly enjoyned and commaunded me, that on myne honour and on my lyfe, I shulde nat suffre any maner of person, lorde, or other, to entre into any cytie, towne or castell in Northumberlande, without he were heryter of the place. Sir, the kynge and the lordes of his counsayle can well excuse me, for they knewe well ynoughe howe ye were in Scotlande, wherfore they shulde have reserved you. What, quod the duke, say you that ther ought a reservacyon to have bene made for me, who am uncle to the kyng, and have kept myne herytage as well or better as any other hathe done, next to the kyng, and seyng howe I was gone for the busynesse of the realme into Scotlande; this excuse can nat excuse you, but that ye have done yvell, and greatly agaynst myne honoure, and have gyven therby ensample to bring me in suspect, that I have done, or shulde do, some treason in Scotlande, whan at my retournyng the kynges townes be closed agaynst me, and specially there as my provisyon was; wherfore I say, ye have aquyted yourselfe right yvell, and for the blame and sclaundre that ye have brought me in, to pourge me in the presens of the kyng here present, I cast agaynst you here my gauge: reise it and ye dare. Than the kyng stepte forthe, and sayd, Fayre uncle of Lancastre, all that was done I avowe it: I must excuse the erle of Northumber-

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The yvell wyll that the duke of Lancastre conceyved for the refuce made him at Berwyke.

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[1] *Brembre.*

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lande, and speke for hym, for on payne of his lyfe, we commaunded hym, that he shulde kepe close all the townes on the marchesse: and ye knowe well, howe our realme was in great trouble and parell: the faulte was in the clerke that wrote the letters, and the neglygence of oure counsayle, for of trouthe we shulde have reserved you: wherfore I wyll, and also desyre you, to lay aparte this yvell wyll that ye have to the erle, and I take the charge on me, and discharge the erle in that behalfe. Than kneled downe before the duke, the erle of Arundell, the erle of Salisbury, the erle of Suffolke, the erle of Stafforde, and the erle of Dymester,[1] and sayde to hym, Sir, ye here howe amyably and truely the kynge spekethe: wherfore sir, ye ought to condiscende to his pleasure. Well, quod the duke, who was enflamed with yre, I shall holde my peace; and so mused a lytell, and made the lordes to ryse, and thanked them, and sayd, Fayre lordes, there is none amonge you, if ye were in lyke case as I am, but I am sure ye wolde be sore displeased; but as it pleaseth the kyng to have it, it is reason that I be content therwith. So there the peace was made bytwene the duke and the erle, by meanes of the kynge and the other lordes. And the seconde day the kyng toke his journey, as is sayd before, and a fyve hundred speares, and as many archers folowed, and ever costed the kynge in this vyage: the kyng dyde great justyce on them that had rebelled agaynst him.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of the kyng of Englande, and speke of the erle of Cambridge his uncle, and shewe howe he dyde in Portyngale.

Ye have well herd here before, how therle of Cambridge lay in the havyn of Plummouthe, with a fyve hundred speares, and as many archers, abydinge for the wynde, to sayle into Portyngale. So longe he lay there, that at last wynde and wether came, and so disancred and departed towarde Lysborne, where they thought to arryve. And the first day, they costed Englande, and Cornewayle, and the ii. day also; and the thyrde daye they entred into the highe see of Spaygne; and there they had harde fortune, for there rose suche a tempest, that they and all their shyppes were in great parell and harde adventure of dethe, and specially the shyppes wherin were the Gascoyns, as sir Johan of New-

[1] *Devonshire.*

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castell, the Souldicke of Lestrade, and the lorde de la Barde, and a fourtie knightes and squyers; they lost the syght of the erle of Cambridge flete. The erle, and sir Olyvere[1] Beauchampe marshall of the hoost, and sir Mathewe Gourney constable, and the Chanoyne Robersarde, and the other, passed this tempest in great daunger. And so longe they sayled by the wynde and starres, that they arryved at the cytie of Lysbone. These tidynges came anone to the kynge of Portyngale, who taryed and loked ever for the comynge of these Englisshmen. Than the kynge sende of his knightes to mete theym, and so they were honourably receyved. And the kyng Dampferant came out of his castell, and mette with therle of Cambridge, and receyved hym and all his with great honoure, and so brought them into his castell, and called for wyne and spyce. And there was yonge Johan of Cambridge sonne to the erle, of whom the kynge of Portyngale made great joye, and sayde, Beholde here my sonne, for he shall have my doughter; they were bothe proper and goodlye, and all of one age. These children had gret joye eche of other, and helde eche other by the hande. In the meane season, whyle the kyng of Portyngale made cher to the erle, and to the other straungers, all their companye were well lodged as they came oute of their shyppes, for the cytie of Lysbone was great and well furnysshed with every thynge, for it was well provyded for, agaynst the comyng of the Englysshmenne. So these lordes were mery, and well at their ease; howebeit, they were ryght sorie for their company, that they thought were lost on the see, in the tempest, or els driven into the danger of the Moores in Granade: the whiche yf it were so, they thought them as good as lost, and so for them they made great complayntes. And to say trouthe, they were well worthy to be complayned, for they were so sore tossed with the tempest, that there were never men in greater daunger of dethe, and scaped. They passed the straytes and the boundes of the realme Tramesuynes, and Bellmaryne,[2] and they were oft tymes in great adventure of takynge with the Sarazins; and they all counted themselfe but lost and deed, and never had trust to come to lande. And in this great daunger they were xl. dayes, and than they had suche a wynde that brought them,

The yvell wyll that the duke of Lancastre conceyved for the refuce made him at Berwyke.

[1] *William.*

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wheder they wolde or nat, agayne into the Spaynisshe see: and whan the wynde fayled, than they ancred. And by adventure they founde two great shyppes, comyng, as they sayd, fro Flaunders, charged with marchaundyse, and goynge to Lysbone. Than the Englysshe shyppe came to them, and putte out their standerdes. And whan they of Lysbone, who were but marchauntes, sawe the armes of saynt George, and in the shyppe men of armes, they were halfe afrayed; but at laste, whan they aproched, and sawe who they were, they made theym great chere. And after, these marchauntes dyde putte these knyghtes agayne in great parell, as ye shall her after.

These knightes demaunded of these marchauntes what tidynges. They answered and sayd, howe that the kynge of Portyngale with the Englysshemen were in Spaigne, and had besieged the kynge of Castyle, in Civyll. Of these tidynges the knightes were right joyfull, and sayd, howe they wolde go thyder, for they were as than on the fronter of Civyll. And so they departed, and the marchauntes left with theym wyne, and other provysion, to refresshe them with all. Than the Gascoyns sayde to the maryners, Sirs, bringe us streyght to Civyll, for there our company lye at siege. The maryners sayde, In the name of God: and so tourned thyderwardes, and sayled so longe, tyll they aproched nere therto. Than the maryners, who were wyse and sage, and wolde nat that theyr maysters shulde be lost neglygently, caused a ladde to mount up to the toppe of the shyp, to se if he coude spy any maner of siege layd to Civyll, outher by water, or by lande; and the ladde, who sawe every thynge parfitelye, sayd, Surelye there is no maner of siege, nother by lande nor by water. Than the maryners sayde to the lordes, Sirs, ye are nat well and truely enformed, for surely ther is no siege, nother by lande nor by water, about Civyll, for if there were any, it shulde apere in the havyn; therfore sirs, it is no goynge thyder, without ye wyll lose all: for the kynge of Castyle is there, as in the cytie wherin he wolde be of any other in all his realme. So with great payne these maryners myght be beleved, and at laste they were beleved; and so sayled alonge the syde of Cyvyll, and entred into the see of Portyngale, and at last

The yvell wyll that the duke of Lancastre conceyved for the refuce made him at Berwyke.

arryved in the havyn of Lysbone. The same houre and daye, there was done in the churche of saynt Katherine a solempne obsequy for them, and all the Englysshemen morenyng for them in blacke: but than ye may well knowe there was joye ynoughe whane they arryved at the porte, and there was great feest made; and these Gascoyns for joye forgate the payne and feare that they had endured in the see.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of the busynesse of Portingale, for ther was as yet no dede of armes done there, and lette us nowe speke of the busynesse that was in Flaunders the same season.

In this season, while all this busynesse was in England, the warres of Flanders was nat in rest, bytwene the erle and the Gauntoyse. Ye have herde here before how Philyppe Dartvell was chosen as soverayne capitayne of Gaunt, by the oppynyon of Peter de Boyse, who counsayled hym to take on hym the offyce, and to be cruell, to the entent to be the more feared. Philyppe folowed after his scole and doctryne, for he had nat bene long in offyce, whan he caused xii. heedes to be strykenne of before hym; and some sayde, they were those that principally were causers of the dethe of his father, and so than he revenged his cause.

This Philyppe Dartvell begane to raygne in great puyssaunce, and was greatly feared and beloved, and specially of suche as folowed warre; and to wynne their favoure and love, he spared nothynge, but abandoned every thynge to them. It might be demaunded howe they of Gaunt made their warre? I wyll aunswere therto acordynge as I have herde. Of very necessyte, accordynge to their quantyties, they ever supported the poore, and so by reason of the unyte amonge theym, they endured in great puyssaunce. And all thynges consydred, Gaunt is one of the moost strongest townes of the worlde, so that Brabant, Holande and Zelande make them no warre; but if those thre countreis with Flaunders make warre to them, than they be enclosed, and likely to be lost and famysshed; and these thre countreis made no warr with them, wherfore they endured the lengar. In this season, whyle that Philyppe Dartvell was made newe offycer, the alderman of the wayvers was accused of trayson,

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and sette in prison. And to prove the trouthe in that he was accused, they went to his house, and founde there certayne poudre of saltpeter, wherwith he had done no helpe to the towne at siege, nor otherwyse, of all the hole yere passed; wherfore he was beheeded, and drawen through the towne lyke a traytour, to gyve ensample to all other. Than the erle of Flaunders determyned to lay siege to Gaunt, and so he made a great somons of lordes, knyghtes, and squyers, and men of good townes; and he sende to Malynes, from whens he had moche people. Also he sende for his cosyns, sir Robert of Namure, and sir Wyllyam; and out of Arthoise ther came moche people to him. And the countesse of Arthoise his mother was as than newely departed this lyfe.

To this assemble there came the lorde Dampiers,[1] with a great company of knightes and squyers, of the countie of Heynalt. And so therle went and layde siege to Gaunt, on the syde towarde Bruges, and towarde Heynalte. And whyle this siege endured, there was many a scrymisshe, and somtyme a sorte of wyght companyons wolde yssue out of Gaunt; somtyme they were drived home agayne to their losse, and sometyme they wan. And in this season, he that dyde moost dedes of armes, and was moost renomed, was the yong lorde of Danghien; and moost commonly all lustye companyons, suche as sought for dedes of armes, wolde be ever in his companye. And in this season, the lorde of Danghien, with foure thousande horse men, besyde fote men, wente and layde siege before the towne of Grauntmont, the which as than was Gauntoyse. Before that tyme the sayd lorde had bene there, and traveyled and haryed them sore, but nothynge conquered; but at this tyme, he came puissantly and in good order, and on a Sonday he sauted the towne, in mo than xl. places, and was at the saute hymselfe, and sette forthe first his owne baner. This was so gret assaute, and so well contynued on every syde, that about the houre of noone it was taken and conquered, and than entred in at the gates the lorde of Danghien and his company. And whan they of the towne sawe that their towne was lost without recovery, they fledde out at the gates, wher as none of their enemyes were, and so every man saved hymselfe that myght. There was great murdre of men,

[1] *d'Enghien.*

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women and chyldren, for ther was none taken to mercy: ther were mo than v. C. men of the towne slayne, and a great nombre of olde people, men and women, brent lyeng in their beddes, whiche was great pytie. For they sette fyre in the towne in mo than thre hundred places, wherby the hole towne was brent, churches and all, nothynge left hole. Thus Grauntmont was prosecuted, and put to fyre and flame. Than the lorde Danghien retourned into thost to the erle of Flaunders, who gave hym great thanke for his dede, and sayde, Fayre sonne, ye are a valyant man, and shall be, if God be pleased, a good knight, for ye have a gode beginning.

After the distructyon thus of the towne of Grauntmont, on a Sonday, in the monethe of June, whyle the siege lay stylle before Gaunt, this lorde of Danghien, called Water, wolde never lye in rest in his lodgyng, but every day sought for adventures; some day with a great nombre, and some daye with so fewe, that he durst nat parceyver in his enterprise. So that nere every day there was by hym, or by the Hase of Flaunders, done some adventure. And so it fortuned, that on a Tuesday in the mornyng, the lorde Danghien was yssued out of his logyng, and the lorde of Montigny in his company, sir Mychell of Hamsede his cosyn, and the bastarde of Danghien his brother, Julyen of Toyson,[1] Hutyn Donay,[2] and dyvers other. They went to scrimisshe before Gaunt, as they were wont to do, and adventured themselfe so farre, that they toke no good therby; for they of Gaunt hadde layde a sore busshment before their towne, mo than a hundred pykes. And some sayd there was in this busshment suche as had fledde fro Grauntmont, whan it was wonne; their entente was set on nothyng els, but howe they might trap the lorde Danghien, to be revenged on hym, for the domage that he had done to them. They thought ever that he was free and hardy, and wolde adventure himselfe largely; and as they thought, so it came to passe, whiche was more pyte. The lorde Danghien and his rout toke no hede tyll they were enclosed with the Gauntoyse, who escryed them to dethe. Than the lorde Danghyen demaunded counsayle of the lorde of Montigny, who was by hym. Than sir Eustace Montigny answered and sayd, It is nowe to late to take counsayle: let us defende ourselfe, and

[1] *Gilles de Trisson.*

[2] *Hustin du Lay.*

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sell our lives derely or we dye: there is none other remedy. Than these knyghtes made the signe of the crosse before them, and recommended themselfe to God and to saynt George, and so entred in amonge their enemies, for they coude nat flye, they wer so forwarde in the enbusshe; and so there they dyde dedes of armes as well as they might, but they coude nat longe endure, for their enemyes were a hundred agaynst one, and a great nombre of long pykes, wherwith the Gauntoise gave great strokes and peryllous, as it well apered. Ther was the lorde Danghien slayne, and by hym his bastarde brother, and Gyles of Toyson, and dyvers other valyant knightes of Haynalte, and the lorde of Montigny, saynt Christophe;[1] and sir Michell of Hamsede sore hurte, and he had ben slayne without doute, and Hutyn Donay by force of armes hadde nat saved hym, and yet he had moche payne to save him. Howebeit, in the meane tyme that the Gauntois were about to dysarme the knyghtes that they had slayne, to the entent to beare them into the towne of Gaunt, for they knewe well they had slayne the lorde Danghien, wherof they hadde great joye, in the meane tyme, Hutyn Donay brought out of the prese and parell sir Mychell Hamsede.

Thus this journey fortuned agaynst the lorde Danghien. It is nat to be douted, but that the erle of Flaunders had for his dethe great sorowe, the whiche he well shewed, bycause for the love of him he brake up his siege before Gaunte; and night and day made great sorowe for his dethe, and sayd, O, Water, Water, my fayre son, what adventure is this, thus to fall on you in your youthe; I wyll that every man knowe, that they of Gaunte shall never have peace with me, tyll I have so great amendes, that it shall suffyce. Than the erle sende to Gaunt, to have agayne the body of the lorde of Danghien, the whiche the Gauntoyse wolde nat delyver. Than the erle sende them a thousande frankes to have his body, the whiche the Gauntoyse dyde departe amonge themselfe. And so the body of the lorde of Danghien was brought into the hoost, and so was sente to Anghien, the towne wherof he was lorde.

Thus for the love of the yong lorde of Danghien, the sege brake up before Gaunte. And than the erle departed

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[1] *le sires de Montegny qui crioit 'Saint Cristoffle'!*

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and wente to Bruges, and gave leave to all his people to departe, and sende a certayne to his fortresses in Flaunders, as Gavres, Andewarpe, Teremonde, and Curtray, and all about in the fortresses nere to Gaunt. And the erle sende to the Legeoys, shewynge them, bycause they conforted Gaunt with vitayle and other provisyon, therfore he had broken up his siege, desyringe them no more to confort them with any vitayle. They of Liege answered proudely, that they wolde be advysed what they wolde do, of them of Xaynton,[1] of Huy, and of Dygnet:[2] therle coude have none other answere; howbeit, he sent to his cosyns, the duke of Brabant, and the duke Aubert, and to the bayly of Heynalte, of Holande, and of Zelande, dyvers messangers, right sage knyghtes, and they to shewe hym how the towne of Gaunt is styll in their erroure, by the occasyon of the great confort that they of Gaunt hath, by their people and countreis, in bringynge dayly to them fresshe vitayle, desyring them therfore to provyde for a remedy. These two lordes, who wolde nat gladlye do any thyng to the displeasure of their cosyn the erle, excused themselfe honestly, and sayd, howe they knewe nothynge therof before, but fro thensforthe they wolde loke therto, and set a good order. This answere was suffycient to the erle of Flaunders. The duke Aubert, who as than was in Holande, wrote to his bayly in Heynalte, sir Symone de la Layne,[3] and sende hym the copy of the erles letters, and the request that the erle had made to hym. And besyde that he commaunded him, that he shulde so deale in the countre of Heynalt, that he here no more tidinges of displeasure towarde therle of Flanders his cosyn, for if he dyde, he wolde nat be content. The baylye obeyed as it was reason, and dyde his commaundement throughe all Haynalte, commaundynge them in no wyse to cary any vitayle, or any maner of thynge to Gaunte; if they dyde, they shulde ronne greatly in the dukes displeasur. A lyke crye and defence was made in Brabante, so that none durste go to Gaunte, but by stelthe; wherof they of Gaunt beganne to be dismayed, for their provisyon began to fayle, and had ben in great famyne, and they of Holande had nat conforted them, who wolde nat leave to ayde them for any commaundement that duke Aubert coulde make. In the

[1] *Saint Trond.*

[2] *Dinant.*

[3] *Lalaing.*

same seasone, the sage men and wyse counsaylours of Haynalt, of Brabant, and of Liege, set a day of counsayle, to be holden at Harlequebec, besyde Courtrey. And so there they mette: and they of Gaunt sende thyder a twelfe of the moost notablest men of the towne; and ther they shewed how generally the moost parte of the towne, except suche rybaudes and unthriftye people as desyred nothynge but yvell and noyse, all the other gladlye, they sayde, wolde have rest and peace, what soever came therof. At this counsayle were all the wyse counsaylours of all the good townes in Flaunders. Ther was the erles counsayle, and they of Liege, of Brabant, and of Heynalte: and the maters were there so well debated, that upon certayne articles of peace the Gauntoyse retourned to their towne. And all suche of Gaunte as desyred rest and peace drewe to the houses of two riche men of Gaunt, who hadde bene at this treatie; the one called sir Gylbert Gente,[1] and the other sir Symone Bette, demaundynge of theym tidynges. And they dyscovered the mater to soone, to some of their frendes, sayeng, Good neyghbours, we shall have so good peace, and it please God, that such as loveth peace and rest shall have it; and some of them that be yvell dysposed in the towne of Gaunt, to be corrected and punysshed.

The yvell wyll that the duke of Lancastre conceyved for the refuce made him at Berwyke.

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Howe two valyant men of Gaunt were slayne by Peter de Boyse and by Philyppe Dartvell. And of the rebellyon at Parys agaynst the Frenche kyng.

IT is sayd moost comenly, If it be as he dothe, it is as he saythe.[2] Peter de Boyse, who thought hymselfe nat well assured of his lyfe, and had his spyes about, to here every newe tidynges, and suche as hadde ben at this sayd treatie, had reported in the towne, how that this treatie was brought about by Gylbert Gent and Symon Bette. And whan Peter de Boyse understode it, he was madde in his mynde therfore, and toke the mater to hymselfe, and

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[1] *de Grutere.*

[2] *S'il est qui fait, il est qui dit.*

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sayd, If any be corrected for this warre, yet I shall nat be the first, for the mater shall nat go all as they wene; shall they that have bene at this treatie rule everye thynge as they lyst? May happe nay, I purpose nat yet to dye, I thynke the warr hath nat endured so long as it shall do; as yet, suche as were my good maysters Johan Lyon and Wyllyam Craforde their dethes is nat yet well revenged: if the maters be nowe in trouble, yet I wyll bring them into more trouble: and so he dyde. I shall shewe you howe.

The same proper evennyng that the counsayle shulde have ben the next day in the counsayle hall, there to here reported the treatie that was taken at Harlequebecke, Peter de Boyse came the same evennynge to Philyppe Dartvels house, and founde hym in his chambre lyenge in a wyndowe, musynge and studyeng. And the first worde he spake, he sayd, Philyp Dartvell, here you any tidynges. Nay truly, quoth he, but that I here say our men are returned fro the counsaile at Harlequebecke, and to morowe we shall here in the hall what tidynges they have brought. That is true, quoth Peter, but I knowe allredy what wayes they have taken and purpose to take: for suche as have ben there hath shewed it to some of my frendes. Certaynlye, Philyppe, the treatie that they have made and wolde make lyeth on the jeopardy of our heedes, for if there be peace taken bytwene the erle and this towne, knowe for trouthe, that you and I, and the lorde of Harsels, and all suche capitayns as have ayded us in this warre, shal be the first that shall dye, and the riche men shall go quite. They wyll bring us into daunger, and go themselfe free; and this was ever the opinyon of Johan Lyon my maister. Alwayes the erle hath these marmosettes about him, as Gylbert Mahewe and his bretherne, and the provost of Harlequebecke, who is of the lynage of the alderman of the meane craftes, who fled away with them; we ought wysely to loke on this mater, and to se what were best to do. Philyppe aunswered and sayd, Peter, I shall shewe you my mynde. Let us gyve knowledge of this to all oure aldermen and capitayns, that they be tomorowe all redy aparelled in the market place, and than lette us two entre into the hall, with a hundred with

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us, to here the content of the treatie. And than let me alone, so ye wyll avowe my dede, and abyde puissantly by me: for without we be feared among the commons it is nothyng. And so they agreed. Than Peter de Boyse departed, and sende to all rulers and capitaynes under hym, commaundyng them and all their men, to be redy in the mornynge in the market place to here tidynges. They all obeyed, they durste do none otherwyse: and also, they were ever redy to do yvell.

The next mornyng about the hour of ix. the mayre and aldermen, and riche men of the towne, came into the market place and entred into the hall, and thyder came they that had ben at the treatie of Harlequebecke. Than thyder came Peter de Boyse, and Philyp Dartwell, and suche of their secte well acompanyed. And whane they were all assembled and sette, suche as wolde sytte, than the lorde of Harselz was myste, for he was nat there, and so he was sent for; but he excused himselfe, bycause he was sicke and nat well at ease. Saye what ye wyll, quoth Peter du Boyse, for I am here in his stede: here be ynowe, let us here what they wyll say that hath bene at Harlequebecke. Than there rose up two of the notablest men of the companye, Gylbert Gente and Symone Bette. And one of them sayde, Lordes of Gaunt, we have bene at the parlyament at Harlequebecke, and have had moche payne and traveyle; and also so had the good men of Brabant, of Liege, and of Heynalte, to make acorde and agrement bytwene oure lorde the erle of Flaunders and us of Gaunte. Finally, at their requestes, and by the helpe of my lady of Brabant, who sent thyder her counsayle, and the duke Aubert his, so that by their meanes the good towne of Gaunt is come to a peace and to agrement with oure lorde the erle, in this maner, that two hundred men of ours, suche as he shall sende us their names in writyng within fyftene dayes, we must sende them into the erles prison at Lysle, to put theym clerely to his mercy and pleasure. He is so fre and so noble, that it is no doute but that he wyll have mercy on theym. With those wordes, Peter de Boyse stepte forthe, and sayde, Gylbert Gente, howe durste you be so bolde to make suche agrement as to sende two hundred of oure men of Gaunte into

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the towne of oure enemye, in great rebuke and shame to all the towne of Gaunt: it were better Gaunte were turned up so downe, than they of Gaunt shulde have suche reproche as to make warre and ende it so shamefully. We that have herde you, may well knowe that ye shall be none of the two hundred prisoners, nor also Symon Bet: ye have chosen for yourselfe, nowe than we wyll chose for our selfe. On forthe Philyppe Dartvell, set handes on these false traytours, that wolde betray and dyshonour the towne of Gaunt. Therwith Peter de Boyse drewe oute his dagger, and came to Gylbert Gent, and strake hym into the belly, and so he fell downe deed. And Philyppe Dartvell drewe out his dagger, and he strake Symon Bet, and slewe hym in lykewise: and than they cryed Treason, Treason. And they that were slayne hadde of their men above and beneth, for they were men of great lygnage and the richest men of the towne; but they gette themselfe out of the towne to save themselfe, so that there was no more done but they two slayne. But to apease the people, and to bringe them to their beleve, they sende out of their men, cryenge and sayenge, These false traytours, Gylberte Gente and Symone Bette wolde have betrayed the towne of Gaunte. Thus the mater passed; these two notable men were slayne, and no man to revenge them. And whan therle of Flaunders, beyng at Bruges, herde of these tidynges, he was sore displeased, and sayd, At the desyre of my cosyns of Brabante, I lightly agreed to have peace with them of Gaunt, and nowe and before this tyme they have wrought falsely. But I wyll they knowe, that they shall never have peace agayne with me, but I wyll have them at my pleasure.

Thus ther was slayne in the towne of Gaunte these two valyant men ryche and sage; they might eche of them spende of their owne patrimony two thousande frankes yerelye. They were sore bemoned prively, but non durst speke of them openly. Thus the warre was more feyrsare than it was before, for they of the garysons about Gaunte were night and day busye to stoppe all provisyon comynge to Gaunt. So that they of Brabant nor of Haynalde durst nat adventure to bring any thyng to Gaunt; for if the erles men mette any vitaylers, they wolde slee their horses, and

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bringe them prisoners into Andewarpe or Teremonde. So that all vitaylers feared the parell therof.

In the same season, the commons of Parys rose and rebelled agaynst the kyng and his counsayle, bycause the kyng and his counsayle wolde generally reyse up throughe all Fraunce ayedes, fowage, tayles, and subsydes, such as had rynne in the dayes of Charles, father to the king as than. The Parisyens rebelled, and sayde, howe that the kynge last disceassed had quyte them in his lyfe tyme, and howe the kyng his sonne, at his coronacyon at Reynes, had acorded to the same. Than the kyng and his counsayle avoyded Parys, and went and lay at Myeulx[1] in Brie. As soone as the kyng was departed fro Paris, the commons rose in harnesse, and slewe all those that had ceassed the aydes, and brake up the prisons and dyvers houses in the towne, and robbed and pylled them, and toke all that ever they founde, and so came to the bysshoppe of Paris house, and brake up his prisons, and delyverd Hugh Aubert,[2] who hadde bene provost of Parys in the tyme of kynge Charles; who was in his dayes by just sentence condempned to prison, for dyvers yvell dedes that he hadde done and consented to do; at whiche tyme some wolde have hadde hym brent; but these Parisyens delyvered him. This happe he had by the rebellyon of the commons, and so he departed the towne assoone as he myght, for feare leest he shulde be takenne agayne; and so he went into his owne countrey of Burgoyne, and ther shewed his frendes all his adventure. These people of Parys duryng their rebellyon dyde moche hurte. But there were many good menne that were happy, that they fell nat to their rebellyon and company, for and they had, the mater had bene moche worse than it was. Thus the kynge was at Myeulx, and his thre uncles with hym, the duke of Anjowe, the duke of Berrey, and the duke of Burgoyne, who were sore dyspleased with this rebellyon. Than they determyned to sende thyder the lorde of Coucy, who was a sage knight, to treate with the commons and to apease them, for he coulde do it better than any other.

[1] *Meaux.*

[2] *Aubriot.*

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Howe the lorde of Coucy apeased the discencion and rebellyon of them of Parys. And of the great preparacyon that the duke of Anjou made to make hymselfe kynge of Napoles.

THAN the lorde of Coucy, called Enguerrant, came to Paris, nat with an army, but in peasable maner, with his owne servauntes, and so lyghted at his lodgynge; and than he sende for some of them that were chiefe begynners of the rebellyon. And whan they were come to hym, he shewed them in fayre manere, howe they hadde done ryght yvell, to slee the kynges officers as they hadde done, and broken the kynges prisons, and delyvered the kynges prisoners: sayeng, howe that if the kyng and his counsayle wolde be hastye and rygorous, they shulde sore repent it, the whiche the kyng wolde nat, bycause he loveth Parys so well, for he was borne therin, and also it is the chife cytie of his realme, therfore he wyll nat distroye the people that be therin: shewynge theym howe he was come thyder as to be a meane to bringe them to peace, promisynge them howe he wolde desyre the kynge and his uncles to pardone all that ever they had done. Than they aunswered and sayde, howe they wolde none yvell, nor to have warre with the kynge nor with his uncles; but they wolde that these imposycions, subsedyes and gables shulde be layde downe in all Parys, and that the cytie shulde be exempte fro all suche maters, sayenge, howe they wolde ayde the kynge in some other manere. In what manere, quod the lorde of Coucy. They answered and sayd, We wyll be content to pay a certayne golde and sylver every weke to a certayne man apoynted to receyve it, to helpe to paye the soudyers and men of warr in Fraunce. What somme wyll ye paye, quod the lorde of Coucy. Suche somme, quod they, as we shall agree upon. And so the lorde of Coucy treated so the mater with them, that with their owne good wylles they ceased theymselfe to paye wekely a tenne thousande florence, to a certayne man admytted to be receyvoure therof. And so thus the lorde

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of Coucy departed fro them, and wente to Myeulx in Brie, to the kynge and to his uncles, and shewed them what he had done. Than the kynge was counsayled for the best, to receyve this offre of the Parisyens, sayenge howe it was good to entre on theym lytell and lytell, for in lykewyse they shulde do with the other good townes in Fraunce, seynge that Parys dyde thus begynne. Than the lorde of Coucy retourned to Parys, and brought peace fro the kynge to the Parisyence, so that they wolde kepe the promyse that they hadde made, the which they sayde they wolde do. And so a receyver was apoynted to receyve the florence every weke; so that the money shulde nat go out of Parys for none other entent but to pay men of warr whan nede requyred, and that the money shulde nat be enployed to the kynges use nor profyte, nor to none of his uncles. Thus the mater contynued a certayne space, and the Parisyence in peace, but the kynge wolde nat come in Parys, wherof the Parisyence were sore displeased.

In lykewise they of Rohane rebelled: the common people rose and slewe the Cathelayne there, and all suche as had sette the imposycions and gabelles on them. And whan the kyng and his uncles herd therof, they were right sore dyspleasedde; for they doughted greatlye that other cyties and townes wolde do in lyke case. Than the kynge was counsayled that he shulde go to Rohan, and so he dyde, and apeased the commons there, and pardoned them the dethe of his Chatelyne, and of all that they had done. And also they ordayned a receyvour, to whome they payed every weke a certayne somme of florens, and so therby they were in peace. So thus ther began great yvel in Fraunce, and all toke fotynge and ensample of the Gauntoyse. For why as than all the commonties throughout all the worlde sayd, howe they of Gaunt were good people, and valyantlye had sustayned their fraunchises; wherfore they sayde, they ought to be beloved, praysed, and honoured.

It is to be knowen, that the duke of Anjowe had a great and an high entent and ymaginacion to go to the realme of Napoles, for he wrote hymselfe kynge of Puyle, of Calabre, and of Cicyle. For Pope Clement had gyven hym that herytage, by vertue of the letters patentes that the quene of

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Napoles had gyven hym. The duke of Anjowe, who was sage and ymaginatyfe, and of highe courage and enterprise, he sawe well that in tyme to come, according to the state that he had begon, the whiche he was lothe to make lesse, he thought therby to be no lytell lorde in Fraunce, whan so noble and highe herytages were fallen to hym as ii. kyngdoms, Napoles and Cicyle, and thre ducheris, as Puyle, Calabre, and Provence. For by reason of these countreis, wherof he reputed hymselfe lorde and kyng, he thought he shuld attayne to great rychesse; and so therfore he set all his entent night and day howe he might perfourme that viage. And he knewe it wolde nat be without great conforte of golde and sylver, and great company of men of warre, to resyst agaynst all those that wolde let his viage. So the duke of Anjowe for this occasyon gadered toguyder as moche rychesse as he coulde, and kept hym in love with them of Parys as moche as he might, for he knewe well that within Parys there was rychesse great habundaunce. And also he sende to the erle of Savoye, in whome he had great affyaunce, desyringe hym nat to fayle hym at this busynesse: promysynge that as soone as he came into Savoy, he wolde gyve wages for a hole yere for a thousande speares of that countrey. The erle of Savoy had gret joye of those tidynges, for he greatly loved dedes of armes; and he answered to the messangers, howe he wolde gladly serve the duke by the sayde covynaunt; wherof the duke of Anjowe was gladde, for he loved greatlye the company of the erle of Savoy: besyde that, the duke of Anjowe retayned men of armes to the nombre of nyne thousande. Than he made preparacyon for hymselfe and for his company at Parys of all maner of thynges, as tentes, pavylyons, and all other ordynaunce as it shulde pertayne for a kynge to do, whan he is in purpose to go into a farre countrey.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of hym for a season, and returne to the erle of Cambridge and to his company, beynge as than in Portyngale with the kynge there.

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Howe the Englysshmen rode without any commaundement of the kyng of Portyngale, and howe the castell of Fygheire[1] in Portyngale was taken.

THE erle of Cambridge and his company refreshed theym a longe space at Lysbone with the kyng of Portyngale; and the Englysshemen and Gascoyns advysed well the countrey, bycause they had never bene there before. And as I understode, there was a maryage accorded bytwene the doughter of the kyng of Portyngale, who was of the age of tenne yeres, and the erle of Cambridge sonne of the same age; he was called Johan, and the lady named Beatryce. At the weddynge of these two chyldrene there was made great feaste amonge the lordes and prelates of the realme, and as younge as they were, they were layde toguyder in one bedde. So this maryage thus ended, the whiche endured the space of eight dayes, than the kynge of Portyngale and his counsayle ordayned that the men of warr that were as than at Lysbon shulde departe into other places, and kepe the fronters. So therle of Cambridge and his company were ordayned to go lye in another towne, called Estremour;[2] and the Englysshmen and Gascons shulde lye in another countre, called Vesyouse;[3] and yonge Johan of Cambridge shulde abyde with the kynge and his wyfe. Whan the Chanone Robersarde and the other Englysshe knightes and Gascons toke their leave of the kyng to departe to go to their garisons, than the kyng sayd to them, Sirs, I commaunde you ryde nat out agaynst our enemyes without my leave and knowledge; for if ye do, I wyll nat be content. They answered, howe they wolde nat ryde tyll they had his lycence. And so thus they departed, and so rode to the towne of Vesyous, a ii. dayes journey fro Lysbone, and as moche fro Cevyll, wher as the kyng of Spayne lay, who knewe ryght well of the comynge of the erle of Cambridge and his company, and sent worde therof into Fraunce to suche as he thought wolde serve him. And whan they knewe

[1] *Sygheire* P.

[2] *Estremos.*

[3] *Villa Viciosa. Besyouse* P.

therof, and sawe that warre was likely to be in Spaygne, they were gladde therof; and dyvers suche as desyred to be avaunsed by the warre made them redy, and toke their way into Spayne.

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Howe the Englysshmen rode without any commaundement of the kyng of Portyngale.

The Chanoyne Robersarde, who lay in garyson at Vesyouse with his company, Englysshe and Gascoyns, on a tyme he sayd to his company, Sirs, me thynke we lye here thus long styll, nothyng to our honour; we have done as yet nothyng agaynst our enemyes, wherfore they sette the lesse store by us. Therfore and ye wyll, it is my counsaile that we sende to the kynge of Portyngale, desyringe hym to gyve us leave to ride, and to do somwhat against his enemyes. And they all answered and sayde, We are content. Than sir Johan Chandovich was sent on that message. And so he came to the kynge to Lysbone, and dyde his message as he was charged to do. But the kyng sayd, he wolde in no wyse they shulde ryde forthe. And so this knight coude gette none other thyng of the kyng, and so retourned to his lordes, and said, Sirs, the kyng wyll in no wyse that ye shall ride forth. Than they were sorer displeased than they were before, and said among themselfe, howe it was nat the order of men of warr to lye so long styll in a garyson, without doynge some dede of armes. And so thus they made covynaunt to ryde forthe at adventure. And so on a day they rode out into the feldes, to the nombre of a four hundred men of armes and as many archers; and they enterprised to besiege a great towne, parteyninge to the mayster of saynt Johans; and as they wente thyderwarde, they toke another way, and went to the castell of Fighyre,[1] wherin there was a threscore men of armes, Spayniardes, in garyson, of whome Peter Gonsses and his brother were capitayns. The Chanone Robersarde, who was chefe mover of that journey, rode before. And ther was with hym sir Olyver[2] of Beauchampe, sir Mathewe Gourney, Mylles Wyndsore, the lorde Talbotte, sir Adam Symon, and sir John Soudre,[3] who was bastarde brother to the kyng of Englande, the Souldycke of Lestrade, the lorde of Newcastell, the lorde de la Barde, Raymon of Marson, and dyvers other. And so they rode tyll they came to the castell of Fighyre, and so made them redy to assayle it. And whan they within parceyved that they shulde be

[1] *Higuera.*

[2] *William.*

[3] *Foundre* P.

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Howe the Englysshmen rode without any commaundement of the kyng of Portyngale.

assayled, they ordayned for their defence: and anone after day the saulte began right sore and cruell, and the Englysshmen entred into the dykes, wherin ther was no water, and so they came just to the walles well pavesshed for the cast of stones, and there they hewe with pykes to entre the walles; and they within cast downe on them barres of yron and stones, and hurt dyvers of them. That day the Chanoyn Robersarde dyde marveyls in armes, and so dyde Eperus, a varlet of his. And the archers stode alonge the dyke, and shot so holly toguyder, that there was none above that durst apere at their defence. The one halfe of theym within were sore hurt; and there was slayne with the shotte the brother of Peter Gonsses, capytayne of the castell, called Bartylmewe, a proper man of armes. And so by his hardynesse and to moche adventuryng, he was slayne.

Thus this assaut contynued fro the mornynge tyll it was noone. The knyghtes and squyers, bothe Englysshe and Gascoyns, spared nat to assayle the castell with great wyll and courage, bycause they dyde that enterprise without the knowledge of the kyng of Portyngale. Therfore they dyde all their payne to conquere the castell, to the entent that the renome therof shulde come to Lysbone, and that men myght say, howe they had well spedde at their begynnyng. Than the Chanoyne Robersarde sayde, A sirs, we thought yesterday this castell shulde nat have holde so long agaynst us; but and we be so longe in conqueryng of townes and castelles in Spaygne and Galyse, we shall never be lordes of them; wherwith the knightes and squyers toke more courage. And with those wordes, the Chanoyne Robersarde, for all his pavesse, receyved a great stroke, wherwith he was sore hurte and brosed. And he had by hym a yong squier of Heynalt, called Froissart Mullyer, who bare hymselfe valiauntly at this assaut, and so dyde all other. The artyllary of the castell, as stones and barres of yron, began to mynisshe, and they within sawe well that of xxv. men of armes, there were but thre of them but they were sore hurt and in parell of dethe; so that they coulde nat longe endure, but that by force they shulde be taken; and they sawe their capitayns brother was slayne: than they determyned to take some respyte, and in the meane tyme to treat for a

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Howe the Englysshmen rode without any commaundement of the kyng of Portyngale.

peace. Thanne they made token to speke with the Englysshmen, and so the assaute ceased; and the assaylantes came out of the dykes, wherof they had nede, for ther were many of theym sore traveyled and hurte. Than sir Mathue Gourney, constable of that hoost, and sir Mylles Wynsore, marshall, went to them, and demaunded what they wolde say. The capitayne, sir Peter Gonsses, sayd, Sirs, we se well ye wyll nat depart hens tyll ye have this fortresse: ye hurt our people, and we yours: let us take counsayle one with another. I say for all my company of whom I am capitayne, that we wyll rendre to you the fortresse, our godes and lyves saved; sirs, take this offre; this is a right covenaunt of armes; ye are as at this tyme more stronger than we be, therfore it behoveth us thus to do. The Englysshe knyghtes sayd they wolde take counsayle, and so they dyde; and whan they were determyned, they answered and sayd, howe they within shulde departe whan they lyst, but theyr goodes shulde abyde styll in the castell, for they shulde have nothing but their lyves. And whan Peter Gonsses[1] sawe there was none other remedy, he acorded therto, right sore agaynst his wyll. Thus this castell was gyven up, and put into the handes of thenglysshmen: and so the Spaynierdes departed without any saveconduct, and went to Esteryes,[2] where the maister of saynt Jaques lay. Howebeit, they founde hym nat ther as than, for he understode that the Englysshemen were abrode, therfore he was entred into the feldes, with a foure hundred men of armes, Spaynierdes and Castylians, in trust to mete with the Englysshmen at their advauntage, to fyght with them.

[1] *Gosses* P.

[2] *Xeres.*

CAP. CCCLXXXX

Howe the Chanoyne Robersarde and his company retourned to their garyson. And of the maryage of the kynge of Englande to the doughter of the kynge of Rhomayns.

WHAN these knightes of England had conquered the castell of Figheir they were right joyfull; and so they repayred it and lefte therin xl. of their company, and dyd furnyshe it with artillary and other purveyaunces, and sette there a good capitayne to kepe it. Than they counsayled toguyder what was best for them to do. And so they determyned to go agayne to their first lodgynges; and the Englysshmen and Gascoyns departed in thre routes. And behynde all to kepe the felde abode the Chanoyne Robersarde, and with hym certayn Englysshmen, Gascoyns, and Almayns; he was about a threscore speares and as many archers, and so they rode all that day, and the seconde day in the mornynge all hole toguyder; and they entred into a great towne of Portingale, called Huence.[1] And the castell of Concrelet[2] was right without a wode syde, in the which wode more nere to Concrelet than to Huence was the maister of saynt James in a busshment, with a four hundred men of armes. And as soone as the Englysshmen parceyved them, they drewe all togider, and made no countenance of feare, but rode forthe a good pase: and the Spaynierdes, for all their great nombre, made no semblant to breke their busshement, but helde themselfe styll and close, for they beleved that the Englisshmen had nere hande their great batayle, and therfore they durst nat assayle them. So thus they departed eche fro other, without any more doynge. The Spaynierdes retourned the same night to Esteryes, and the Chanoyne Robersarde to Vesyouse. And there he shewed his company howe they had sene the Spaygnierdes bytwene Concrelet and Huence; and sayd, If we had bene all toguyder we wolde have fought with them; and so they were sorie that they had nat bene all toguyder. And whan these tidynges came to the knowledge of the

[1] *Olivenza.*

[2] *Alconchel.*

kyng of Portingale, he made semblant that he was dyspleased, bycause they rode forthe without his commaundement or ordinaunce. Thus the Englysshmen and Gascoyns lay styll in their garysons all that wynter, without any thynge doyng worthy to be made mencyon of, the whiche greatly anoyed them; there lyeng styll was nat by their wylles.

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Howe the Chanoyne Robersarde and his company retourned to their garyson.

In this meane time Johan, kyng of Castyle, sende to the Frenche kynge and to his uncles for socour, shewyng them howe the erle of Cambridge was arryved in Portyngale, and howe the voice ranne through the realmes of Castyle and Portyngale, howe that the kyng of Englande, the duke of Lancastre and his brother, puissantlye acompanyed, shulde come into Portyngale to the erle of Cambridges ayde in the next somer. Wherfore he desyred the Frenche kynge, accordynge to suche alyaunces and confederacions as the realme of Fraunce and the realme of Spaygne hath toguyder, and by reason of good love and amyte, that they wolde sende some men of warre to hym the next somer, to the entent to resyst his enemyes. Than the French kyng and his counsayle consented well therto; for they sawe well howe the kyng of Spayne desyred nothyng but reason. Than it was ordayned in Fraunce, to gyve all maner of men of warre lycence to go thyder; and the kyng delyvered them their first prest money. So sir Olyver of Clesquy, brother to sir Bertram of Clesquy, constable of Fraunce, was ordayned to take his voyage in the begynnyng of the springyng tyme; and so dyde knightes and squyers of Bretayne, of Fraunce, of Beause, of Picardy, of Anjowe, of Berrey, of Bloyse, and of Mayne. And so they passed by companyes to have the more ease, and their passage was opyn throughe the realme of Aragon, and they founde every thyng redy, and their wages payed. But they payed nat for every thyng they toke whan they were abrode in the country, whiche was great hurte to the poore commons.

Ye have herde here before howe kyng Richarde of Englande the space of a yere hadde ben in treatie with kynge Charles of Almayne, who wrote hymselfe the tytell of the kyng of Rhomayns, to have his suster, the lady Anne, in maryage, and howe sir Symon Burle had sore traveyled in that mater, and howe the duke of Tasson[1] in Almayne had

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[1] *Tesschen.*

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Howe the Chanoyne Robersarde and his company retourned to their garyson.

ben in Englande for to confyrme that maryage. And the mater was so concluded, that the kynge of Rhomayns sence his suster into Englande, and the duke of Tasson with her, and a great company of knightes, ladyes, and damosels, in royall astate, as it aperteyned to suche a lady. And so she came first into Brabante to the towne of Bruesels. And there the duches of Brabant receyved her and all her company in goodly maner: the duke of Brabant was her uncle, for she was doughter to themperour Charles. And so thus the lady Anne of Behayne helde her at Brusels with her uncle and aunte more than the space of a moneth: she durste nat go thens; I shall tell you why.

It was shewed her that ther was on the see a xii. vessels of Normayns bytwene Caleys and Hollande, and they robbed and pylled on the see, they cared nat who. And so they kepte the boundes of the see about Flaunders and Zelande, abyding the comynge of this yonge lady. For the French kyng wolde gladly have broken that maryage, for he greatlye douted the alyaunce bytwene Englande and Almayne. Howebeit, alwayes it is sayd that it is nat honorable to take ladyes in warre. In coloryng the warr bitwene lordes, to make their warr the fayrer, the prince of Wales, father to kyng Richarde of Englande, it was sayd, he consented to the takyng of the lady of Burbone, mother to the French quene; she was taken by the Princes servauntes, in the castell of Bellperch, and so brought into Guyen and raunsomed. Wherfore the Frenchmen thought, if they might take the kyng of Englandes wyfe, in revengyng therof, they shulde do no wronge. So for feare and doute therof, this lady lay styll at Brusels the space of a moneth. Than the duke of Brabant sende his counsayle into Fraunce, as the lorde of Rousselans[1] and the lorde of Bousqueher,[2] to shewe the kynge and his uncles they were nephewes to the duke of Brabant, as chyldren of his suster. These lordes of Brabant spedde so well with the Frenche kyng and his counsayle, that they had a sure saveconduct for the lady to passe outher by lande or by see, wheder it pleased her, throughe the realme of Fraunce, or by the fronters therof to Calais. And the Normains that were on the see were countermaunded agayne. And so the Frenche kyng and his

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[1] *Rotselaere.*

[2] *Bouchout.*

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Howe the Chanoyne Robersarde and his company retourned to their garyson.

uncles wrote to the duke of Brabant, that they dyde this for his sake all onely, and for none other. This pleased moche the duke of Brabant and the duchesse, and all suche as wolde passe the see: so than they departed fro Brusels, and the lady toke her leave of the duke her uncle, and of the duchesse her aunt, and of the ladyes and damosels of the countrey, suche as had helde her company. And so the duke sende with her a hundred speares to convey her to Gaunte, and there she rested her a day; and there the Gauntoyse dyde her gret honour. And fro thens she went to Bruges, and there the erle of Flaunders receyved her ryght honourably, and there she rested her a thre dayes. And than she rode forth and came to Gravelyng, where as was redy the erle of Salysbury, and the erle of Dymester,[1] with a fyve hundred speres and as many archers, and so they brought her to Calays. And the Brabansies retourned as soone as they had delyvered her to the barones of Englande.

This yonge lady taryed nat longe at Calayes, but that she had wynde at wyll, and so than she entred into her shyppe on a Friday in the mornynge, and all her company and horses in other shyppes; and the same day she aryved at Dover, and ther she rested her two dayes; and the thirde day she rode to saynt Thomas of Caunterbury, and there she founde the erle of Buckyngham, who receyved her honourably. And so long this lady rode forthe that she came to London, where as she was honourably receyved of the burgesses, ladyes, and damosels of the countrey and cytie: and so the kyng of Englande wedded her, in the chapell of his palays of Westmynster, the xx. day of Christmas, at which there was great feast and tryumphe holden. And ever syth she departed first out of Almayne, the gentle and noble knight sir Robert of Namur left her nat tyll she was maryed to the kyng of Englande, wherof he hadde great thanke bothe of the kyng of Englande and of the kyng of Almayne. And so the kyng of Englande after his maryage brought the quene his wyfe to the castell of Wyndsore, and there kept a great house; and so there they were joyously togyder. And my lady princes, the kynges mother, abode styll with the quene. And also the

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[1] *Devonshire.*

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Howe the Chanoyne Robersarde and his company retourned to their garyson.

same tyme there was in the court with the quene the duchess of Bretayne, suster to kyng Rycharde, for Lois[1] her husband, duke of Bretayne, coude nat have her delyvered out of Englande. For the kyng of Englande nor his counsayle wolde in no wyse consent to sende her into Bretayne, bycause her husbande the duke was become French; for the lordes and knightes in England sayd the same tyme, that the duke of Bretayne acquyted hymselfe falsly to the erle of Buckyngham and to our men, nowe at this last vyage that they made in France; And for all he hath sent for his wyfe, yet wyll nat we sende her to hym, but wyll rather sende thyder his ii. enemies, John and Guy of Bretayne, who were chyldrene to saynt Charles of Breten, who hath more right to the herytage of Bretayne than he hath; for he is duke but by reason of our puyssaunce and ayde; and be semyng, he consydreth but yvell the goodness that we have done to hym; wherfore we must in lykewise shewe hym the vylany that he doth to us. Trewe it was, these two lordes, John and Guy of Bretayne, children to saynt Charles of Bloyse, were prisoners in Englande, and kept in a stronge castell, in the kepynge of sir Peter Dambreticourt. And they were desyred in curtes maner by the kyng of Englande and his counsayle, that they shulde holde Bretayne by fayth and homage of the kynge of Englande; and if they wolde thus do, than the kyng of England promysed to recover their right in Bretayne; and John to have to his wife the lady Phylippe of Lancastre, wydowe. But they answered, in no wyse they wolde do so, nor forsake to be Frenche, to dye in prison. So thus the mater hanged: and after the kynge of Englande knewe ones fermly their myndes, they were no more desyred therto.

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[1] *ses maris li dus.*

CAP. CCCXCI

Howe the French kyng could have no money of the receyvour of Parys. And howe the duke of Anjowe passed into Italye, and of his noble chyvalry.

YE have herd here before howe the Parysiens were agreed with the kyng to pay a certayne somme of florens every weke. This some of floreyns was payed to a certayne receyvour apoynted by them, but the kyng had it nat, nor it went nat out of Parys. And so it happed that the kynge had besynes with money to pay his men of warre, suche as he sent into Castell, wherto he was bounde by the aliaunces that was made before. And so the kyng sent to Parys to his receyvour, that he shulde prepare for hym a hundred thousande frankes, for he sayde he wolde comforte and ayde kyng John of Castell. The receyvour answered the kynges letters and message right graciously, and sayd, howe he had money inough; howebeit, he myght delyver none without the hole consent of the towne of Parys. These wordes pleased nothyng the kyng, but he sayde he wolde purvey right well for remedy, whanne he myght; and so he dyd. And so for his entente as at that tyme he purveyed hym of other money, by the helpe of his good townes in Pycardy. Thus there was a great discension bytwene the kyng and them of Parys; and so the kyng wolde nat come to Parys, but he abode at Mieulx, at Senles, or at Compayne, and there about; wherof they of Parys were sore displeased. And the greatest suretie and meane that they hadde was the duke of Anjou, who wrote hymselfe kynge of Cecyll and of Hyerusalem, and had taken on hym the armes therof. This duke most comonly lay at Parys, and there he gate moche good to helpe hym to his viage; he gate toguyder so great a somme of money that it was sayd that he had at Roquemore besyde Avignon two myllions of florens. He entreated so them of Parys by his fayre langage, and by that he had the soveraynte above all his bretherne, bycause he was eldest, that he had of them

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the somme of a hundred thousande frankes; but the kyng coude gette none of them, nor his uncles of Berrey, nor of Burgoyne. And whan the duke of Anjou had made his provision, in the springyng tyme of the yere he toke his journey, and so passed the realme and came to Avignon, wher as he was greatly feasted with the Pope and with the Cardynals: and thyder came to hym the barones and rulers of the good townes of Provence, and receyved hym for their lorde, and dyde hym homage and feaulte, and dyd put themselfe into his obeysance; and thyder came to him the gentle erle of Savoy, his cosyn, with certayne lordes and knightes, who were also well receyved of the Pope and Cardynals. And there the duke of Anjou delyvered to the erle of Savoy a great somme of money for them of Savoy, who were a great nombre. So than the duke and therle toke leave of the Pope and departed, and toke the way to the dolphyn of Vien, and so in every good towne they had good chere. And so their men of warre went on before, and at last they entred into Lombardy, the whiche passage was redy open. And so the duke entred into Lombardy, and in every towne had great feast and chere, and specially at Myllayne; there they were honored beyonde measure of sir Galeas and sir Barnabo. And they had of them great riches and juels, that it were marveyle to recounte it. And in every place the duke of Anjowe helde astate lyke a kynge, and ever as he went he made money floreyns and whyte money to pay his menne of warre. And whan they came into Touscane,[1] and aprochyd Rome, than they kept themselfe nerer togyder than they dyde before. For the Romayns, who knewe right well of their comyng, were greatly fortifyed agaynst them. And the Romayns had a capitayn, an Englisshman, called sir John Hacoude,[2] who hadde longe lyved amonge the Romayns, and knewe all the fronters, and hadde many sowdyours in the felde, atte the wages of the Romayns, as Almayns, and other nacyons, in the quarell of Pope Urban, who was at Rome. He was nothynge afrayde of the comynge of the duke of Anjou; and whan any spake to hym and shewed hym howe the duke of Anjou, with the erle of Savoy in his company, was comyng to Rome warde, by lykelyhode to put hym downe fro his siege apostolyke,

[1] *Coustane* P.

[2] *Hawkwood. Hatonde* P.

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Howe the French kyng could have no money of the receyvour of Parys.

bycause they were all Clementyns, he wolde than aunswere, and saye, *Christe protege nos*. Christ helpe us. This was all the fray that he had, and all the aunswere that he wolde make.

Thus the men of warre, and the duke of Anjou, callynge hymselfe kyng of Napoles, of Cecyll and of Hyerusalem, duke of Puylle[1] and of Calabre, and the erle of Savoy and his company, costed Italy and Touscane, and the marches of Denconnye,[2] and the lande of Patrimone, and entred nat Rome; for the duke of Anjowe wolde make noo warre to Rome, nor to the Romayns, for he thought to do the viage that he enterprised or he departed out of Fraunce. And in every place where as he went he kept the state of a kynge, and every man praysed hym, and all men of warre lyked well his payment. The same tyme in the cytie of Napoles there was his enemye, sir Charles de la Payx, who in lykwyse wrote hymselfe kyng of Napoles, of Cecyll and of Hyerusalem, duke of Puyll and of Calabre: he claymed to be kyng by rightfull enherytaunce, without any heyre in lawfull maryage, after the kynge of Napoles was deed. This Charles helde the gyft that the quene had made to the Pope but in vayne, and so shewed after his opinyon, by two reasons; the one was, he sustayned and sayd, and the Neapolitans ayded hym in sustaynynge of the same, and the Cesilyens in lykewise; they sayd howe the quene of Napoles coude nat gyve away another mannes herytage; and though her gyft hadde bene good, and so alowed in the court of Rome, yet she dyd nat well, for she helde[3] with Pope Urbane and nat with Clement. These were the questions and the debates that sir Charles de la Payx layde for himselfe, and in the begynnyng he wrought wysely, for he sore fortifyed and furnysshed the castell of Leufe,[4] the whiche is the moost strongest castell of the worlde: for it is set by enchauntment in the see, and it is nat possyble to be wone, but by nygromancy or by the art of the Devyll. He vitailed it for thre or four yere, and had with hym a certayne men of warre, and so kept that place; for he knewe well they of Napoles wolde nat forsake him; though he lost Puyll and Calabre for ii. or thre yere, he thought to recover it agayne as lyghtly. For he ymagyned in his mynde that

[1] *Apulia.*

[2] *Ancona.*

[3] *il tenoient.*

[4] *l'Œuf.*

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Howe the French kyng could have no money of the receyvour of Parys.

the duke of Anjou wolde entertayne suche a nombre of men of warre as he hadde brought with him, the whiche shulde nat long lye in his puyssaunce so to do, outher for faulte of vytayle or for money; wherby he thought they shulde be constrayned to departe within a two or thre yere: and than he ymagined that whan they were wery and out of good rule, than he wolde fyght with them at his advauntage. These thoughtes and ymagynacions hadde Charles de la Payx, wherof he sawe some take effect, or the terme passed that he prefixed; for truly there was no prince christned, without it were the Frenche kyng, or the kynge of Englande, that coude kepe four yere togyder suche a nombre of men of warr out of their owne countreys as the duke of Anjou had with hym. He brought over the mountaynes a xxx. thousande fyghtinge men; and to begyn suche an enterprise, behoveth in the beginnynge wysely to consyder and ymagin.

Whan the duke of Anjou and his company entred into Puyll and into Calabre, the countrey incontynent tourned to them; for the people shewed howe they desyred no other thyng, nor to have none other lorde but the duke of Anjou: and so thus within a shorte tyme all the lordes, cyties, and townes in that countrey were under his obeysance. Suche as had ben in those countreyes, the whiche is one of the greatest marches of the worlde, sayde and affyrmed, howe that for bycause of the great plenty and welthe that haboundeth in those parties, the people are all ydell, and wyll do no laboure: and whan these men of warre were in this countrey, the whiche they founde so replenysshed with all welth, wherof they were right glade, and than the duke of Anjou, the erle of Savoy, the erle of Vandon,[1] and all the chyvalry of Fraunce, of Bretayn, and of Savoy passed forthe and came into the marches of Napoles. They of Napoles, for all the feare that they had of these men of warre, they wolde never close gate of their towne, but kept them styll open; for they thought well that the duke of Anjou shulde never enter into their towne with their displeasure; for if he were within the towne with all the people that he had, they thought he shulde but lese hymselfe and all his and they lyst. For their houses were nat easy to be wonne, for they

[1] *Vendôme.*

Howe the French kyng could have no money of the receyvour of Parys.

had plankes and boordes to take away whan they lyst, and underneth is the see, so that none dare enterprise there too fyght. Than there was an enchaunter, a connynge man in nygromancy, in the marches of Napoles, and so he came to the duke of Anjou, and sayd, Sir, if ye wyll, I shall rendre to you the castell of Leufe, and all tho that be within at your pleasure. Howe may that be? quoth the duke. Sir, quod he, I shall shewe you: I shall by enchauntment make the ayre so thycke, that they within shall thinke that there is a great bridge on the see, for ten men to go afront; and whan they within the castell se this bridge, they wyll be so afrayde, that they shall yelde them to your mercy; for they wyll thanne dout, if they be assayled, that they shulde be taken perforce. The duke had great marveyle of his wordes, and called to hym the erle of Vandon and the erle of Genesve, sir John and sir Peter of Beuill, sir Moris of Maum,[1] and other, and shewed theym what this enchauntour had said; wherfore they had great marveyle. Than the duke sayd, Fayre mayster, on this bridge that ye speke of, may our people assuredly go theron to the castell to assayle it. Sir, quod the enchauntour, I dare nat assure you that; for if any that passeth on the bridge make the signe of the crosse on hym, all shall go to noughte, and they that be on the bridge shall fall into the see. Than the duke began to laugh, and a certayne of yong knyghtes that were there present sayd, Sir, for Godsake, let the mayster assay his connyng; we shall leve makyng of any signe of the crosse on us as for that tyme, and a more redyer way can we nat gette our enemyes. Well, quoth the duke, I shall take advise in this mater. Therle of Savoy was nat there present, but he came to the duke sone after.

[1] *Mauvinet.*

CAP. CCCXCII

Howe the erle of Savoye caused this enchaunters heed to be stryken of, and howe the Chanone Robersarde and his company toke dyvers castels in Spayne.

WHAN the erle of Savoy was come into the tent of the duke of Anjowe, the maister enchauntour was as thanne departed. Than the duke shewed hym all the wordes of the maister, and what he offred. The erle bethought him a litle, and than sayd, Sir, sende hym to my lodgyng, and I shall examyn hym : sir, I knowe well it is the same enchauntour by whome the quene of Napoles and sir Othes of Bresvych[1] were taken in the castell of Leufe. For he caused by his craft the see to seme so high, that they within the castell feared that the see shulde have overflowen the castell, wherof they were soo abasshed that they went all to have dyed. Sir, a man ought nat to have any great trust in suche people : sir, ye may se the unhappynes of them of this countrey and their nature ; all onely nowe to please you and to have profite by you, this enchauntour wolde nowe betray theym to whome ones he delyvered the quene of Napoles and her husbande, the which was to sir Charles de la Payx. Than the duke sayd, Sir, I shall sende him to you : than the lordes fell to other maters. And than the erle of Savoy returned to his lodgynge ; and the next day the enchauntour came to the duke, and saluted hym. Assone as the duke sawe hym, he sayd to one of his servauntes, Go and bring this maister to the erle of Savoy. The squier came to the mayster, and sayd, Sir, my lorde the duke wyll that ye go and speke with the erle of Savoy. And he sayd, Sir, I am content. Than the squier brought hym to the erles tente, and sayd, Sir, here is the maister, that my lorde the duke hath sent to you. Whan the erle sawe hym, he had great joy, and sayd, Mayster, is it of trouth that ye wyll cause us too have the castell of Leufe so good chepe as ye say. Sir, quod the enchauntour, that shall I do ; for, sir, by the same meanes I caused before this he that hath it nowe,

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[1] *Brunswick.*

CAP. CCCXCII

Howe the erle of Savoye caused this enchaunters heed to be stryken of.

sir Charles de la Payx, to wyn it, and the quene of Napoles and her doughter, and sir Robert of Arthoyse her husbande, and sir Othes of Bresvich; and, sir, I am the man of the worlde that sir Charles de la Payx reputeth moost, and is in most feare of. By my faythe, quoth the erle of Savoy, ye say well, and I wyll that sir Charles de la Payx shall knowe that he hath great wronge to feare you: but I shall assure hym of you, for ye shall never do enchauntment to disceyve him, nor yet none other. I wolde nat that in tyme to come we shulde be reproched, that in so highe an enterprise as we be in, wherin there be so many noble knightes and squyers assembled, that we shulde do any thyng by enchauntment, nor that we shulde wyn our enemyes by suche craft. Than he called to him a servaunt, and sayd, Go and get a hangman, and let hym stryke of this maisters heed without delay. And as sone as the erle had commaunded it, incontinent it was done, for his heed was stryken of before the erles tent. Thus ended this maister enchauntour, and so was payed his wages acordyng to his desertes.

Nowe wyll we leave to speke of the duke of Anjou, and of his vyage, and speke of the besynes of Portyngale, and shewe howe the Englisshmen and Gascoyns parceveryd.

Whan it came to the beginnyng of the moneth of Aprill, the knightes that were in garyson in the towne of Vesious,[1] and had lyen ther a long season and nat ryden forth, but whan they were before Fyghiere:[2] so than they toke advyse among themselfe to ryde forthe, and they had great marveyle what the kyng of Portyngale and the erle of Cambridge thought, in that they had bene a ten monethes in the countrey of Portyngale, and had ryden forthe but one tyme, whiche was to them a great shame. Than they determyned to sende to the erle of Cambridge, to shewe hym their myndes. And so the Souldych of Lestrad was sent to him, and so he came to Estremouse, where as the erle lay, and sayd to hym, Sir, all our company hath sent me hyder to you, to knowe your pleasure, what ye wyll do: for they have great marveyle for what cause ye have brought them into this countrey, and lye so longe styll, the whiche is to them a great displeasur: sir, they desyre to knowe your pleasure what ye wyll do, for they wolde fayne be doynge of some-

[1] *Villa Viciosa.*

[2] *Higuera.*

CAP. CCCXCII

Howe the erle of Savoye caused this enchaunters heed to be stryken of.

what. Sir, quoth the erle, ye knowe well, whan I departed out of Englande, my lorde my brother, the duke of Lancastre, promysed me by his faythe that as soone as he were returned out of Scotlande that he wolde come hyder, with a certayne nombre of men of warre, as a thre thousande and as many archers; for I was sent hyder in this state that I ame in, for none other entent but to advyse the countrey; and I ame sure shortely we shall here some tydynges, for I have great marveyle that he taryeth so long: recommende me to all your company, and shewe them as I have shewed you: howbeit I may nat nor wyll nat let them to ryde forthe, if they have sore affection therto: but ye knowe well the kynge of Portyngale payeth all our wages, therfore it must be ordred by hym. By my fayth, sir, quoth the Souldich, he payeth but yvell, and that all the hole company complayneth of: he oweth us as yet wages for vi. monethes. He wyll pay you right well, quoth the erle; money shall come right well at poynt. Thus departed the Souldiche fro the erle, and returned to his company, and shewed them as ye have harde. Sirs, quoth the Chanone Robersarde, for all this I wyll nat lye styll: I se well he dothe but dissemble with us; he wolde nat that we shulde ryde forthe, to thentent we shulde have no cause to demaunde our money: but I am of the opynion to ride forth. And so they all determyned the same, and therupon made every thynge redy, and apoynted the evenyng whan they wolde ride forthe the next mornyng. Than there came to them sir John Ferand, a knight of the kyng of Portingales, who had ben infourmed howe they wolde ryde forth; and so he brought letters to the Chanone Robersarde, whiche he red, and founde therin howe the kynge of Portyngale defended hym in any wyse to ryde forthe, sayeng further, howe he knewe well that the styrring of any rydyng forthe to do any enterprise was by his procurynge. Of these tydynges was the Chanone Robersarde sore displeased, and sayde to the knyght, Sir, I se well the kynge wyll nat in any wyse that I shulde ryde forth. Take it so that I abyde styll in my lodgynge, thynke you that these other knyghtes, who are better and more valyaunt than I am, that they wyll leave for all that their enterprise? I ensure you nay. And that ye shall se to-morowe, for they

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are all determyned to ryde. Sir, quod the knyght, than commaunde ye them in the kynges name to abyde styll, and nat to styrre. By my faythe, quoth the Chanone, that wyll I nat do: but, sir, commaunde ye them, syth ye come fro the kyng. So thus the mater rested all that night, and in the morning they sowned their trumpets. Than knyghtes and squiers armed them, and mounted on their horses, and so came to the Chanone Robersardes lodging, who dyd nat arme himselfe; and there these knyghtes and squiers rested. And the Chanone Robersarde came to a wyndowe and spake to them, and shewed them howe the kynge wolde nat that he shulde ryde forthe, nor none with hym. By my faythe, quod they, than wyll we, seynge we be so forewarde, and so we counsayle you to do; it shal be no reproche to us, and we ryde forth, though ye abyde behynde. So the Chanone Robersarde sawe well there was none other boote for hym but to arme him, and to ryde forthe with them; and so he dyd, and so dyd the knyght of Portyngale, sir John Ferande; wherfore after he was in sore displeasure with the kynge, and lyke to have dyed there fore. So thus at the desyre of these companyons they armed them, and issued out of the towne of Vesyouse, and entred into the feldes. They were to the nombre of four C. speares, and as many archeres, and toke the way to Cevyll, and came to a towne called the Bane.[1]

So longe they rode forthe, that they came to the towne of Bane, and ther lyghted afote, on that parte that they thought moost prignable. And ther they set themselfe in array redy to gyve assaute, and so entred into the dykes, which were drie without any water, and so came to the walles, and made a ferse assaut, and myned and underhewed the walles. The same tyme in the towne of Bane there were noo men of warre, but the men of the towne yvell armed; howebeit, they were at their defence, and dyd cast dartes and stones as well as they might, but at length they coulde nat endure but to be taken. Than they began to treat, and so fynally they yelded up the towne, their goodes and lyves saved, sayng howe fro thensforthe they wolde be under the obeysance of the kynge of Portyngale; and so thus they were receyved, and all the men of warre entred into the

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[1] *Lobon.*

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towne, and well refresshed themselfe. Than they went and regarded the castell, and sawe well howe it was prignable; and so that evenyng some of the hoost and they of the castell dyd skrymysshe, and in the mornyng they made assaut, and they within defended themselfe. Within the castell there was capitayne a gentleman of the countrey; howbeit, he was no very good man of warre, as it well apered, and he was called Peter Jagouse: for as sone as he sawe that he was assayled with so many good men of warre, he was afrayd, and fell in treaty, and so yelded himselfe and the castell, his lyfe saved, and suche as were within with him; and so it was taken, and newe refresshed with men of armes and archers. Than they departed and came to another castell, a vii. myle thens, called Courtise.[1] Than they set themselfe in ordre to gyve assaut, and so they dyd right fersly; they that were within defended themselfe ryght valyauntly to their powers: and so at this assaut the capitayne was slayne within the castell, called Radulphes, a right subtle and an expert man of armes; he was slayne with an arrowe, for he adventured himselfe to far at the defence. After that he was deed, the other coulde nat longe endure, and so the castell was taken, and they within moste parte slayne. Thus the Chanone Robersarde and his company had the castell of Courtyse, the whiche was newe fortifyed and repeopled agayne: and than they departed aprochyng to the cyte of Cevyll the great.

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Of the great pillage and proyes done by the Chanone Robarsarde and his company agaynst the kynge of Castyll, and of the discencyon that was among them.

SO moch dyd these men of warr, Englisshmen and Gascoyns, that they came to Jafrey,[2] a x. myle fro Cevyll, whiche was a towne but febly inclosed. But within the towne there was a mynster right stronge, the whiche they of the countrey had fortefyed, and there in they

[1] *Corte.*

[2] *Zafra.*

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were, in trust of the strenght of the place. At the fyrst comyng the towne was taken and brent, and the mynster assayled, the whiche assaut endured but one houre, but that it was won, wherin ther was great pyllage for them that entred fyrst, and there were many men slayne. And than they rode forthe, for they were enfourmed that in a marys therby there was a great boty; for downe in a valey besyde the marys there was mo than xx. thousande beastes, swyne, beufes, kene, and moutons. Of whiche tidynges they had great joy, and so went thyder, and entred into the marys; and so by their fote men all these beestes were driven before them. Than they toke advyse to returne to Vesyous, their olde logynges, and so returned and toke the way thyder, and so came thyder the next day by nyght with all their pray, wherby they were well vitayled: this became of this journey. And whan sir John Ferande was come to Lysbone, to the kyng of Portyngale, and shewed hym howe they hadde sped, and what great pray they had brought to Vesyous, wenyng that the kynge wolde have bene content therwith: but he was nat. For the kynge than sayd to hym, Why thou false traytour, howe durst thou be so hardy agaynst the commaundment that I made, that none of them shulde ryde, to consent to do the contrary, and were thyselfe in their company: by the holy saynt James, I shall cause ye to be hanged. Than the knyght fell on his knees, and sayd, Sir, their capitayne dyd aquyte him well and truly, in obeyng your commaundment; but the resydue cawsed hym to go forthe with them agaynst his wyll, and made me also to go with them to shewe them the wayes in the countre; and sir, syth the journey hath taken good effect, ye ought to pardon it. Howbeit, for all those wordes the kynge made hym to be put in prisone, and so remayned tyll the erle of Cambridge caused him to be delyvered whan he came to Lysbon to the kyng, as ye shall her after.

After that thenglysshmen and Gascons were returned to the towne of Vesyous, and ther taryed a great space, than they determyned to send to the kyng of Portingale for their wages, that they were behynde: and so they sende forthe the lorde Talbot, a baron. And whan he was come to Lysbone, and had spoken with the kynge for that he was come

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for, the kyng answered and sayd, how they had two tymes rydden forth agaynst his commaundement, wherin they had displeased hym, the whiche delayed their payment. And so as than the lorde Talbot coude have non other answere, and so retourned to his company, and shewed them the kynges answere, wherwith they were sore displeased. The same weke therle of Cambridge removed fro Estremuse, and came and lodged at Vesious, in an abbey of Freres without the towne. The knightes and squiers of Englande and Gascone were right gladde therof. Among these companyons ther were some that myght nat forbere their wages so longe, and amonge themselfe they sayd, We are marveylously evyll delt with all: for we have ben here in this countre nyghe the space of a yere, and yet we have had no wages: it can nat be but that our capitayne hath receyved it, for he wolde never have suffred to have forborne it so longe. These sayynges and murmuryng multiplyed so among them, tyll at last they sayd they wolde endure it no lengar. And so amonge themselfe they set a day to speke togyder, in a fayre mynster without the towne, ryght over agaynst the Freres, where as the erle of Cambridge was lodged. And the Chanone Robersarde sayde, he wolde be there; and to say trouthe, it was nedefull for hym so to be, for els the mater hadde ben worse than it was.

In the mornynge, whan they were all assembled, except the Chanon Robersard, for he was nat as than come to them, ther was sir Willyam Beauchampe, sir Mathue Gorney his uncle, the lorde Talbot, sir Wylliam Helmon,[1] and the Gascons, as the lorde de la Barde, the lorde of Newcastell,[2] the Souldyche of Lestrade, and dyvers other. Than they began to speke, and make their complayntes eche to other. And among them ther was a knyght, a bastarde brother of the kyng of Englandes, called sir John Soltier, who was right bolde in spekyng, and sayd, The erle of Cambridge hath brought us hyder; alwayes we are redy to adventure our lyves for hym, and yet he withholdeth our wages: I counsayle, lette us be all of one alyaunce and of one accorde, and let us amonge ourselfe reyse up the baner of saynt George, and let us be frendes to God, and enemyes to all the worlde; for without we make ourselfe to be feared, we gette nothynge.

[1] *Elmham.*

[2] *Castelnau.*

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By my faythe, quod sir Wyllyam Helmon, ye say right well, and so let us do. They all agreed with one voyce, and so regarded among them who shulde be their capitayne. Than they advysed in that case howe they coude nat have a better capitayne than sir John Soltier, for he[1] shulde than have good leyser to do yvell, and they thought he was more metelyer therto than any other. Than they reysed up the penon of saynt George, and cryed, A Soltier, a Soltier, the valyant bastarde; frendes to God and enemyes to all the worlde. And so they were determyned, first to overron the towne of Vesyous, and to make warre agaynst the kyng of Portyngale. Sir Mathewe Gourney, and sir Wyllyam Beauchampe, gave counsayle nat to overron the towne of Vesyous: but their counsayle coude nat be herde. And as they had reysed up the penon of saynt George, and were departyng out of the mynster, the Chanone Robersarde came to them and entred into the prese, and sayde a loude, Fayre lordes, what wyll ye do? have good order and temperaunce in yourselfes, ye se well ye be sore dismayed. Than came to hym sir Johan Soltier, and sir Wyllyam Helmon, and other, and shewed him what they had done, and what they were in purpose to do. Than the Chanone with fayre langage refrayned them, and sayde, Sirs, remembre and ymagin well your dede that ye enterprise, the which methynke is but a folly, and an outrage: we can nat better be distroyed than by ourselfe; if we make warre to this countrey, our enemyes shall here tidynges therof; they shall therby enforce themself, whan they se that we go nat forward: thus we shall lese two maner of wayes: we shall rejose and assure our enemyes, in that they be as nowe in doute of; and also we shall false oure trouthe to therle of Cambridge. Why, quoth Soltier, what wolde ye that we shulde do? we have spende more than oure wages cometh to, and we have had no money sythe we came into Portyngale; thoughe ye be payed and we be nat, yet ye have had a fayre sufferyng.[2] By my fayth, quod the Chanone, I have had no more payment than ye have had, nor without your knouledge, I ensure you, I wyll receyve nothynge. Than some of the knightes that were by sayd, Sir, we beleve you well; but sir, every thyng must have his course; Sir, shewe ye howe we may honourably issue out of this mater,

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[1] *they* (*il aroient*).

[2] *vous avez biau souffrir.*

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and to have hasty delyverance, that we might be payed of our wages, for if we be nat shortely well payed, the mater wyll go yvell. Than the Chanon Robersard began to speke, and sawe well howe the Englysshe companyons were displeased with the kyng of Portyngale, and sawe well money wolde apease them; than he sayd to them thus, Fayre lordes, I counsayle that in the same state that we be nowe in, let us go and speke with therle of Cambridge, and shewe hym all our nedes. That shall be, quoth Soltier, so that ye wyll avowe my sayeng; they were all content so to do. And so in the same maner as they were, they went forth with the penon of saint George before them, and so came to the Freres wher as therle lay; and he was as than goyng to dyner. The companions were mo than vii. C., and so they entred into the court, and demaunded for therle; and he came out of his chambre into the hall to speke with them. Than all the knightes that were ther avaunsed forthe, and Soltier before them, who with a bolde spyrite, spake and sayde, Sir, we are come here into your presens, and dyvers other here without; sir, ye have brought us out of Englande our owne nacion, and sir, ye are our chefe capitayne, and wages have we non, and we can aske none of no man but of you; for as for the kyng of Portyngale, we had never come to do hym servyce, if ye shulde nat have payed us; and sir, if ye wyll say that the warr is nat yours, but the kyng of Portyngals, we shall pay ourself than well ynough of our wages; for first we wyll overron this countre, and than catche it who so wyll after. Soltier, quoth therle, I say nat but that ye shal be payed, but to overron this countrey, ye shall cause me to have great blame of the kyng of Portyngale, and also of the kyng of Englande. Why sir, quoth Soltier, what wolde ye that we shulde do. Sir, quoth therle, I wolde ye shulde take thre of our knightes, one of Englande, another of Almayne, and the thirde of Gascone, and let these thre go to Lysbon to the kyng, and shewe hym what nede ye be in, and complayne of the long delay of payment of your wages; and than if ye have no remedy, ye have more cause to folowe your enterprise. By my faith, quoth the Chanon Robersarde, my lorde here therle of Cambridge speketh sagely and valiantly. And so to that purpose they all determyned. But for all

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that they kept styll with them the penon of saynt George, sayeng, howe sythe they had reysed it by one accorde in the realme of Portyngale, they wolde nat laye it downe agayne as longe as they were there. Than they ordayned them that shulde go to the kyng on this message, and sir Wyllyam Helman was named to go for the Englysshmen, and sir Thomas Symon for the Almaynes, and the lorde of Newcastell for the Gascoyns.

These thre knightes dyde so moche that they came to Lysbone, and there founde the kyng, who made them good chere, and demaunded of theym howe their companye dyde. Sir, quod they, they be all in good poynt, and wolde ryde forthe with ryght a good wyll to enploye their tyme otherwyse than they do or have done, for this lyeng styll is to them nothyng agreeable. Well, quoth the kyng, they shall ryde forthe shortely, and I in their company, and that shewe them fro me. Sir, quod sir Willyam Helman, we are sent hyder fro them to thentent that we shulde shewe you on their behalfes, that sythe they came into this countre they have had nother prest nor wages of you, the whiche they desyre generally to have; Sir, it is a harde thyng to have the love and servyce of men of warre, without they be otherwise payed than they have bene or this; Sir, they have bene in great thought a long space, bycause they coude nat tell to whome they shulde belonge; and sir, they have layde the charge therof on our capitayns, wherby ther was and is lyckely to growe moche yvell: Sir, the capitayns are excused, in that it is knowen, that they have receyved nothyng, and ye knowe well they say truely: Sir, they wyll be payed of their wages, if ye wyll have their servyce, and if ye pay them nat, they certify you by us, that they wyll pay themselfe of yours; Sir, take advyce and make an answere, that we may shewe them your pleasure; they abyde for nothyng els. The kyng than bethought hym a lytell, and sayd, Sir Wyllyam, it is reason they be payed: but they have sore displeased me, in that they have rydden forthe contrary to my commaundement, and if that had nat ben, they had bene all payed or this tyme. Sir, quod sir Wyllyam, if they have rydden, it hath ben to your honour and profyte: they have taken townes and castels, and over rydden the countre of

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your enemyes, almost to Cevyll, whiche was an honorable enterprise: they ought nat to lose their tymes, nor also they wolde nat lose it by their wyls; Sir, at our returne, they say they wyll pay themselfe, without they have some gracious answere of you, other than they have had hyderto. Well, quoth the kyng, within xv. dayes at the farthest, they shal be payed every peny; but say unto therle of Cambridge, that I wyll he come and speke with me. Sir, quoth the knight, ye say well; I shall do your commaundement. And so the king went to dyner, and made them to dyne with hym at his owne table; and so passed that day, and the next day they returned to their company. And as soone as it was knowen they were come home, their company resorted to them, to knowe what tydinges they had brought: and they shewed them all the kynges wordes, so that they were content. Lo, sirs, quoth Soltier, ye may se well, somtyme ryot dothe good: we have well advaunsed forthe our payment with a lytell wyldnesse: he dothe ever well that is feared.

Than these thre knightes went to therle of Cambridge, and shewed hym howe they had sped, and howe the kyng wolde he shulde come and speke with hym at Lysbone. And so therle departed the next day, and rode to Lisbone, and ther he was receyved of his son and his doughter right amiably. And ther the kyng and he made a certayne poyntment to ryde forthe. Than the kyng made his somons through his realme, every man to be in felde bytwene Vesyous[1] and Clemens,[2] the vii. day of June. And so every man made hym redy to be at the sayd place, the day before lymited. At the comyng of therle to Lysbone, sir Johan Ferand was delyvered out of prison. Than therle toke his leave, and retourned to his company, and shewed them of the poyntment, wherof every man was gladde. And anon after came money to pay their wages, and so they were al payed and content, capitayns and other; but alwayes they kept up styll the penon of saynt George.

[1] *Veryous* P.

[2] *Olivenza.*

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How the kynges of Castell, and of Portyngale, assembled their puyssaunces. And howe peace was made bytwene them, agaynst the wyll of thenglyshmen.

KYNG JOHAN of Castyle all this season gadered togider his men of warre out of Fraunce, and other places, so that he had a two thousande speares, knightes and squyers, and four thousand of other, besyde them of his owne countre, wherof he had well a ten thousande a horsbacke, and as many a fote. Whan he knewe howe the kyng of Portingale wolde ryde, he ordayned the more honorably to use his warre, seynge that he knewe hymselfe puyssant bothe of money and of men; and so sent to the kyng of Portyngale, demaundyng of hym to delyver a certayne pese of lande in Portyngale, where as they might determyne batayle, puyssaunce agaynst puyssaunce: and if he refused so to do, than he to offre to delyver hym the same in Spayne. The kynges haralde had the charge to go with this message, and so he rode to Lysbon, and ther dyde his message. The kynge than answered the haralde, and sayd, howe he wolde take advyse in this mater, whiche way he wolde take; and whan he were determyned, than he promysed to sende worde therof to the kynge of Spayne. Than the haralde departed agayne to Cevyll, and there he founde the kyng, and they of Fraunce, of Aragon, and of Galyce, who were as than all come to the kyng. And ther he shewed his answere, so that every man was well content. And it was nat long after, but that the kyng of Portyngale, by the advyse that he had of the Englysshemen, that he shulde delyver a certayne place to do batayle in his owne countrey: and than there was ordayned suche as shulde go and aviewe a place convenyent. And so for that entent went forthe sir Thomas Symon, and the Souldiche of Lestrade, and they advised a place bitwene Clues,[1] and Vale de Lore,[2] whiche was a fayre playne place to fyght on. And these two knyghtes and their company had a scrimysshe as they wente

[1] *Elvas.*

[2] *Badajos.*

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to advyse this place with some of the foreryders of the kyng of Castyls, and there were dyvers hurt and slayne on bothe parties. And so finally they retourned to the kyng of Portyngale, and shewed hym, how they hadde advysed the place, and where it was: wherwith every man was well content. Than the kynge ordayned a knyght of Almayne, named sir Johan Custodore,[1] to go to the kynge of Castyle on that message, and an haralde with hym. And so they departed and rode to Cevyll, and there dyd their message, shewyng hym howe he shulde have place delyvered hym, bitwene Clues, and Vale de Lore; and that within fyve dayes after he departed fro Cevyll, he shulde fynde the kynge of Portyngale there redy to gyve hym batayle; sayeng, howe he desyred nothyng els. Of these tidynges the Spanyerdes were ryght joyfull, and also the Frenchemen: and there the knightes of Spaygne toke the messangers of Portyngale and made them great chere all that day, and helde them as good company as they coude, and the next day brought them to Jafreys, and than retourned. And the messangers retourned to the kyng of Portyngale, and shewed hym howe they had done their message, and the aunswere that they had; wherwith the kynge was well content, and all the other.

It was nat long after, but that the kynge of Portyngale went and lodged hym and his hoost about the same place before advysed, bytwene Clues, and Vale de Lore, in a fayre playne among the olyves, and he was to the nombre of xv. thousande men. And the fourthe day after, thyder came the erle of Cambridge with the Englysshmen in good order, and they were in nombre a sixe hundred men of armes, and as many archers, and so they lodged themselfe joyninge to the kynges company. And whan the kyng of Spayne knewe that the kynge of Portyngale was lodged in the felde, wher as the batayle shulde be, he made semblant as though he had be gladde therof, and sayd, Let us go forthe: our enemyes abydeth us, it is tyme that we ryde; we desyred of them the batayle, and they acorded to us, and so they kepte their promyse as they made; it can be none otherwyse, but that we shall have batayle; lette us drawe thyderwarde. Than it was commaunded, that every man shulde go forwarde; and so they departed out of their logynges all knightes and

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[1] *Tieste-d'or.*

How the kynges of Castell, and of Portyngale, assembled their puyssaunces.

squyers, Genevoys and genetours, and all folowed the kynges baner; and so he went and lodged within two lytell myles of the place apoynted. The kynge of Castyle, with the genetours, was to the nombre of threscore thousande men.

Thus in this maner these two hostes lay the one before thother, and bytwene them the hyll and the towne of Vale de Lore, perteynyng to the kyng of Spayne, and thyder resorted his men, whan they lyst to refresshe them. And the cytie of Clues was on the other parte of the hyll parteyning to the kyng of Portyngale. Bytwene these two hostes and the mountayne, ther was done dayly dedes of armes, by yong knyghtes and bachelers desyring to avaunce themselfe. This they contynued the space of xv. dayes or more. The faut was nat in the kyng of Castell that they had no batayle, but it was rather in the kynge of Portyngale. For he sawe well he was nat stronge ynough to fight with the Spaynierdes, and so douted the parell that myght fall; for he sawe well if he were ther disconfyted, his realme were lost for ever fro hym. And also, all that season he loked ever after the comynge of the duke of Lancastre and his company out of Englande; for he had promysed to bring with hym a foure thousande men of armes, and as many archers. For the erle of Cambridge had certifyed the kyng of Portyngale that he wolde come, and he thought nat the contrary, but that he wolde have come; for the duke of Lancastre at the beginnyng, whan he departed out of Englande, promysed hym by his faythe, that as soone as he were retourned out of Scotlande, that he wolde incontynent come into Portyngale, with suche a nombre as to be able to fight with the kynge of Spaygne. And true it was, the duke of Lancastre dyde all that he might to kepe his promyse; but bycause of the trouble that had ben the same yere in Englande, and for certayne other incydentes that had fallen in Flaunders, the kyng of Englande nor his counsayle wolde nat suffre hym to departe out of Englande; for they wolde nat consent to the voyage into Portyngale at that tyme, nor that any men of warre shulde go oute of Englande. And whan the kyng of Portyngale sawe that he coude have none other conforte of the Englisshmen, than he thought to seke another way. Than the mayster of Castrane,[1]

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[1] *Calatrava.*

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and Dampeter of Modesque,[1] the bysshoppe of Bruges,[2] and the bysshoppe of Lysbon, these entreated for a peace bytwene Portyngale and Spayne; and so moche they dyde, that a peace was taken. But the Englysshmen were never called therto: wherwith therle of Cambridge was sore displeased, and wolde gladly have made warre agaynst the kynge of Portyngale, if he had thought himselfe strong ynoughe in the countre, but he was nat so. Therfore it behoved hym to suffre this peace, whider he wolde or nat. But thenglysshmen sayd, how that the kynge of Portyngale had right yvell delte with them, for ever syth the begynnynge to the endyng, he ever dissymuled with the Spanyerdes, and had never wyll to fyght with them: and the kyng of Portyngale excused hymselfe, and sayd, howe the faute was in the Englysshemen, and in the duke of Lancastre, who shulde have come and dyde nat: wherfore he coude do none otherwyse, but to take peace.

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Howe the kyng of Spaygne was maryed agayne to the kyng of Portyngales doughter.

IN the kyng of Castyls hoost there was a younge knight of Fraunce, called sir Trystram de Roy, who desyred greatly to avaunce his honoure. Whan he sawe the peace was made bitwene the two kynges, and that ther shulde be no batayle, than he determyned nat to go out of Spayn tyll he had done some dede of armes; than he sende an haralde into thenglysshe hoost, requyryng all knightes and squyers, syth the bataile fayled bytwene the two kynges, that some knight or squier wolde answere hym thre courses with a speare, before the cite of Vale de Lore. Whan these tidynges came into the Englysshe hoost, the knightes and squyers spake toguyder, and sayd, howe this offre ought nat to be refused. Than a yonge squyer of Englande, called Myles Wyndsore, who wolde for his honor be made knight in that vyage, sayd unto the haralde, Frende, retourne to your maister, and say to sir Trystram de Roy, that Myles Wynsore sendeth hym worde, that to morowe nexte, before

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[1] *Mendoza.*

[2] *Astorga.*

Howe the kyng of Spaygne was maryed agayne to the kyng of Portyngales doughter.

the cyte of Vale de Lore, he shall ther delyver him of his desyre. The haralde returned, and recorded those tidynges to his maysters, and sir Tristram was right joyouse. The next mornynge Myles Wyndsore departed out of the felde, and rode towarde the cyte of Vale de Lore, whiche was nat farr of. He had no more but the mountayne to passe, and he was well acompanyed: ther was with hym sir Mathue Gourney, sir Wyllyam Beauchampe, sir Thomas Symon, the Souldyche of Lestrate, the lorde of Newcastell, the lorde de la Barde, and dyvers other; there was well a hundred knightes and squiers at the place wher as the batayle shulde be bytwene them. And also than thyder came sir Trystram de Roy, well acompanyed with Frenchemen and Bretons. There Myles Wyndsore was made knight, by the handes of the Souldyche of Lestrade, as of hym that was reputed the best knyght in that company. Thus these two knightes were armed at all peces, and well horsed, with their speares redy in their handes, and so they ranne eche at other, and brake their speares eche upon other rudely, without any other hurt: and than they ran their seconde course. And at the thirde course, they strake eche other so rudely in the myddes of their sheldes, that the speare heedes entred throughe the plates of their harnes to the bare flesshe: but they had no hurt, and their speares brake, and the tronchyons flewe over their heedes into the ayre: this course was praysed of all them that sawe it. And than they toke leave eche of other right honorablye, and retourned every manne to his owne partie. And after, there was no more war used, for ther was peace bytwene bothe realms, and so eyther partie departed and went home.

Thus this army brake up. In the same tyme, tidynges came into the kynge of Spaynes hoost, howe the kynge of Granade made great warre agaynst the kynge of Barbary and the kyng of Traynesamayns; wherfore all suche knightes as wolde go thider shuld be receyved into wages, and that the kynge of Granade wolde sende sure saveconduct for them, and that assone as they be come into Granade, they shulde have prest wages for a quarter of a yere before hande. Wherby certayne knyghtes of Fraunce, as sir Trystram de Roy, sir Geffray Carney, sir Peter Cleremont, and dyvers

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other, toke leave of the kyng of Castyle, and went thyder to seke adventures. And in lykewise so dyde some of the Englysshemen, but nat many. For therle of Cambridge brought them home agayne into Englande, and his son also: wherby it shewed well that he was nat content with the kynge of Portyngale, to take away his son from hym, for all that he had maryed the kynges doughter. He sayde, howe that his sonne coulde nat endure the ayre of the countrey; for all that ever the kynge coulde say or do, the erle wolde nat leave him behynde him, but sayd to the kyng that his sonne was to yong to abyde in Portingale, wherfore it fell after as ye shall here.

About a yere after that this peace was thus made, bytwene Spayn and Portyngale, and that the erle of Cambridge was retourned into Englande, the quene of Castyle dyed, who was doughter to the kyng of Aragon, and so than the kyng of Spayne was a wydower. Than it was debated by the prelates and lordes of bothe countreis, Spayne and Portyngale, that the lady Beatryce of Portingale coude nat be more higher maryed thanne to the kynge of Spayne. And to bring these two realmes in a full accorde and peace, the kyng of Portyngale agreed to that maryage, and devorsed his doughter fro the erle of Cambridge sonne, by the Popes dispensacion, who confyrmed this newe maryage. Thus the kyng of Portyngales doughter was made quene of Spaygne, of Castyle, and of Galyce. And the first yere of the kyng of Spaynes maryage, he had by his wife a fayre sonne, wherof they had great joye. Than after dyed Ferrande kyng of Portyngale. Howbeit, for all that, they of Portingale wolde nat suffre the realme to come to the kynge of Spayne, as in the right of his wyfe, but they made kyng a bastarde brother of the kynges dysceassed, who was called before maister Denys,[1] bastard of Portyngale. This Denys was a ryght valyant man in armes, and alwayes before bare the armes of Portingale. So thus he was crouned kynge, wherby after grewe moche warre bytwene Spayne and Portyngale, as ye shall here after in this boke.

Whan therle of Cambridge and his company were retourned into the realme of Englande, the kyng and the duke of Lancastre made them great chere, as it was reason, and

[1] *Don John, Master of Avis.*

Howe the kyng of Spaygne was maryed agayne to the kyng of Portyngales doughter.

demaunded of them tidynges: and there they shewed all the manere of the warre. The duke of Lancastre, to whome the matere moost touched, bycause of the chalenge that he made to the realme of Castyle, for he named hymselfe as heyre therof, by the right and tytell of his wyfe, the lady Custaunce, somtyme doughter to Dompeter, kyng of Castell: therfore he demaunded of his brother the erle of Cambridge, howe they had demeaned themselfe in Portyngale. Therle shewed hym, howe the two kynges had layen in hoost more than fyftene dayes, the one before the other. And, fayre brother, bycause the kynge of Portyngale coulde here no worde fro you, he lightly accorded to the peace; and we coulde never se that ever he wolde condiscende to batayle, wherof we that were on his partie were sore dyspleased, for we wolde gladly have put it at adventure; and sir, bycause I canne se no sure astate nor trust in them, therfore I have brought agayne with me my sonne, for all that he hath maryed the kynges doughter. Sir, quoth the duke, I thynke ye had good cause, savyng for feare of breakyng of that maryage; for paradventure if the kynge may fynde any advauntage in another place, he wyll than gyve his doughter at his pleasure. By my faythe sir, quod therle, happe what wyll, I thinke I have done nothyng wherof I shulde repent me. And so than they entred into other communycation of other maters.

Nowe lette us leave to speke of them, and of the warres of Spayne and Portyngale, and retourne to the warres of Gaunte, and of the erle and countrey of Flaunders, whiche were right feirse and cruell.

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Of the great necessyte of vytales that they of Gaunt endured, and how they were socoured by them of Liege.

ALL the season after the distruction and brinnyng of the towne of Grauntmont, and of the reysyng of the siege of Gaunt, bycause of the displeasure that the erle of Flaunders had for the dethe of his cosyn, the yonge lorde

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of Dangheyn, slayne by the enbusshment of the Gauntoyse, as ye have herde here before, the knyghtes and squiers, nor good townes, made no warre to them of Gaunt but by garisons. So that all the countre helde with the erle agaynst Gaunt, except the four mestiers, and so by theym some vytayle came into Gaunte. And some vitayle came into Gaunt out of the countie of Alos; but the erle of Flaunders, as sone as he knewe that, he founde remedy. For incontynent he sent to the garyson of Teremont, commaundyng them to overryn and to brenne all the playne countrey of the countie of Alos: whiche was done at his commaundment: so that the poore folkes with their beastes were fayne to flye away into Brabant, and into Haynalte, and the moste parte to go a beggyng. Yet there was a countrey parteynyng to the Foure Mestiers, fro whom ther came ever some ayde or vitayle into Gaunt. Thus all this wynter the erle and they of Flaunders constrayned so sore them of Gaunt, that they coulde have nothyng come to them, nother by lande nor by water; the erle had so wonne his cosyns, the duke of Brabant and duke Aubert, that their countreis were kept close agaynst them of Gaunt, so that nothynge came to them fro thens, without it were by stelth, and by great adventure and parell for them that dyd it. The sage men sayd howe it coulde nat longe endure, but that they must dye for famyne; for all their garners were voyd, and the people coulde gette no breed for no money; and whan any breed was baken in the towne, they were fayne to kepe it by stronge hande, or els the comon people that dyed for hunger wolde have taken it by force. It was great pyte to se and to here the poore people, bothe men, women and chyldren: ye, suche as were right notable fell in this daunger. And every day encreased the complayntes, wepynges and cryes made to Phylyp Dartvell, their soverayne capitayne, who had of them great pytie and compassyon, and made many good orders, wherof he was greatly praysed. For he caused the garners of the abbeys to be opened, and of ryche men, and sette a resonable price of the corne, wherby the towne was greatly conforted; and some corne ther came to them by stelthe out of Holande and Zelande, and tonnes full of flower and bysket breed,

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the whiche greatly conforted them, for they hadde bene longe discomfyted before, if they had nat bene comforted by these sayd countreys. It was defended in all Brabant by the duke, that on payne of dethe, they shulde cary any thyng to Gaunt; but if they of Gaunt wolde jeoparde to fetche any, than they myght gyve them, or sell to them at their pleasure. And whan the tyme of Lent came, than were they in great dystresse, for they had no Lenton stuffe. Than ther departed out of the towne a xii. thousande of sowdyers, and suche as had nothyng to lyve by, but were overcome with famyne. And so they came to the towne of Brusels; the towne closed their gates agaynst them, for they feared them, they knewe nat their thoughtes. Whane they were nere to Brusels, they sende a certayne of their company unarmed to the gate of the towne, and there they desyred them of the towne for God sake to have pytie of them, as to suffer them to have vitayle for their money: saynge, howe they dyed for hunger, and sware, howe they thought none yvell too them, nor to the countrey about. The good men of Brusels had pytie on them, and brought them vytayle for their money. And so they passed their tyme about in the countrey the space of thre wekes, but they coulde entre into no good towne: and so they came to Lovayn, who had pytie on them, and dyde them moche good and refresshyng. Their capitayne and leader was Fraunces Atreman,[1] he made the treaties for them with the good townes. And in this season while they of Gaunt lay in the marches of Lovayne, their capitayne spake with the maysters of the cytie of Lyege; and they had compassyon on them; and so had the bysshoppe of Liege, sir Arnolde Darcle, and promysed them to sende to the erle of Flaunders, and to do so moche as to make their peace: sayeng unto them, A, ye good men of Gaunt, if the countrey of Lyege were as nere to you as Brabant is, or Haynalte, ye shulde be otherwyse comforted by us, than ye be by them, to maynteyne your fraunches. Howebeit, we shall ayde you as moche as we maye; we wyll that ye that be marchauntes, and use marchandyse, may go and come through the countrey, as it is reason, to the somme of fyve or sixe hundred cartes laded with corne, so that the owners of the corne may be truly

[1] *Ackerman.*

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payed therfore: they wyl suffer our marchaundyse to passe thorowe Brabant, they and we are at a peace. And though it be so that Brusels be closed, we knowe it well, it is more for feare than for any yvell wyll, for they have of you great compassyon. But the duke of Brabant, and the duches, at the desyre of their cosyn the erle of Flaunders, inclyneth rather to his parte than to yours, as it is reason, for allwayes great lordes wyll holde eche with other. Of these offers and love that the Legeoyse offered to the Gauntoyse they were therof greatly rejoysed, and thanked them hertlye, and sayd, howe of suche people and frendes the Gauntoyse had great nede.

Fraunces Atreman and the burgesses of Gaunt that were in the cyte of Liege toke leve of the maysters of Liege, who ordayned certayne men to go with them into the countrey, to gette them chares; and so in two dayes they had a sixe hundred charged with corne, wherof they had moost nede; and so they wente forthe with their caryage, and passed bytwene Lovayn and Brusels. And whane Fraunces Atreman came to his company, he shewed them the love and courtesy that they of Liege had offred them, and offereth yet to do; and moreover he sayde, howe he wolde go to Brusels to speke with the duches of Brabant, and to desyre her to fynde some meanes, howe the good towne of Gaunt myght have peace with the erle of Flaunders. And so he sent unto her to knowe her pleasure, and she was contente that he shulde come and speke with her; and so he went to Brusels. The same tyme the duke of Brabant was at Lusenburge; and so this Fraunces, and thre with him, entred into Brusels, and so came to the duches to her lodgyng at Coleberge. The duches had parte of her counsayle about her. Than Fraunces Atreman kneled downe before her, and sayd, Ryght honorable and dere lady, through your benygne grace, may it please you to have pyte and compassion of them of Gaunt, who can come to no mercy with the erle of Flaunders by no meanes. Right dere lady, if by your meanes ye coude cause my lorde therle to discende to some reason, and to have pytie of these poore men of Gaunt, ye shulde do herin a great almes dede; and madame, they of Liege wolde gladly help therto to the best

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of their powers. Than the lady aunswered ryght humbly, and sayd, howe that the discencyon bytwene her cosyn the erle and them of Gaunt displeased her right greatly, and howe that longe or that tyme she wolde gladly there had bene a peace bytwene them, if she coulde have founde any meanes howe. But also she sayd, A, ye sirs of Gaunt, ye have so oft tymes displeased hym, and have holden so marveylous opynions agaynst him, which hath caused him to susteyne styll his displeasur agaynst you. Howbeit, for Goddessake, and for pytie, I shall enploy me herin to do the best I can; I shall sende to him, desyring that he wyll come to Tourney, and there shall be my counsayle. And do you so moche, that ye may have ther the counsayle of Haynalte, and of Liege, as ye say they wyll. Ye truely madame, quoth he, so they have promysed us. Well, quoth the duches, and ye shall se that I shall do the best I can. Madame, quod they, God rewarde you, both bodely and gostly: and so tooke their leave, and departed fro Brusels, and so came to their company and chariotes, who taryed for them. And than they dyd so moch that they came to their towne of Gaunt.

Whan the tydinges came to Gaunt, that their men were retourned, and hadde brought with them mo than sixe hundred chares with vytayle, they were ryght joyfull. Howbeit, all that they brought wolde nat suffyse the towne of Gaunt the space of xv. dayes, yet to them that were disconforted, it was a great comforte. And so there went agaynst this cariage moche people in maner of processyon, and kneled and helde up their handes too the marchauntes that brought it, sayng, A, ye good people, ye have done great almes thus to conforte the meane people of Gaunt, who had nothyng to lyve by, if ye had nat come; fyrst, laude and prayse be to God, and than to you. And so these chares were conveyed into the market place, and there discharged: and so this corne was devyded and delyvered by weight to them that had moost nede; and so fyve thousande of them of Gaunt conveyed agayne these chares into Brabant out of daunger. All this knewe well the erle of Flaunders, beynge at Bruges, and knewe well they of Gaunt were so sore constrayned that they coude nat longe endure. He

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was nothyng sory of their povertie, no more were his counsayle, who wolde gladly have sene the distruccyon of the towne, as Gylberte Mahewe, and his brethern, with other. All this fell in the Lent, in the monethe of Marche and Aprill, the yere of our Lorde God, a thousande thre hundred fourscore and one. The erle of Flaunders was in purpose to come more puissantly than ever he dyd, to lay sieg before Gaunt, and was determyned to entre on the Four Mestiers, and to brinne all before hym, bycause they had ayded Gaunt with vytayle. The erle sent his mynde and entent to all the good townes of Flaunders, commaundyng them to be redy; for the processyon day ones past at Bruges, he sayd, he wolde departe to go and lay siege before Gaunt. And also he wrote to all knyghtes and squiers that helde of him in Heynalt, that they shulde be with hym at Bruges within viii. dayes after.

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The harde aunswere that the erle of Flaunders made to them of Gaunt. And of the nombre of men of armes that were than at Parys in Fraunce.

FOR all the somons that therle of Flaunders made, yet the duches of Brabant, and the duke Aulbert, and the bysshope of Liege, traveyled so moche with therle, that a day was set that their counsayle shulde mete to treat for a peace in the cytie of Tourney; though the erle were lothe therto, yet at the desyre of these lordes, he agreed to have a counsayle for that mater in the cyte of Tourney, the weke after Ester, the yere of our Lorde a thousande thre C. lxxx. and two, and to be there hymselfe. At this day assigned, thyder came the bysshoppe of Lyege, and of the good townes, to the nombre of xii., and sir Lambert of Perney,[1] a right sage knight. Also the duches of Brabant sent thyder the moost notablest persones of her counsayle, and certayne of every good towne. Also duke Albert sent thyder out of the countie of Haynalte his counsayle, as sir Symon de la Layne[2] his baylife, and dyvers other. All these

[1] *Oupey.*

[2] *Lalaing.*

came to Tourney in Ester weke. And they of Gaunt sent thyder xii. notable persons, wherof Phylippe Dartvell was chyfe. And all they of Gaunt were agreed, whatsoever ende these xii. made, so that none of them shulde suffer dethe, if it pleased the erle, they were content to be banysshed Gaunt and the countie of Flaunders, for ever: and so here upon they were concluded. And Philippe Dartvell had so moch pytie of the comon people, that for all the dyspleasure that he had done to the erle, yet he was content to put hymselfe into the erles mercy. And so whan he departed fro Gaunt to go to Tourney, men, women, and chyldren, fell downe on their knees before him, holdyng up their handes, desyring hym, what soever myschefe they endured, that he wolde bring them peace: of the whiche crye he had such pytie, that he was determyned to do as it is shewed before.

The harde aunswere that the erle of Flaunders made to them of Gaunt.

Whan they of Liege, of Heynalt, and of Brabant, hadde ben in Tourney the space of thre dayes after the day apoynted was past, and sawe that the erle came nat, nor was nat comyng, they had great marveyle, and than toke counsayle togyder, and determyned to sende to Brusels to him, and so they dyd; and they sent to him sir Lambert of Perney,[1] and of Brabant, the lorde of Compelant,[2] and of Haynalt, sir Wyllyam of Herman,[3] and sixe burgesses of the thre countreyes. And whan the erle sawe these thre knightes he made them great chere, as it was reason. And whan he knew their message, he aunswered them, howe it was nat his ease to come to Tourney as at that tyme; howebeit, he sayde, bycause they were come, and traveyled to have hym to Tournay, and for the honoure of suche as were come thyder, and at the instance of my lady of Brabant his suster, and of duke Aulbert his cosyn, and the bysshoppe of Liege, he sayd he was content to sende hastely to Tourney a fynall answere, by some of his counsayle. These thre knyghtes coude have non other aunswere of him, as at that tyme, and so they retourned agayne to Tournay, and shewed howe the erle answered them. And a sixe dayes after there came to Tourney from the erle, the lorde of Rasels,[4] and the lorde of Gountris,[5] and sir Johan Wylliam,[6] and the provost of Harlequebec; and they excused therle, bycause

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[1] *Oupey.*

[2] *Crupeland.*

[3] *Herimez.*

[4] *Reighersvliet.*

[5] *Gruthuse.*

[6] *Vilain.*

The harde aunswere that the erle of Flaunders made to them of Gaunt.

he came nat. And than they declared the erles full entent as touchyng the peace, sayng, howe they of Gaunt can have no peace with the erle, without that they wyll generally all maner of men in Gaunt of the ages bytwen xv. and lx. come out of the towne of Gaunt in their shyrtes, bare heeded, with halters about their neckes, and so mete the erle bytwene Bruges and Gaunt, and the erle to doo with them his pleasure, outher to let them lyve, or to put them all to dethe at his pleasure. Whan this aunswere was made, and the relacyon therof declared to them of Gaunt, by the counsayls of these thre countreis, than they were more abasshed than ever they were before. Than the baylyfe of Heynalte sayd to them, Sirs, ye be in great parell, every man take hede to himselfe: I thynke if ye take this way and put yourselfe at his wyll, he wyll nat put all to dethe, that he seyth in his presens. Paradventure some he wyll, as such as hath displeased hym more than other; I thynke he shall have suche meanes of pytie, that paradventure suche as weneth themselfe to be moost in parell, may hap to come to pardon and mercy. Therfore sirs, I wolde counsayle you to take this offre, and refuse it nat, for if ye do, I thynk it wyll be longe or ye recover agayne suche another offre. Sir, quod Phylip Dartvell, we have no such charge to go so far as to bryng the good people of Gaunt into that poynt, for I ensure you they wyll nat so do; for sir, whan we be come agayne to Gaunt, and have shewed them therles pleasur, knowe for trouth they wyll nat do it; if they wyll, I ensure you they shall nat be let for us; sir, we thanke you for the traveyle and good dyligence that ye have hadde in this mater. And so than they of Gaunt toke their leave of the counsayls of these thre countreis, and made well semblant that they wolde in no wyse agre to this purpose: and so departed and returned to Gaunt, through Brabant.

So thus brake up this counsayle at Tournay, and every man went home. Than therle of Flaunders demaunded what aunswer they of Gaunt made, and it was shewed hym. The erle as than sette lytell prise by them, for he knewe well they hadde endured and suffred so moche, that they coulde nere suffre no longar; wherfore he thought he shulde have shortely an honorable ende of the warre, and to bring

Gaunt into that poynt, that all other townes shulde take ensample by it.

The harde aunswere that the erle of Flaunders made to them of Gaunt.

The same season the comons of Parys began agayne to murmure, bycause the kynge came nat thyder. And they feared lest the kyng wolde have come sodenly on them, with a certayn men of warr, and overryn the cytie, and to have put to dethe whome he hadde lyst: and for dought of that parell they made great watche every nyght, in the stretes and market places, and reysed up their cheynes that no man shulde ryde nor entre in among them: and if any persone were founde abrode after ix. of the clocke, without he were well knowen amonge them, he was but deed. So they were in Parys ryche men and other men of armes, to the nombre of xxx. thousande, as well harnessed at all peces as any knyght ought to be; and also they had servauntes right well harnessed, bearynge great malettes of yron and stele, to confounde helmes: and whan they were nombred and viewed, they thought themselfe able to fight with the greatest prince in all the worlde. The people were called the rowtes and malettes of Parys.

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Howe that a fyve thousande Gauntoyse yssued out of Gaunt to fyght with therle, and with them of Bruges, after the aunswere that Phylip Dartvell had shewed them.

WHAN Philyp Dartvell and his company entred agayne into Gaunt, a great nombre of the comon people, desyring nothing but peace, were ryghte joyfull of their comynge, trustynge to here some good tidynges. They came agaynst hym, and coude nat restrayne, but demaunded tidynges, sayng, A, dere sir Phylip Dartvell, rejoyse us with some good worde, let us knowe howe ye have sped: to whiche demaundes Phylippe gave none aunswere, but passed by, holdynge downe his heed. The more he helde his peace, the more the people folowed hym, precyng to here some tydinges; and ones or twise as he rode to his lodgynge warde, he sayde to them that

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Howe that a fyve thousande Gauntoyse yssued out of Gaunt to fyght with therle.

folowed hym, Sirs, retourne to your houses: for this day God ayde you, and to morowe at ix. of the clocke, come into the market place, and than ye shall here the tydinges that I can shewe you: other aunswere coulde they have none of hym, wherof every man was greatly abasshed. And whan Phylippe Dartvell was alighted at his lodgynge, and suche as had bene at Tourney with hym, and every man gone to their owne lodgynges, than Peter de Boyse, who desyred to here some tydinges, came in the evenyng to Phylyps house, and so than they two went togyder into a chambre. Than Peter demaunded of hym howe he had spedde: and Phylippe, who wolde hyde nothyng fro hym, sayd, By my fayth Peter, by that therle of Flaunders hath answered by his counsayle sent to Tourney, he wyll take no maner of persone within the towne of Gaunt to mercy, no more one thanne another. By my faythe, quod Peter, to say the trouthe, he dothe but right to do so: he is well counsayled to be of that opynion, for they be all parte takers as well one as another; nowe the mater is come even after myne entent, and also it was the entent of my good mayster John Lyon that is deed: for nowe the towne wyll be so trowbled, that it wyll be harde ever to apease it agayne; nowe it is tyme to take bridell in the tethe; nowe it shall be sene who is sage and who is hardye in the towne of Gaunt; outher shortly the towne of Gaunt shall be the moost honoured towne in Christendome, or els the moost desolate. At the leest, if we dye in this quarell, we shall nat dye all alone. Therfore Philyp, remembre yourselfe well this night howe ye may make relacyon to morowe to the people, of the determynacion of your counsayle holden nowe at Tourney, and that ye may shewe it in such maner, that the people may be content with you. For ye have allredy the grace of the people, for two causes; one is, bycause of your name, for somtyme Jakes Dartwell, your father, was marvelusly well beloved; the other cause is, ye entreat the people mekely and sagely, as the comon sayng is through out the towne, wherfore the people wyll beleve you to lyve or dye. And at the ende shewe them your counsayle, and saye howe ye wyll do thus and thus, and they wyll all saye the same; therfore it behoveth you to take good advyce in shewyng wordes, wheron lyeth your honour.

CAP. CCCXCVIII

Howe that a fyve thousande Gauntoyse yssued out of Gaunt to fyght with therle.

Truely, quoth Philyppe, ye say trouthe, and I trust so to speke and shewe the besynes of Gaunt, that we who are now governours and capitayns, shall outher lyve or dye with honour. So thus they departed for that nyght eche fro other: Peter de Boyse went home to his howse, and Philyp Dartvell abode styll in his.

Ye may well knowe and beleve, that whan the day desyred was come that Philyp Dartvell shulde generally reporte the effect of the counsayle holden at Tourney, all the people of the towne of Gaunt drewe them to the market place on a Wednisday in the mornyng: and about ix. of the bell, Philyp Dartvell, Peter de Boyse, Peter de Myrt,[1] Fraunces Atreman, and thother capitayns came thyder, and entred up into the comon hall. Than Philyp leaned out at a wyndowe and began to speke, and sayde, O, all ye good people, it is of trouth, that at the desyre of the ryght honourable lady, my lady of Brabante, and the ryght noble duke Aulbert, baylife of Heynalt, Holande, and Zelande, and of my lorde the bysshop of Liege, there was a counsayle agreed and accorded to be at Tournay, and thereat to be personally therle of Flaunders, and so he certyfyed to these sayde lordes, who have nobly aquited themselfe: for they sent thyder ryght notable counsaylours, and knightes and burgesses of good townes. And so they and we of this good towne of Gaunt were ther at the day assigned, lokyng and abyding for the erle of Flaunders, who came nat nor wolde nat come. And whan they sawe that he came nat nor was nat comynge, thane they sente to him to Bruges thre knyghtes for the thre countreys, and burgesses for the good townes; and they traveyled so moche for our sakes, that they went to him to Bruges, and there they founde hym, who made them great chere, as they sayd, and harde well their message. But he answered them and sayd, that for the honoure of their lordes, and for the love of his suster the lady of Brabant, he sayd, he wolde sende his counsayle to Tourney, within fyve or sixe dayes after, so well instructed by him, that they shulde playnly shewe the full of his entencyon and mynde. Other aunswere coude they none have, and so they retourned agayne to us to Tourney. And than the day assygned by therle, there came fro hym to Tourney the lorde of

[1] *De Wintere.*

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Howe that a fyve thousande Gauntoyse yssued out of Gaunt to fyght with therle.

Ranessels, the lorde of Goutris, sir Johan Villayns, and the provost of Harlequebec. And ther they shewed graciously their lordes wyll, and certayne arest of this warre, howe the peace myght be had bytwene the erle and the towne of Gaunt: Fyrst, determynatly they sayd, Therle wyll that every man in the towne of Gaunt, except prelates of churches and religious, all that be above the age of xv. yere, and under the age of lx., that they all in their shirtes, bare heeded and bare foted, with haulters about their neckes, avoyde the towne of Gaunt, and so go a xii. myle thens into the playne of Burlesquans. And there they shall mete the erle of Flaunders, acompanyed with suche as it shall please hym; and so whan he seyth us in that case, holdyng up our handes and cryeng for mercy, than he shall have pytie and compassyon on us, if it please hym. But sirs, I can nat knowe by the relacion of any of his counsayle, but that by shamefull punycion of justyce, there shall suffre dethe the moost parte of the people that shall appere there that day. Nowe sirs, consyder well if ye wyll come to peace by this meanes or nat. Whan Philyp Dartvell had spoken these wordes, it was great pytie to se men, women, and chyldren wepe, and wryng their handes for love of their fathers, bretherne, husbandes, and neyghbours. And after this tourment and noyse, Philyp Dartvell began agayne to speke, and said, Pease, sirs, pease; and incontynent every man was styll. Than he began to speke, and sayde, A, ye good people of Gaunt, ye be her nowe assembled the moost parte, and ye have harde what I have sayde. Sirs, I se none other remedy but shorte counsayle, for ye knowe well what necessyte we be in for lacke of vitayle; I am sure there be xxx. thousande in this towne that dyd eate no breed this xv. dayes passed; sirs, of thre thynges we must of necessyte do the one. The fyrst is, if ye wyll let us enclose ourselfe in this towne, and mure up all our gates, and than confesse us clene to God, and lette us entre into the churches and minsters, and so let us dye for famyn repentant of our synnes lyke martyrs, and such people as noo man wyll have mercy of: yet in this astate God shall have mercy of our soules, and it shal be sayd in every place where it shall be herde, that we be deed valyauntly, and lyke true people.

Howe that a fyve thousande Gauntoyse yssued out of Gaunt to fyght with therle.

Or els secondly, let us all, men, women, and chyldren, go with halters about our neckes in our shyrtes, and crye mercy to my lorde the erle of Flaunders: I thynke his herte wyll nat be so indurate, as whan he seyth us in that astate, but that his hert wyll molefy, and take mercy of his people; and as for myselfe, I wyll be the fyrst of all to apease his displeasure; I shall present my heed, and be content to dye for them of Gaunt. Or els thyrdly, let us chose out in this towne fyve or sixe thousande men of the moste able and best apoynted, and let us go hastely and assayle the erle at Bruges, and fyght with hym; and if we dye in this voiage, at the least it shal be honourable, and God shall have pytie of us, and all the worlde shall say, that valiantly and truly we have kept and maynteyned our quarell. And in this batayle, if God wyll have pytie of us, as aunciantly he put his puissance into the handes of Nabugodonosor,[1] duke and mayster of his chyvalry, by whome the Assyrience were discomfyted, than shall we be reputed the moost honorable people that hath raygned syth the dayes of the Romayns. Nowe sirs, take good hede whiche of these thre weyes ye wyll take, for one of them must ye nedes take. Than suche as were next hym, and had harde hym best, said; A, sir, all we have our trust in you to counsayle us, and sir, loke as ye counsayle us, so shall we folowe. By my faythe, quoth Philyppe, than I counsayle you, let us go with an army of men agaynst the erle: we shall fynde hym at Bruge. And as soone as he shall knowe of our comynge, he wyll issue out to fyght with us, by the pride of them of Bruges, and of such as be aboute hym, who nyght and daye enfourmeth and styreth hym to fyght with us; and if God wyll by his grace that we have the victory, and disconfyte our enemyes, than shall we be recovered for ever, and the moost honoured people of the worlde; and if we be disconfyted, we shall dye honourably, and God shall have pyte of us, and therby all the other people in Gaunt shall escape, and the erle wyll have marcy on them. And therwith they all answered with one voyce, We wyll do thus, we wyll do thus, we wyll make none other ende. Than Philyppe aunswered and sayd, Sirs, if it be your wylles to do thus, than retourne home to your howses, and make redy your harnesse. For to morowe

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[1] *en le main de Judith qui ocist Oloferne qui estoit desous Nabugodonosor dus et maistres de sa chevalerie.*

CAP. CCCXCVIII

Howe that a fyve thousande Gauntoyse yssued out of Gaunt to fyght with therle.

somtyme of the day, I wyll that we departe out of Gaunt, and go towarde Bruges, for the abyding here is nothynge for us profytable: and within fyve dayes we shall knowe if we shall dye or lyve with honoure. And I shall sende the constables of every parysshe fro howse to howse, to chose out the moost able and best apoynted men.

In this astate every man departed out of the market place, and made them redy, and this Wednysday they kept the towne so close, that nother man nor woman entred nor issued out of the towne, tyll the Thursday in the mornyng, that every man was redy, suche as shulde departe; and they were to the nombre of v. thousande men, and nat past, and they had with them two hundred chares of ordynaunce and artyllary, and but vii. cartes of vitayle, fyve of bysket breed, and two tonne of wyne, for in all they hadde but two tonne, and left no more behynd them in the towne. This was a harde departynge, and they that were lefte behynde were hardly bestadde. It was pytie to beholde them that went forthe, and they that abode behynde sayde to them, Sirs, nowe at your departure, ye knowe what ye leave behynde you, but never thynke to come hyder agayne without ye come with honour: for if it be otherwyse, ye shall fynde here nothynge; for as soone as we here tidynges, that ye be outher slayne or disconfytted, we shall sette the towne a fyre, and distroy ourselfe lyke people dispayred. Than they that went forthe, sayd to comfort them, Sirs, pray to God for us, for we truste he shall helpe us and you also, or we retourne agayne. Thus these fyve thousande departed fro Gaunt, with their small provysion; and that Thursday they went and lay a myle without Gaunt, and brake nat up their provisyon, but passed that nyght with such thynges as they founde abrode in the countre. And the Friday they went forth, nat touchyng as yet their vitayle, for the foregers founde somwhat in the countre, wherwith they passed that day, and so lodged a sevyn myle fro Bruges, and ther rested and toke a place of grounde at their devyse, abyding their enemyes. And before them there was a great plasshe of standynge water, wherwith they fortifyed themselfe on the one parte, and on the other parte with their caryages. And so they passed that night.

CAP. CCCXCIX

Of the order of the batayle of the Gauntoise, and howe they disconfited the erle and them of Bruges, and by what meanes.

AND whan it came to the Saturday in the mornyng, the weder was fayre and clere, and a holyday called in Bruges, for that day of custome they made processyons. Than tydinges came to them, howe the Gauntoyse were come thyder. And than ye shulde have sene gret murmuringes in Bruges, so that, at last, worde therof came to therle and to his company; wherof the erle had great marveyle, and sayde, Beholde yonder ungracyous people of Gaunt, I trowe the Devyll hath brought them to their distruction; nowe is the tyme come to have an ende of this warre. And so thanne his knightes and squyers came to hym, and he receyved them graciously, and sayd to them, We shall go and fyght with yonder unhappy people of Gaunte; yet, quod the erle, they had rather dye by the swerde than by famyne. Than the erle was counsayled to sende thre men of armes into the felde, to se the demeanoure of his enemyes. And so than the marshall of Flaunders apoynted out thre squyers, valyaunt men of armes, to go and se the behavyng of the Gauntoyse, as Lambert of Lambres, Damas of Buffey,[1] and Johan of Beart; and so they thre departed fro Bruges, and rode towarde their ennemyes. And in the meane tyme, whyle thes thre went forthe, they of Bruges made them redy to yssue out to go and fyght with the Gauntoyse. Of whom I shall shewe somwhat of their order.

This Saturday in the mornynge, Phyllyppe Dartvell ordayned and commaunded that every man shulde make hym redy to God, and caused masses to be songe in dyvers places, by certayne freers that were with him; and so every man confessed hym, and prayed to God for grace and mercy. And ther were certayne sermons made, enduryng an hour and an halfe; and there it was shewedde to people by these freers and clerkes, figurynge them to the people of

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[1] *Bussy.*

Of the order of the batayle of the Gauntoise.

Israell, whome kynge Pharaon kepte long in servytude: and howe after by the grace of God they were delyvered, and ledde into the lande of behest by Moyses and Aaron, and kyng Pharaon and the Egypciens slayne and taken. In lyke wise, quod these freers, ye good people, ye be kept in servytude by youre lorde the erle of Flaunders, and by your neighbours of Bruges, before whome nowe ye be come, and shall be fought with by all lykelyhode, for your enemyes have great wyll to fight with you, for they feare lytell your puyssaunce: but sirs, take no hede to that, for God, who knoweth and seythe all thynge, shall have mercy on you: nor thynke nothynge of that ye have lefte behynde you, for ye may well knowe, it is without recoveraunce if ye be disconfyted; therfore sell your lyves valyantly, and dye if there be none other remedy honorably. And be nat dismayed thoughe great puyssaunce of people yssue oute of Bruges agaynst you, for vyctorie lyeth nat in puyssaunce of people, but it is all onely in God; and by his grace, it hath ben often tymes sene, as well by the Macabeus, as by the Rhomayns, that a small people of good wyll, trustynge in the grace of God, hathe disconfyted a great nombre of people. And sirs, in this quarell ye have good right and a juste cause, and therfore by many reasons ye ought to be hardy and of good confort. Thus with suche wordes and other, these freers preched to the people that mornynge, wherwith they were well content. And thre partes of the hoost were houseled, shewynge theymselfe to have great trust in God. And after these masses songe, than they assembled toguyder on a lytell hyll, and there Phylyppe Dartvell, by great sentence, shewed them fro poynt to poynt the ryght that they thought they had in their quarell; and howe that often tymes the towne of Gaunt had requyred their lorde the erle to have mercy on them, but they coulde never come to no poynt with hym, but to the great confusyon and domage of the towne of Gaunt, and to the enhabytauntes therof; also sayeng, howe they were than come so far forthe, that to recule agayne they coude nat: and also than to retourne, all thynges consydered, they coude wynne nothynge therby, for they hadde lefte nothynge behynde them but povertie and hevynesse; and moreover he sayd, Sirs, thynke nother of your wyves nor chyldren, but thynke of your honour. Thus suche fayre wordes Philyppe Dartvell shewed among them, for he was well langaged, and coude speke right well, and well it became hym; and finally he sayd, Now fayre lordes, lette us truely and equally departe oure vitayle eche to other lyke bretherne without any maner of outrage: for whan this is spende it must behove us to seke for newe, if we thinke to lyve. And so than right humbly the chayres were discharged, and the bred was devyded by the constables, and the two tonnes of wyne, the bottomes were set upwarde. And so there they dyned with the bredde and with the wyne, and were contente with their small repaste for that tyme, and felt themselfe better disposed, bothe in courage and in their membres, thane and they had eaten more meate. And whane this dyner was past, than they set themselfe in order, and drewe themselfe within their rybaudeux, the whiche were hyghe stakes, bounde with yrone and sharpe poynted, whiche they used ever to beare with them in their warre; and so they set them before their batayle, and closed themselfe within them. And in this estate the thre squyers that were sende fro therle to se their demeanynge founde them: for they aproched so nere, that they might well aviewe them, for they came juste to their stakes; but the Gauntoyse never styrred for all theym, but lette them alone, and made semblaunt that they were right joyefull of their comynge.

CAP. CCCXCIX

Of the order of the batayle of the Gauntoise.

Than these currours rode to Bruges to therle, and founde hym in his lodgyng, with a great nombre of knightes and squyers with hym: so they came through the preace to the erle, and they spake out aloude, bycause the erle wolde they shulde be herde. And so there they shewed howe they hadde rydden so nere to the Gauntoyse, that they myght have shotte at them if they had lyst, but they suffred them to passe peasably; and also they shewed how they had sene their baners. Than the erle demaunded what nombre of people they were by estymacyon: they answered, that surely as farre as they coude discry, they past nat a fyve or sixe thousande. Than the erle sayd, Well, let every man appareyle hymselfe, I wyll go fight with them: they shall nat departe without batayle. And therwith the trumpettes dyde sowne

CAP. CCCXCIX

Of the order of the batayle of the Gauntoise.

throughe Bruges, and than every man armed him, and assembled in the market place, and set themselfe in order with their baners, as was the usage. And before the erles lodgynge assembled lordes, knightes, and squyers. Whan every thing was redy, than therle went to the market place, and sawe there great nombre of people well ordred and araynged, wherof he rejoysed; and so at his commaundement every man drewe in bone order into the feldes. It was great pleasure to beholde them: they were a xl. thousande armed men. And so, what a horsbacke and a fote, they came nere to the place where the Gauntois were, and there they rested: and by that tyme that therle was come thyder, it was past noone and the sonne began to declyne. Than some sayed to the erle, Sir, ye se yonder your enemyes, they be but a handefull of men, as to the regarde of your company, and sir, they can nat flye away; we wolde counsayle you nat to fight with them this night. Let them alone tyll to morowe, and sir, therby ye shall se what they wyll do; they shall be febler than they be nowe, for they have nothynge to eate. The erle acorded well to that counsayle, and wolde that it shulde so have ben done; but they of Bruges were so hote and hasty to fight, that they wolde nat abyde, but sayd, Set on them, they shall nat long endure. And so than they of Bruges began to shote gonnes at them. And than they of Gaunt discharged at ones thre C. gonnes at one shotte, and so tourned about the plasshe of water, and caused the son to be in the eyen of them of Bruges, the which greved them sore, and so entred in among them and cryed Gaunt. And as soone as they of Bruges herde them crye Gaunt, and herde so many gonnes come in among them, and sawe howe they set full front on them, lyke falsherted people and of yvell courage, they gave way to the Gauntois to entre in among them; and so without any defence they cast downe their weapens and tourned their backes. Than the Gauntoyse, seyng well howe their enemyes were disconfyted, kept themselfe styll close toguyder, and beate downe on bothe sydes and before theym, and ever wente forth cryeng Gaunt; sayeng also, Folowe, Folowe, our enemyes are discomfyted, and let us entre into Bruges with them; God hath regarded us this

CAP. CCCXCIX
Of the order of the batayle of the Gauntoise.

evenyng by his pytie. And as they sayd, so they dyd, for they pursued them of Bruges sharplye; and as they overtoke them they slewe them, and taryed nat, but kept on styll their way, and ever they of Bruges fledde on before: there were many slayne and beaten downe, for among them of Bruges there was no defence. I trowe there was never so unhappy people, nor more recreantly maynteyned themselfe, for all the great pride and bobance that they were of before. Some wolde thynke and suppose by ymaginacyon that there had ben some treason, the whiche was nat so; it was non other but their symple defence and yvell fortune that fell on them.

CAP. CCCC

Howe the towne of Bruges was taken by the Gauntoyse, and howe the erle of Flaunders saved hymselfe in a poore womans house in the towne of Bruges.

WHAN the erle of Flaunders and the company that was about him sawe the yvell order and rule of them of Bruges, and sawe howe they were discomfyted by their owne follye, and coude se no recouveraunce, for they fledde awaye before the Gauntoyse, therle than was abasshed, and all they that were about him, and so discomfyted, that they fledde away, every man to save hymselfe. Of a trouthe, if they of Bruges wolde have retourned agayne, and assayled the Gauntoyse with their helpe, they had bene lykely to have recovered all agayn; but they saw no remedy, for they fledde towarde Bruges as fast as they myght: the fader taryed nat for the sonne, nor the sonne for the fader. So than the men of armes and all brake their array, but they hadde no lyst to take the way to Bruges: the prease was so great in the way towarde Bruges, that it was marvayle to se and to here the clamoure and crye of them that were slayne and hurt; and the Gauntoyse folowyng them of Bruges, cryeng, Gaunt, Gaunt, styll goynge forward, and beatyng downe of people. The

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moost parte of the men of armes wolde nat put themselfe in that parell; howbeit, therle was counsayled to drawe to Bruges, and to be one of the first that shulde entre, and than to close the gates, to thentent that the Gauntoys shulde nat be lordes of Bruges. Therle seyng none other remedy, nor no recoveraunce by abydynge in the felde, for he sawe well every man fledde, and also it was darke nyght, wherfore he beleved the counsayle that was gyven hym, and so toke the way towarde Bruges, with his baner before him, and so came to the gate, and entred with the first and a xl. with him. Than he set men to kepe the gate, and to close it if the Gauntoyse dyde folowe: than the erle rode to his owne lodgyng, and sende all about the towne, commaundyng every man, on payne of dethe, to drawe to the market place. Thentensyon of the erle was to recover the towne by that meanes; but he dyde nat, as ye shall here after.

In the meane tyme that therle was at his logyng, and sende forthe the clerkes of every warde fro strete to strete, to have every man to drawe to the market place, to recover the towne, the Gauntoise pursewed so fiersly their enemyes, that they entred into the towne with them of Bruges; and assone as they were within the towne, the first thyng they dyde, they went streyght to the market place, and there set themselfe in array. The erle as than had sende a knight of his, called Sir Robert Marshall, to the gate, to se what the Gauntoise dyde; and whan he came to the gate, he founde the gate beaten downe, and the Gauntoyse maisters therof: and some of them of Bruges met with hym and sayd, Sir Robert, retourne and save yourselfe if ye can, for the towne is won by them of Gaunt. Than the knight retourned to therle as fast as he might, who was comyng out of his lodgynge a horsebacke, with a great nombre of cressettes and lyghtes with hym, and was goyng to the market place; than the knight shewed therle all that he knewe. Howebeit, the erle, wyllyng to recover the towne, drewe to the market place; and as he was entryng, such as were before hym, seyng the place all raynged with the Gauntoyse, sayd to therle, Sir, retourne agayne; if ye go any farther, ye are but deed, or taken with your enemyes, for they are raynged on the market place, and do abyde for you. They shewed hym

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trouthe. And whan the Gauntoyse sawe the clerenesse of the lyghtes, comyng downe the strete, they sayd, Yonder cometh the erle, he shall come into oure handes. And Philyppe Dartvell had commaunded fro strete to strete, as he wente, that if the erle came among theym, that no man shulde do to hym any bodely harme, but take hym alyve, and than to have hym to Gaunt, and so to make their peace as they lyst. Therle, who trusted to have recovered all, came ryght nere to the place where as the Gauntoyse were. Than dyvers of his men sayd, Sir, go no farther, for the Gauntoyse are lordes of the market place and of the towne; if ye entre into the market place, ye are in daunger to be slayne or taken: a great nombre of the Gauntoyse are goynge fro strete to strete, sekynge for their ennemyes: they have certayne of them of the towne with them, to bringe them fro house to house, where as they wolde be: and sir, out at any of the gates ye cannat yssue, for the Gauntoyse are lordes therof; nor to your owne lodgynge ye cannat retourne, for a great nombre of the Gauntoyse are goyng thyder. And whan therle herde those tidynges, whiche were right harde to hym, as it was reason, he was greatly than abasshed, and ymagined what parell he was in. Thane he beleved the counsayle, and wolde go no farther, but to save hymselfe if he myght, and so tooke his owne counsayle: he commaunded to put out all the lyghtes, and sayd to them that were about hym, I se well there is no recovery; let every man departe, and save hymselfe as well as he may. And as he commaunded it was done: the lyghtes were quenched and cast into the stretes, and so every man departed. Therle than went into a backe lane, and made a varlette of his to unarme hym, and dyd cast away his armure, and put on an olde cloke of his varlettes, and than sayd to hym, Go thy way fro me, and save thyselfe if thou canst, and have a good tonge, and thou fall in the handes of thyne enemyes; and if they aske the any thyng of me, be nat beknowen that I am in the towne. He answered and sayd, Sir, to dye therfore, I wyll speke no worde of you. Thus abode there the erle of Flaunders all alone; he might than well saye, that he was in great daunger and harde adventure, for at that tyme, if he had fallen in the handes of his

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enemyes, he had bene in daunger of dethe. For the Gauntoyse went fro house to house, serchyng for the erles frendes; and ever as they founde any, they brought them into the market place, and there without remedy, before Philyp Dartwell and the capitayns, they were put to dethe. So God was frende to the erle, to save him out of that parell; he was never in suche daunger before in his lyfe nor never after, as ye shall here after in this hystorie.

This about the hour of mydnight the erle went fro strete to strete, and by backe lanes, so that at last he was fayne to take a house, or els he had be founde by them of Gaunt; and so as he went about the towne he entred into a poore womans house, the whiche was nat mete for suche a lorde. Ther was nother hall, palys, nor chambre; it was but a poore smoky house; there was nothyng but a poore hall, blacke with smoke, and above a smale plancher, and a ladder of vii. steppes to mount upon; and on the plancher there was a poore couche, wher as the poore womans chyldren lay. Than therle sore abasshed and trymblyng at his entryng said, O good woman save me; I am thy lorde therle of Flaunders; but now I must hyde me, for myne enemyes chase me, and if ye do me good now, I shall rewarde you herafter therfore. The poore woman knewe hym well, for she had ben often tymes at his gate to fetche almes, and had often sene hym as he went in and out a sportyng. And so incontynent as hap was she answered; for if she had made any delay, he had bene taken talkynge with her by the fyre. Than she sayd, Sir, mount up this ladder, and ley yourselfe under the bedde that ye fynde there, as my chyldren slepe. And so in the meane tyme the woman sat downe by the fyre with another chylde that she had in her armes. So the erle mounted up the plancher as well as he myght, and crept in bytwene the couche and the strawe, and lay as flatte as he coude; and evyn therwith, some of the rutters of Gaunt entred into the same hous, for some of them sayd, how they had sene a man entre into the house before them; and so they founde the woman syttyng by the fyre with her chylde; than they sayd, Good woman, where is the man that we sawe entre before us into this house, and dyde shytte the dore after hym. Sirs, quod she, I sawe no man entre into

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this house this nyght; I went out right nowe and cast out a lytell water, and dyd close my dore agayne; if any were here, I coulde nat tell howe to hyde hym; ye se all the easement that I have in this house; here ye may se my bedde, and here above this plancher lyeth my poore chyldren. Than one of them toke a candell and mounted up the ladder, and put up his heed above the plancher, and sawe ther none other thyng but the poore couche, where her chyldren lay and slept. And so he loked all about, and than sayde to his company, Go we hens, we lese the more for the lesse; the poore woman sayth trouth, her is no creature but she and her chyldren; and than they departed out of the house. After that ther was none entred to do any hurt. All these wordes the erle herde ryght well where as he laye under the poore couche: ye may well ymagin than that he was in great feare of his lyfe: he might well saye, I am as nowe one of the poorest princes of the worlde, and myght well say, that the fortunes of the worlde are nothynge stable. Yet it was a good happe that he scaped with his lyfe; howebeit, this harde and peryllous adventure myght well be to hym a spectacle all his lyfe after, and an ensample to all other.

Nowe let us leave the erle of Flaunders in this harde estate, and speke of them of Bruges, and howe the Gauntoyse parceyvered.

CAP. CCCCI

Howe they of Gaunte spared the marchauntes straungers; and howe the erle parted fro Bruges and went to Lysle; and howe he was receyved there joyously.

FRAUNCES ATREYMAN was one of the chefe capiteynes of these rutters; he was sent by Philyppe Dartvell and by Peter de Boyse, to seke aboute Bruges for their enemies, and to kepe the markette-place all nyght tyll the next day, that they might se that they were lordes of all the towne. And they were straytely commaunded that they shulde do no hurte to any marchaunt

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straunger beyng than in Bruges, sayeng, howe it were no reason that they shulde take hurte for their warre. This commaundement was well kept. The chefe occasyon fell on the Foure Mestyers, for they had alwayes ben favourable to the erle, before Andwarpe and in other places. The Gauntoyse went all about serchyng for them, and as they were founde they were slayne without mercy. The same nyght there were slayne mo than xii. hundred what of one and other, with many other robberyes and yvell dedes, the whiche came nat all to knowledge; as dyvers houses robbed and pylled, women defoyled and distroyed, and coffers broken up; so that the moost poorest of Gaunt were than become riche.

The Sondaye in the mornynge the joyfull tidynges came to the towne of Gaunt, howe that their company had disconfyted the erle and all his chivalry, and were lordes and maysters of Bruges. Ye may well beleve and knowe that this tidynges greatly rejoysed the people, beyng before in tribulacyon; and so for joye they made dyvers processyons, laudynge God, in that he had so regarded them with his eye of pytie, and so conforted them as to gyve them vyctorie of their enemyes. And so alwayes there came fresshe tidynges to theym of their vyctorie, wherby they were so rejoysed that they wyst nat what to do. The lorde of Harsels, who was as than abidynge in Gaunt, if he had taken the same Sonday or the Monday after a thre or foure thousande men in harnesse, and gone to Andwarpe, he had taken the towne at his pleasure; for they of the towne were so abasshed whan they herde the tidynges, that nigh for feare they had fledde out of the towne into Heynaulte, or into other places, to have saved themselfe: therto they were redy aparelled. But whan they sawe that they of Gaunte came nat to them warde, than courage came to them: and also suche knyghtes as came thyder dyde confort them, as sir Johan Bernage, sir Tyrrey du Ban,[1] and sir Flureant of Hurle. These thre knightes conforted them of Andwarpe, unto suche tyme as sir Damas of Hallone came thyder fro the erle, as ye shall here after.

Ther were never people that dyde with their enemyes as they of Gaunte dyde with them of Bruges; they dyde hurt no man of any of the smale craftes of the towne, without he

[1] *Anvaing.*

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were sore accused. Whan Philyp Dartwell and the capitayns of Gaunt sawe how they were lordes of Bruges, and all at their commaundement and under their obeysaunce, than they made a crye, that every man, on payne of dethe, shulde drawe to their logynges, and nat to robbe nor pylle, nor to make no debate, without they were commaunded. Than it was enquered if any man knewe where therle was become: some sayd, howe he was fledde the Saturday, and some other sayd howe he was styll in the towne, hyd and coude nat be founde. The capitayns of Gaunt toke lytell hede therof, for they were so rejoysed with their vyctorie, that they cared for nothynge, nother for erle, baron, knight, nor other in all Flaunders: they reputed themselfe so great, that they thought to have all under their obeysance. Than Philyp Dartvell and Peter de Boyse remembred that whan they departed fro Gaunt they left no vitayle nor other purveyaunce in the town: therfore they sent streyght a certayne nombre of men to Dan and to Scluse, to thentent to be lordes therof and of the vitayle in them: and whan suche as were sent came to Dan, they opyned the gates to them, and all that was in the towne was put into their handes, and every thyng at their commaundement. Than there was taken out of the fayre cellers the good wynes of Poyctou, of Gascone, and of Rochell, and of other farre countreis, a fyve or sixe thousande tonnes; and it was layde into shippes and into chares and conveyed to Gaunt, what by lande and by water. And than they went farther and came to Scluse, whiche towne incontynent was opyned to theym, and put under their obeysaunce; and there they founde great quantyte of corne and meale, in shyppes and cellers of marchauntes straungers: so all was bought and payed for, and sende to Gaunt by water and by lande. Thus the towne of Gaunt was refresshed and delyvered fro misery by the grace of God, otherwyse it coude nat have ben done. The Gauntoys than ought well to remembre, that God playnly had holpen them, seyng that fyve thousande men nere famysshed, disconfyted xl. thousande men at home at their owne doores. The capitayns nor they had no cause to be proude therof; but they were so proude therof, that God was displeased with theym. And that was well sene or the yere passed, CAP. CCCCI

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as ye shall her after in the storie, to gyve ensample to all people.

I was enformed, and I beleve it well, that the Sonday at night the erle of Flaunders yssued out of the towne of Bruges, by what meanes I cannat saye. If any dyde helpe to make his way I cannat tell; but I beleve yes. He yssued out afote all alone, in an olde symple cloke; and whan he was in the feldes he was joyfull, for than he might well say howe he had escaped a daungerous passage: and so went forthe at adventure, and went to a thicke busshe, to se what way he myght take, for he knewe nat well the wayes, nor he was nat wonte to go afote. And as he stode under a thicke bussh in the night, he herde by adventure a man speke as he came by, and it was a knight of his, who had maried his bastard doughter, and he was called sir Robert Marshall. Therle knewe hym well by his wordes, and as he passed by, he said, Robert, are ye there. The knight, who knewe the erle well by his speche, sayde, A sir, ye have made me this day to seke in many places for you about Bruges; howe are ye gette out? Let us go our way, quod the erle; it is no tyme to tell our adventures; I pray you let us do so moche that I may have a horse, for I am sore wery with goyng afote, and I pray you, let us take the way to Lysle, and ye knowe it. Yes, sir, quoth the knight, I knowe it well. And so they wente forthe all that nyght tyll it was the next mornyng, or they coude get a horse, and yet they coude gette none; but the first that they founde was a mare, the whiche they toke fro a poore man in a vyllage. So the erle lept on her without sadyll or panell, and at night came to Lysle, wher the moost parte of his knightes that fledde out of the felde were come thyder, some afote, some a horsebacke, and some were gone into Hollande and into Zelande, as sir Guy of Guystels. He arryved at a good port: for he founde in Zelande in a towne there therle Guy of Bloyes, who made hym good chere, and departed largely with hym, and wylled him to tary ther with hym as long as it shulde please hym. Thus they that were desolate were reconforted by the lordes that they resorted unto, who had pyte on them, as it was reason, for noblenesse and gentylnesse ought to be ayded by nobles and gentyls.

CAP. CCCCII

Of the great richesse that the Gauntoyse founde in Bruges; and howe all the townes of Flaunders yelded them to Gaunte, except Andwarpe.

THE tidynges spredde abrode into dyvers countreis of the disconfyture of them of Bruges, and of therle their lorde, done by the Gauntois, wherwith ther were divers people rejoysed, and specially commynalties. All the good townes aboute Gaunt and in the bysshoprike of Liege were as joyfull as thoughe the mater had ben their owne; in lykewise so were they of Rohan and Parys in Fraunce, if they durst have spoken it. And whanne Pope Clement herde therof, he bethought hym a lytell, and sayde, Surely this disconfyture was a stroke of God, to gyve ensample to the erle; and that God had sende him that tribulacion, bycause he was rebell against his opinyons. Also other great lordes in Fraunce and in other places sayd, howe the erles adversytie was nat greatly to be complayned, for he had well deserved to beare it: for he had ben so presumptuous that he loved no lorde, neighbour, Frenche kyng, nor other, wherfore they complayned lesse his persecucyons. Howbeit, it is an olde sayng, He that hath any yvell fortune, men wyll speke the worst therof. And specially they of the towne of Lovayne were greatly rejoysed with the victory of the Gauntoyse and of the erles trouble, for they were but in harde case with the duke of Brabant their lorde, who was in purpose to make them warr, and to beate downe their gates, to kepe them therby the rather under. Also it was sayd in the towne of Lovayn, that if Gaunt hadde bene as nere them as Brusels was, they wolde have joyned togyder, and have been all one. Of all their wordes and devyses the duke and duches of Brabant were enformed; but it behoved them as at that tyme to close their eyen and to holde downe their heedes, for it was no tyme for them than to speke.

Thus they of Gaunt beynge in Bruges, devysed many newe thynges: and among other they devysed to beate downe two gates that were towarde Gaunt, and to fyll the

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dykes, to thentent that they of Bruges shulde never rebell after against Gaunt; and whan they shulde departe, to take with them a fyve hundred men of them of Bruges, to thentent to kepe them in the more feare and subjectyon. Thus in the meane season whyle these capitayns were at Bruges, beatyng downe gates and walles, and fillyng of dykes, they sent to Ipre, to Courtray, to Berges, to Cassell, to Propringue, to Bourbourc, and to all the townes and castels of Flaunders on the see cost, that they shulde be all under the obeysaunce of them, and to sende them the keyes of their townes and castels, submittynge themselfe to their obeysaunce and servyce. And so they all obeyed, none durst say agaynst it, but came all to Bruges, puttyng themselfe under the obeysaunce of Philyppe Dartvell and Peter de Boise; for these two named and wrote themselfe soverayn capitayns of all other, and specyally Philyppe Dartvell was he that moost besyed himselfe with the charge of all Flaunders; and as longe as he abode in Bruges he kept the estate of a prince, for every day he had playenge at his lodgyng dore mynstrels, dyner and supper, and was served in vessell of sylver, as thogh he had been the erle of Flaunders. And well he myght kepe than that estate, for he had all the erles vessell, golde and sylver, and all his jeowels founde in his house at Bruges: ther was nothyng saved. Also there was sent a certayne nombre of Gauntoyse to Merlle,[1] a fayre house of the erles, standyng halfe a myle fro Bruges: they that went thyder dyd moche hurt, for they brake downe all the howse, and brake downe the fownte wherin the erle was christned, and layd in charyotes all the golde and sylver jeowels, and other thynges that they founde ther, and sent it to Gaunt. The terme of xv. dayes there was goyng and comynge with caryages fro Bruges to Gaunt, with their pyllage that they had get that journey: it was harde to exsteme the profyte that they gate there.

And whane they of Gaunt had done all their wyll and pleasure in the towne of Bruges they sent a five hundred of the notablest burgesses of the towne to Gaunt, to lye ther in hostage; and Fraunces Atreman and Peter de Myter,[2] and a thousande of their men, conveyed theym thyder. And Peter de Boyse abode as capitayne of Bruges tyll the gates

[1] *Male.*

[2] *De Wintere.*

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and walles were beaten downe and the dykes fylled. And Philyppe Dartvell departed with four thousande men, and went to Ipre, and there all maner of people came out agaynst hym, and receyved him as honourably as though he had bene their owne naturall lorde that had come first to his lande; and there they all dyd put themselfe under his obeysaunce, and there he made newe mayres and aldermen, and made newe lawes. And to him came thyder they of Cassell, of Bergues, of Bourbourcke, and of Propringue; they all submytted themselfe under his obeysaunce, and sware to him faythe and trouthe, and to holde of hym as to their lorde the erle of Flaunders. And whan he had thus done, and taken the assurance of them, and had taryed at Ipre the space of viii. dayes, than he departed and came to Courtray, where as he was also receyved with great joy, and there he taryed thre dayes. And than he sent messangers and letters to Andwarpe, commaundynge them to come to hym, and to be under his obeysaunce, seyng howe all the countrey was tourned to them of Gaunt, and howe they were behynde, and dyd nat as other dyd; wherfore he sent them worde surely, that the Gauntoyse shulde lay siege to them, and nat to departe tyll they had the towne, and slayne all them within. Whan these tydinges and message came to Andwarpe, sente fro Philyp Dartvell, than the thre knyghtes answered hotely, and sayde, howe they set but lytell by the manassyng of a sonne of a tryer of hony, nor that the herytage of therle their lorde shulde be so sone gyven to him, nor to none suche, sayeng howe they wolde defende it to dye in the quarell. Thus the messangers retourned agayne to Courtrey.

CAP. CCCCIII

Howe therle of Flaunders was at Lysle, and howe Andewarpe was besieged by the Gauntoyse and Flemynges.

WHAN Philyp Dartvell herde his messanger speke and report howe they of the garyson of Andwarpe sette nothynge by hym, than he sware, that whatsoever it cost him, or the countrey of Flaunders, he wolde nothyng entende tyll he had taken that towne and cast it downe to the erth, he was so sore dyspleased; he thought this to do had bene well in his puyssaunce, seynge that all Flaunders was inclyned to hym. Whan he had sojourned a sixe dayes at Courtrey, and had renewed their lawe, and hadde taken fealtie and homage of them, as though he had bene erle of Flaunders, than he returned to Gaunt, and ther he was met with procession, with so great joye, that the erle their naturall lorde was never so honourably receyved. The people worshypped hym lyke their God, bycause he gave the counsaile wherby their towne recovered their estate and puissaunce; for it coude nat be estemed the great riches and welth that came daily to them by water and by lande fro Bruges, fro Dan, and fro Sluce; and the lofe of breed that in thre wekes togyder was worth an olde grote, was than worthe but four mytes; and the wyne that was worth xxiiii. grotes, was than valued but at two grotes. As than every thynge in Gaunt was better chepe than at Tourney or at Valencennes. Philyppe Dartvell than kepte a great stable of good horses, lyke a great prince, and he was as well stuffed in all thynge in his howse as though he had bene erle of Flaunders, and better than therle was apoynted at Lysle. And also he had through all Flaunders his offycers, bayliffes, constables, receyvours, and other, who dayly brought him substaunce, wherby he maynteyned his astate; and he ware scarlet gownes, furred with mynever, lyke as the duke of Brabant or erle of Heynalt dyd; also he hadde his chambre of accompte, to paye and to reken for every thyng, as the erle had. And he gave dyvers suppers and banketes to ladyes and damosels, in lyke maner as the erle had done before, and spared nother golde nor sylver for his pleasure. And he wrote and called himselfe Phylip Dartwell, the regarde and overloker of Flaunders.

Howe therle of Flaunders was at Lysle.

The erle of Flaunders beynge at Lysle, had moche to thynke on whan he sawe his countrey so sore rebelled agaynst hym, and coude nat se that he was of puyssance as of himselfe ever to recover it agayn: for all the townes were in unite and of one acorde agaynst hym, the whiche he coulde never fordo but by great force and puyssaunce. For all the countrey spake no more of him, nor dyd him no more honour, nor wolde nat knowe hym for their lorde, no more than he had never bene so. Than the alyaunce that he had with the duke of Burgoyne, who had maryed his doughter, the lady Margaret, by whome the duke had two fayre sonnes, this alyaunce stode the erle as than in good stede; it was happy also than for hym that kyng Charles was deed, and that the yonge kyng as than was under the governing of his uncle, the duke of Burgoyn, who myght leade the kyng at his pleasur. And also the kyng was yong, and had good wyll to the warre, wherfore it was the lesse maystrie to styrre him therto; and therle hoped that the duke of Burgoyne wolde sone set hym theron, if he wolde shewe him howe he is bounde to ayde his men, whan their men wyll rebell agaynst them. But some thought, that if kynge Charles had lyved styll tyll that tyme, that he wolde have done nothynge, and if he had, men supposed that he wolde therby anexed the countie of Flaunders to the crowne of Fraunce: for therle of Flaunders was nat so well in his grace that he wolde have done any thynge for hym, without he had knowen well why.

Nowe let us leave to speke of these devyses, tyll tyme be that we retourne thereto agayne; but lette us shewe howe the erle of Flaunders, beynge at Lysle, after the great losse that he had at Bruges, he understode howe sir Terrey Damayn[1] and sir Flurant de Heulle kept styll the towne of Andwarpe,[2] and had kept it ever sythe the besynes before Bruges, and knewe well that these knyghtes were nat able to resyst agaynst the puyssance of Flaunders, if they came to lay siege therto, as it was thought that they wolde do shortlye.

[1] *Anvaing.*

[2] *Oudenarde.*

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Howe therle of Flaunders was at Lysle.

Than to refressh the towne, therle called to him sir Danyell of Halwyn, and sayd, Sir, I wyll ye go to Andwarpe, and be soverayne capitayn there, and take with you a hundred and fyftie speares, a hundred crosbowes, and two hundred other varlettes, with speares and pavesses, and take ye hede to that garison; I gyve you the charge therof: and newe vitayle it with corne, whete, and otes, and sault flesshe, and with wyne out fro our frendes and neyghbours of Tourney; they wyll nat fayle us at this nede. Sir, quoth the knyght, all this shall be done; and, sir, I shall take as good hede to the towne as I can, sythe it please you that I shall so do; there shall none yvell come therto by my fawte. Danyell, quoth the erle, of that I am sure. And so the knyght toke leave of the erle, and went to Andewarpe, and there refresshed the towne with newe men of warre, vitayle and other thynges necessary.

Whan Philyp Dartvell, beyng in Gaunt, understode the tydinges howe they of Andwarp were refresshed with newe men, than he sayd he wolde provyde for remedy, sayng, howe he was nat to be suffred, for it was greatly to the prejudyce and dyshonour of the countre of Flaunders that this towne helde so agaynst them; wherfore he sayd he wolde go and lay siege therto, and nat to departe thens tyll he had beaten it downe and put to dethe all tho that were within, knyghtes and other. Than he sent his commaundement through the countre of Flaunders, that every man shulde be redy the ix. day of June to be with him before Andwarpe. There was none that durst disobey his commaundement: so the men of all the good townes in Flaunders, and they of the Franke of Bruges, made them redy, and came and layd siege before Andwarpe, and lay abrode in the feldes, in medowes, and in marsshes, and there about: and there was Philyppe Dartvell their capytayn, by whome they were all ordred, who helde a great estate before Andwarpe. Than he reared a tayllage in Flaunders, every fyre every weke to pay four grotes, the ryche to beare out the feble, wherby he gate togyder moch money, for there was none excused, but all payed. For he had servauntes for the nones through all the countrey, who made every man to paye, poore and ryche, whyder they wolde or nat.

It was sayd, he had at the siege mo than a hundred thousande men. And the Flemynges had pyled in the ryver of Lescalt great pyles of great tymbre, so that no shyppe coulde come fro Tourney to Andewarpe; and they had in their hoost all thynges plentyfull, market with clothe, furres and other mercery. And every Saturday they had a market, and all the vyllages therabout brought thyder frutes, butter, mylke, chese, pulleyn, and other thynges; and they had tavernes, as plentyous with wyne as though they had bene in Brusels, both renyshe wyne, wyne of Poyctou, and of Fraunce, malveseys and other wynes of straunge countreis, and good chepe. Every man myght go and come, passe and repasse without any parell, they of Heynalt, of Brabant, of Almayne, and of Liege, but none out of Fraunce.

Howe therle of Flaunders was at Lysle.

CAP. CCCCIIII

Howe the Gauntoyse assayled the towne of Andwarpe dyvers tymes, and howe they ran before Lysle, and in the countrey about on the realme of Fraunce.

WHANNE that sir Danyell of Haulwyne, capytayne of Andwarpe, entred first into the towne, he devyded the vitayle ther egally, every man his porcyon, and sent away all the horses, and beate downe all the howses joyninge to the walles, and covered them with erthe for feare of fyre and gonne shotte, wherof they of the hoost had great plenty. Also they made all the women and chyldren to lodge in the churches and mynsters, and dyvers to avoyde the towne; and all dogges were clene avoyded or slayne, and cast into the ryver. The companyons that were within made dyvers issues, and dyd moche domage to them of the hoost without. There were within two bretherne squyers of Arthoyse, Lambert of Lambres and Trystram: these two dyd dyvers tymes great feates of armes, and toke away dyvers tymes vitayle fro the hoost and prisoners also. Thus this siege contynued all the somer; and it was the entensyon of Philyp Dartvell and of

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Howe the Gauntoyse assayled the towne of Andwarpe dyvers tymes.

his counsayle to abyde ther tyll they had famysshed the towne, for they sawe well by assautyng they shulde lese moche of their people. They of Gaunt made on the hyll of Andwarpe a marveylus gret engyn, xx. fote large and xl. foote longe; they called this engyn a moton; it was to cast gret stones into the towne, to beate downe houses. Also to make them within afrayd, they made a marveylous great bombard of l. fote of lengthe, shotyng stone of a marveylous weyght; and whan this bombarde shot, it might well be harde by day tyme fyve myle of, and by nyght ten, and it made suche a noyse in the goynge, as though all the dyvels of hell had bene in the way. Dyvers other engyns they had, wherwith they put them of the towne in great trouble; howbeit, the capitayns within dyd comfort them of the towne, and made as good resystence as they coulde, and wolde issue out a thre or four tymes in the weke, wherby they gate more honour than blame, and more profyte than domage.

Whyle this siege laye thus styll before Andwarpe, there departed fro the hoost a xii. hundred men, thynkyng to beate downe knightes and gentylmens houses, such as were fled out of Flaunders and gone to dwell in Heynault, in Brabant, and in Arthoyse, with their wyves and chyldren; and so these Gauntoise dyde as they purposed, and dyd moche hurt in Flaunders. They lefte no gentylmans house unbrent or cast downe to the erthe; and thanne they came agayne to Marlle, the erles howse, and beate downe all that they had left standyng before; and ther they founde the cradell wherin the erle was kept in his youthe, and brake it all to peces, and a fayre bayne, wherin he was wont to be bayned. Also they beate downe the chapell and bare away the bell; and than they went to Bruges, where they founde Peter de Boyse and Peter de Myrt, who dyd them great chere, and gave them great thanke of that they had doone. Than these rutters, whan they had well refresshed themselfe at Bruges, toke their way to the bridge of Warneston, and passed the ryver of Lyse, and so came before the towne of Lysle, and beate downe certayne wyndmyls, and set fyer of dyvers vyllages in Flaunders. Than there issued out of Lysle, afote and a horsback, mo than four thousande, and

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Howe the Gauntoyse assayled the towne of Andwarpe dyvers tymes.

so ther were dyvers of the Flemynges slayne and taken, and beheded after at Lysle; and if they had bene well pursued, there had scaped but a fewe. Howebeit, these rutters of Gaunt than entred into Tourneses, and dyd there moche hurt, and brent the towne of Helehyer[1] and other vyllages there about, parteyning to the realme of Fraunce, and than they returned with great joy and proy to the siege of Andwarpe. Tydinges came to the duke of Burgoyn, who was as than at Bapaulmes in Arthoyse, howe the Gauntoyse had pylled and overryn the countrey, and brent certayne vyllages in the realme of Fraunce. Than incontynent the duke wrote to the kyng, who was at Campayne, and to the duke of Berrey his brother, and to the duke of Burbon, and to the kynges counsayle, to the entent that they shulde fynde some remedy. And the duke of Burgoyn wolde nat, but that the Flemynges had done as they dyd, for than he thought well that the erle of Flaunders shulde be fayne to requyre the Frenche kyng to helpe and ayde him, or els he was never likely to entre in his herytage of Flaunders; and also, all thynges consydered, this warre somwhat displeased the duke of Burgoyne, for he was by the reason of his wyfe, after the deth of therle of Flaunders, next heryter to Flaunders.

In this season the erle of Flaunders was at Heden, and it was shewed hym howe these rutters of Gaunt had bene at Merlle, and beaten downe his howse in the dispyte of hym, and the chambre wherin he was borne; and also howe they had broken the fount wherin he was christened, and also his armery and bayne all to broken, wherwith he was sore dyspleased, and had many ymaginacions: for he sawe his countrey lost and tourned agaynst him, except Teremount and Andewarpe; and he coulde se no recovery, without it were by the puyssaunce of Fraunce. Than he determyned, all thyng consydered, that he wolde goo and speke with his sonne in lawe, the duke of Burgoyn, who was as than at Bapaulmes, and so to shewe him all his besynes, and therupon departed fro Hedyn and went to Arras, and ther rested two dayes. And the next day he went to Bapaulmes, and so alyghted at the erles place, whiche as thanne was his owne, for he was erle of Arthoyse, for the good lady his

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[1] *Helchin.*

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Howe the Gauntoyse assayled the towne of Andwarpe dyvers tymes.

mother was deed. The duke of Burgoyn had great compassyon of the erle his father in lawe, and ryght swetely dyd comforte him, and sayd, Sir, by the faythe that I owe to the kyng, I shall entende to nothyng but to helpe you, or els we shall lese all the remnant: for it is nat convenyent that such raskall as be nowe in Flaunders, shulde be suffred to rule a countrey: for by them chyvalry and gentylnes myght be distroyed, ye, and consequentlye all christendome. The erle was well recomforted in that the duke sayd he wolde helpe to ayde him; and so than he departed and went to the cyte of Aras. All this season therle had in prison a two hundred men, of dyvers good townes in Flaunders, who were hardly kept: they had nothyng but breed and water, and every day it was shewed them that they shulde lese their heedes. And whan the erle was retourned and come to Arras, in the honour of God and of our lady, he caused them all to be delyvered, for he sawe well that all was fortuned in Flaunders was nat by their meanes, nor they were nothyng gilty therof: and so he made them to be sworne to be true and faythfull to him, and so dyd gyve to eche of them golde and sylver to go to Lysle, and to Doway, or whyder as they lyst themselfe, wherby therle dyd get great love. And so than he went to Heden.

CAP. CCCCV

Of the request that the duke of Burgoyne made to the Frenche kyng, and why the kynge toke on hym to beare the flyenge harte.

THE duke of Burgoyn forgate nat the covenaunt that he made with his father in lawe, therle of Flaunders; and soo he departed fro the towne of Bapaulmes, and with hym sir Guy of Tremoyle, and sir John of Vyen, who was admyrall of Fraunce, who dyd all his payne to comfort the erle. And they two were chyefe of counsayle with the duke. And so the duke and his company came to saynt Lyse, where as the kynge was, and his two uncles with hym, the dukes of Berry, and of Burbone: and so ther the duke of Burgoyn was receyved with great

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Of the request that the duke of Burgoyne made to the Frenche kyng.

joy, and he was demaunded tydinges of Flaunders, and of the siege of Andwarpe; and the duke answered them right sagely, and shewed all the mater. And whan he sawe his tyme, he toke aparte the duke of Berrey, and shewed hym howe the Gauntoyse full of pride had done their devoyre and payne to distroy all noblenes; and also he shewed howe they had brent and pylled on the realme of Fraunce, the which was a thyng prejudicyall, and to the confusyon and shame of the realme of Fraunce, sayng howe it ought nat so to be suffered. Fayre brother, quod the duke of Berrey, we wyll speke with the kynge in this mater: we two are chyfe of his counsayle, so that if we enfourme the kyng therof, ther is none shall say agaynst our ententes. Howebeit, to move warre bytwene Fraunce and Flaunders, the whiche hath bene longe in peace, it behoveth that we have some laufull tytell, and that the other barones and lordes of Fraunce be joyned and agreed therto, or els peradventure we might be blamed, and beare all the faut, if it fortuned nat well. For the kyng is yonge, and every man knoweth, that he wyll soone agre to that we counsayle him: if the mater do well, than well shall come therof, and if any yvell come therby, we shall than beare the charge, and be more blamed than any other. And good cause why, for every man shall say, Beholde yonder the kynges uncles, the duke of Berry, and of Burgoyn, howe yvell they have counsayled the kynge; they have brought the realme of Fraunce into warr, whereas it neded nat. Wherfore dere brother, I say, let us call togyder the moost parte of the prelates and nobles of the realme of Fraunce, and than let us shewe them all the mater, in the presence of the kyng, to whom the matter personally toucheth, bycause of the herytage of Flaunders, and so therby we shall here generally every mannes wyll and opinyon. Ye say ryght well, quod the duke of Burgoyne, and as ye have devysed, so shall it be done. And with those same wordes the kynge entred into the same chambre, with an hauke on his hande, and so he spake merely to his uncles, and sayd, A, my fayre uncles, what mater is that ye speke of in so great counsayle; I wolde gladly knowe it if I myght. Sir, quoth the duke of Berrey, ye may knowe it right well, for it parteyneth greatly to you: Sir, beholde

Of the request that the duke of Burgoyne made to the Frenche kyng.

here your uncle the duke of Burgoyn, who complayneth greatly of them of Flaunders. For the false villayns of Flaunders hath put out of his herytage therle their naturall lorde, and all noble men, and as nowe they lye at siege before Andwarpe, with mo than a hundred thousande Flemynges, wherin they have besieged a great nombre of gentlemen. And these Flemynges have a capitayn, called Philyppe Dartvell, pure Englysshe in his courage, and he hath sworne never to depart thens, tyll he have his wyll of the towne, and of them that be within it, without so be that your power of Fraunce reyse hym fro the siege, the which he hath resarved in his othe. Therfore sir, how say you? wyll ye ayde your cosyn of Flaunders, and conquere agayne his herytage, the whiche these proude villayns hath taken fro hym. By my faythe, quoth the kyng, fayre uncles, I have great wyll therto, and for Goddes sake let us do it; I desyre none other thyng but to be armed, for as yet I never bare armure: it behoveth me if I thynke to raygne in puyssance and honour to lerne the feates of armes. These two dukes eche of them regarded other, and had great pleasure of the kynges wordes. Than the duke of Berrey spake agayne, and sayd, Sir, ye have sayd passingly well, and thus to do, sir, ye are bounde for dyvers reasons: Sir, the county of Flaunders is of the demayne of Fraunce, and ye have sworne, and we for you, to kepe and maynteyne in their right all your liege men; and also sir, therle of Flaunders is your cosyn, wherfore ye ought to love hym. And therfore sir, sythe ye be in this good mynde, kepe you so styll, and answere therafter to every person that speketh to you therof; and sir, we shall assemble hastely the prelates and barones of your realme, and shall shewe them all the mater in your presens; and sir, than if ye wyll speke as hertely as ye do now to us, than every man wyll say, we have a kynge of highe enterprise, and of noble wyll and corage. By my faithe, quoth the kyng, fayre uncles, I wolde we shulde be redy to morowe next to go to that journey, for fro hensforth, the grettest pleasure that I desyre is to go into Flaunders, to abate the pride of the Flemynges. Of the whiche wordes the two dukes had great joye. Than came to them the duke of Burbone, and they shewed hym

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Of the request that the duke of Burgoyne made to the Frenche kyng.

all the mater, as ye have herde before, and of the great desyre that the kyng had to go into Flaunders, wherof the duke of Burbon had great joy. Thus the mater hanged in this estate. And the kyng and his uncles wrote letters to the lordes of the counsayle of Fraunce, desyring them to come at a day assigned to Campyen, to a parlyament that shulde be ther holden, for certayne besynesse of the realme of Fraunce; and so every man obeyed, as it was reason, and the kyng was right gladde of that tidynges. His mynde was so sore therof, that no man coude set hym therfro. And the kyng sayd oft tymes, that ther was to gret delayes made in the mater; for he sayd, that he thought if one shulde enterprise a great mater, it shulde nat be long delayed, for in the delay the enemyes take advyce to their advauntage. And also whan the parels of warr was layd to hym, than wolde he answere and say, Ye, he that never enterpriseth, lytell or nothynge atchyveth. Thus the yonge kyng oft tymes devysed with the knightes and squyers of his chambre.

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Nowe shall I shewe you a dreme, that fortuned to the king in the same season, whyle he lay at saynt Lyse; by occasyon of whiche dreme, he ordayned the devyse of the flyeng hart, as I was than enformed.

IT fortuned whyle the kynge lay at saynt Lyse, on a night as he lay in his bedde aslepe, he had a visyon. It semed to hym properly that he was in the cyte of Aras, wher as he had never ben before, and with hym all the chivalry of the realme of Fraunce. And he thought that thyder came to hym therle of Flaunders, and dyd set on his fist a fayre faucon pelerin, sayeng to him thus, Sir, I gyve you this faucon for the best that ever I sawe: the best flyeng and beater downe of foules. Of whiche present the kyng thought he had great joye, and sayd, Fayre cosyn, I thanke you. And therwith he thought he regarded

Of a dreme that fortuned to the king.

the constable of Fraunce, sir Olyver Clysson, and sayd unto hym, Sir Olyver, let us two go into the feldes and prove this gentyll faucon that my cosyn of Flaunders hath gyven me. And than he thought the constable answered hym and sayd, Sir, lette us go whan it pleaseth you; and so than he thought that they toke their horses, they two alone, and went into the feldes, and founde plentie of heerons to flye at. Than the kyng sayd, Constable, let the faucon flye, and we shall se howe she wyll chase her game. Than the constable cast of the faucon, and she mounted so highe into the ayre, that they coude scant se her, and the kyng thought she toke her way streyght into Flaunders: than the kynge sayd, Lette us ryde after my byrde, I wolde nat lese her; and so he thought they rode after, tyll they came to a great maryse, and to a thicke wode. Than the kyng sayd, Let us light afote, for we can nat passe this wode a horsbacke. And so they alighted; and than he thought that varlettes came to them, and toke their horses: and so the kynge and the constable entred in the wode with great payne, and traveyled so long, that they came to a fayre great launde; and ther the kyng thought he sawe his faucon chasyng herons, and fightyng with them, and they with hym. And it semed to the kyng that his faucon chased so the herons that at last he lost the sight of her, wherwith he thought he was sore displeased, seyng that he coude nat folowe his hauke; and thought he sayde to the constable, A, I feare me I shall lese my faucon, wherof I am sorie, and I have no lure nor nothynge els, wherwith to call her agayne. And at this poynt, the kynge thought that there apered sodenly before hym a great hart with wynges, and enclyned himselfe before hym, wherof he had great joye, and thought howe he sayd to the constable, Sir, abyde you here, and I wyll mount on this hart, and so folowe my faucon. And so the kynge thought he mounted on this flyeng hart, and howe the hart acordyng at the kynges desyre dyde beare hym over all the great wodes and trees, and ther he sawe howe his faucon beate downe great plentie of foules, so that it was marveyle to beholde. And than it semed to the kynge, whan his faucon had long flyen and beaten downe many herons, than he thought he called her, and incontynent the faucon came

Of a dreme that fortuned to the king.

and sat her downe on his fyst. And than the hart flewe agayne over the wodes, and brought the kyng to the same launde where as the constable taryed for hym, who had great joye of his comynge; and assoone as he was alyghted, he thought the hart departed, and than never sawe hym after. And so ther the kyng thought howe he shewed to the constable howe that the hart had borne hym easly, he never rode so easly before: and also he thought he shewed hym of the bountie of his faucon. And therwith it semed to hym that his varlettes came to them and brought them their horses, and so they mounted and toke the hyghe waye, and so came agayne to Arras. And therwith the king awoke, and had great marveyle of that visyon, and he remembred every thynge therof ryght well, and shewed it to them of his chambre that were about hym; and the fygure of this hart pleased hym so moche, that all his ymaginacion was set theron. And this was one of the firste incydentes that whan he went into Flaunders to fight with the Flemynges he toke to his devyse to beare the flyeng hart.

Philyppe Dartvell, for all his good adventur at the begynning of his batayle agaynst them of Bruges, and for all the good fortune that he had in the disconfyture of therle, and of them of Bruges, yet for all that he was no subtyll man of warre, nother in sautyng nor layeng of siege. For he had nat ben brought up therin in his youthe: he had bene more used to fisshe with an angle rod in the river of Lescalt; the whiche well apered whyle he laye at siege before Andwarpe, for he coude nat get the towne. He thought by presumpcyon that the syght of hym shulde have made them of Andewarpe to have yelded them to hym: but they were nothyng so disposed, for they bare themselfe lyke valyant men, and made often tymes scrimysshes at the barryers, and slewe and hurt dyvers of the Flemynges, and drewe agayne into their towne without any domage. And of suche issues Lambert of Lambres, and Trystram his brother, and the lorde of Lunelhyen[1] bare the greattest renome. The Flemynges sawe well howe the dykes of the towne were large and full of water, so that they coude nat approche to assaile it, but with moche payne and danger. Than they determyned amonge themselfe to get fagottes

[1] *Leeuwerghem.*

Of a dreme that fortuned to the king.

and strawe, and so to fyll the dykes to come to the walles to fight hande to hande: and as they ordeyned so it was done. Howebeit, they within made no count of them, and sayd, that if ther were no treason among themselfe nor in the towne, they wolde set nothyng by the siege that they sawe layde to them. And so therfore sir Danyell of Halwyn, who was capitayne there, to bring every thyng out of doute, kept hymselfe day and night ever above them of the towne. And he so ordeyned that there was none of them of the towne shulde come on the walles of the towne, without company of some of the men of warr: if they dyde, they lost their heedes for their labours. Thus lay styll this siege: the Flemynges had great plenty of vitayls comyng to them by lande and by water, for they were lordes of all the countrey of Flaunders: for alwayes for wynning of money, the countreys of Flaunders, Holande, Zelande, and Brabant, and also parte of Haynault by stelthe, brought ever vitayles to their hoost. This Philyp Dartvell had ever his courage more Englisshe than French, and wolde gladly that he had ben alyed with the kyng of Englande, wherby he thought that if the Frenche kynge, or duke of Burgoyne, came on him with an army, that he shulde be ayded by the Englysshmen. He had all redy in his hoost a CC. archers of Englande, the whiche were stolen out of the garyson of Calys, and so toke wages ther of him, and were wekely payed.

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Of the messangers that Philyppe Dartvell sent into Englande, and also into Fraunce, and of the deth of sir Parducas Dalbret.

PHILYP Dartvell, to the entent to coloure his dedes, and to knowe what was sayde of hym in Fraunce, he determyned to write in the name of the hole countre of Flaunders, to the Frenche kyng, submytting themselfe, and requyring the kyng to take some busynes for them, as to bring them agayne into parfyte love with their lorde the erle of Flaunders. So thus he wrote certayne letters to the

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kynge and to his counsayle, and delyvered them to a messanger, commaundyng hym to go to the kynge with the letters; and so he dyde, and rode so long that he came to saynt Lyse, where he founde the kynge and his uncles, to whome he delyvered his letters. The kyng toke and reed his letter, in the presens of his uncles, and of his counsayle. Assoone as they were reed and well understande, they dyde nothynge but laughed therat. And thane it was ordayned to take the messanger, and to set hym in prison, bycause he was come to the presens of the kyng without any saveconduct; and so ther he remayned more than thre wekes. Whan Philyppe Dartvell knewe it, he had great indygnacion therat, and caused to come before hym all the capitayns of the hoost, and than he sayd to them, Sirs, ye may se what honour the Frenche kynge dothe to us, sythe we have written to hym so amyably, and therupon he hath retayned our messenger, and kepeth hym in prison; certainly this constreyneth us sore to be alyed with the Englisshmen: for thynke nat the contrary but that the duke of Burgoyne, who is all in Fraunce, and leadeth the kyng there as he lyst hymselfe, for the kyng is but a chylde, thynke you that he wyll leave this mater as it is? Nay surly, ensample by our messanger, whome he kepeth in prisone: wherfore we have good cause to sende into Englande, as well for the comon weale of Flaunders, as for our suretye, and to gyve dout and feare to our enemyes. Therfore I wolde we shulde sende a ten or xii. of the most notablest of our men, wherby the knowledge therof might come into Fraunce, so that the kyng ther and his counsayle shulde thynke, how we wyll alye ourselfe with the kyng of Englande their adversary. Howbeit, I wyll nat that the same alyance be shortly made, without we have more nede, thanne we have as yet: but I wolde our men shulde entre into a communicacyon, and so to doo we have just cause, and to demaunde of the kyng of Englande the somme of two hundred thousande crownes, which somme Jaques Dartvell my father and the countrey of Flaunders lent somtyme to the kyng of Englande, whyle he was before Tourney at the siege, to pay therwith his sowdyers. And so I wolde our men shulde say to the kyng of Englande, and to his uncles, and to his counsayle, howe

Of the messangers that Philyppe Dartvell sent into Englande.

that generally all the countye of Flaunders, and the good townes therof, suche as lent the sayd somme, desyreth to have agayn the sayd somme: and so that done, than to offre the kynge of Englande to entre into Flaunders, and so into Fraunce, if he lyst. For surely I thynke it were better for us to ayde ourselfe with our owne, than to have helpe of straungers: and I thynke we shall never attayne to it soner than nowe, for the kynge and realme of Englande I thynke wyll nat forsake the alyaunce of suche a countre as Flanders is nowe. For as nowe thenglysshmen have nat on the see cost, bytwene Burdeux, and Scluse, except Calys, Chierburge, and Brest, where for to lande and entre into Fraunce. Therfore the countre of Flaunders shulde serve them well at the poynt: for Bretayne, except Brest, is closed agaynst them, and the duke of Bretaygne hath sworne to be good French; and if he be nat, he wyll come therto, bycause of the love of his cosyn germayne, therle of Flaunders. Than all they that herde Philyp speke, answered and sayd, Philyp, ye have full well spoken, and we all wyll that it be thus done; for whosoever wyll the contrary loveth nat the comon profyte of Flaunders.

Philyp Dartvell taryed nat long, but that he wrote to Peter de Boyse, and to Peter de Myrt, who were capitayns of Bruges, and also to them of Ipre and Courtrey, shewyng them his said purpose; and all they thought it good so to be done. So ther were chosen of the good townes of Flaunders, one or two burgesses of every towne, and out of the towne of Gaunt, sixe. First, there was chosen Fraunces Atreman, and Rafe de Verdell,[1] Loys de Vaux,[2] sir John Stotler,[3] Martyn Bondrell Water,[4] Jacob Berner,[5] and a clerke, who was chosen to be bysshop of Gaunt, by Pope Urbane. For mayster John Dalbrest,[6] who had ben deane of Our Lady church in Turney, he advysed in his tyme that ther shulde be a bisshop in Gaunt, and to posses and have the profytes that the bysshop of Turney shulde have had. And so whan these xii. burgesses were redy aparelled, they toke their leave, and departed fro the siege before Andwarpe, about the begynning of the moneth of July, and dyde so moche that they came to Calais: and the capitayne ther, called sir Johan Dalbrenes,[7] receyved them. And whan he knewe

[1] *Voorde.*

[2] *De Vos.*

[3] *Scotelare.*

[4] *Vandewatre.*

[5] *De Brauwere.*

[6] *Van West.*

[7] *Devereux.*

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that they wolde go into Englande, he purveyed them of shyppes; and so they taryed there but thre dayes, and toke their passage and aryved at Dover, and so went to London. At which tyme the kyng and parte of his counsayle, as sir John Montagu, sir Symon Burle, and sir Wyllyam Beachamp, were at Westmynster, to enheryte sir Perducas Dalbret of all the barony of Chaumont in Gascone, the which was as than in the kynges handes. I shall shewe you by what maner; king Edward of olde tyme had gyven it to sir Johan Chandos, and he helde it as long as he lyved; and after his dethe it was gyven to sir Thomas Felton, and he was as than newly deed; and so therby the landes fell agayne into the kynges handes, the whiche lande might nat long be without a governour to kepe it, for it joyned to the landes of the lorde Dalbret, who as thane was good Frenche. Than it was advysed by the kyng of Englandes counsayle, that sir Perducas Dalbret, who had well served the kynges of Englande, both Edwarde, Richarde, and the Prince, and all the countre of Burdeloyse, more than xxx. yer, wherfore it was thought he was well worthy to have that lande, and was well able to defende and kepe it fro all men. Sir Perducas Dalbret, whan he receyved this landes, he sayd unto the kyng, in the presens of his counsayle and other noble men, Sir, I take and receyve this herytage to me and to myne heyres, on the condycion to serve you agaynst all men, except the house of Dalbret, fro whens I am come. For agaynst them shall I never make warre, if they suffre myne heritage to be in rest and peace. The kyng answered and sayd, he was content; and so put hym in possessyon of the lande.

Nowe shall I shewe you what fell of this Parducas Dalbret. Whan he was come into Gascoyne, and had taken possessyon of the landes, and the seneshall of Burdeloyse had gyven hym possessyon, than the lorde Dalbret had great joy therof, for he thought well than that his cosyn wolde make hym no warr. And so the landes of Dalbret and Chaumont abode in good love and rest. And the lorde Dalbret helde in great love his cosyn, for he hoped ever after his dyssease he wolde put hym in possessyon of the sayde landes of Chaumounte. But this sir Parducas was nat so mynded:

for at last whan he lay on his deth bed, and that he sawe he must nedes dye, he called before him all his men, and dyd sende for a yong squier of his, a proper man of armes, called Parduche, and sayd to him, I gyve the here in the presence of all my men, all the landes of Chaumont, so thou be ever good Englysshe, and true and faythfull to the kyng of Englande; but I wyll that the house of Dalbert, out of the whiche we be come, that thou make there agaynst no warre, without they do some outrage to the. The squier answered and sayd, Sir, your commaundement shal be done. This Perduche of Albert was lorde of Chaumont, in Gascone: and thus dyed sir Perducas: I can shewe no more of hym.

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Howe the kyng of Englandes counsayle mocked the Flemynges, and of the prisoners that were exchaunged.

WHAN these Gauntoyse were come to London, the kynge and his counsayle was certifyed therof, and so he sent to them to knowe what they wolde have. And so they came all in a company to the palays of Westmynster, and there they founde redy the duke of Lancastre, the erle of Buckyngham, therle of Salisbury, and the moost parte of the kynges counsayle: howebeit, the kynge was nat present at their first comynge. These men of Flaunders and of Gaunte enclyned them to the lordes of Englande, and than the clerke that was chosen bysshop of Gaunt, spake for them all, and sayde, My lordes, we be come hyder and sent fro the towne of Gaunt, and fro the hole countre of Flaunders, to have counsayle, confort and ayde of the kyng of Englande, upon certayne artycles and good reasons of the auncyent alyaunces bytwene Englande and Flaunders. They desyre nowe to renewe the same, for it is nowe nedefull to the countre of Flaunders, the which is as now without a lorde: the good townes and the countre hath as nowe but a governour, the whiche is a man called Philyp Dartvell, who recommaundeth hym principally to the kyng, CAP. CCCCVIII

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and to you all that be of his counsayle, and he desyreth you to take in gre this offre that we shall make to you. And that is, whansoever it shall please the kynge of Englande to arryve in Flaunders, he shall fynde the countre opyn to receyve him, and there to rest and refresshe hym as longe as it shall please hym; and also he shall have at his commaundement of the countre of Flaunders, a hundred thousande men armed redy to do hym servyce. Moreover, my lordes, the countre of Flaunders maketh one request, and that is this: to have agayne two hundred thousande crownes, that somtyme Jakes Dartvell, and the good townes of Flaunders, lent to king Edwarde of good memorie, at the sege of Turney, and at the siege of Calais: for it is the entencyon of the good townes of Flaunders, that or this alyaunce passe any farther, to be first repayed of this sayd som; and that done, than the king of England and all his may well say, that they and the Flemynges are frendes togyder, and that they have fre entre into Flaunders, to go where as it shall please them. And whan the lordes of Englande herde those wordes and request, they began eche of them to regarde other, and some smyled. Than the duke of Lancastre sayd, Fayre lordes of Flaunders, your wordes and demaunde requyreth to have counsayle; go your wayes to London to your logynges, and the kyng shall take advyse on your requestes, and shall so answere you, that ye ought to be contente. The Gauntoyse answered and sayd, God graunt it. And so they departed fro the counsayle, and the lordes abode styll toguyder, and began to laughe amonge themselfe, and sayd, Have ye nat sene these Fleminges, and herde their requestes that they make? they demaunde to be conforted, and say, howe they have nede therof, and yet for all that, they demaunde to have our money. It is no resonable request, that we shulde both ayde and pay. So thus they reputed the Flemynges right proude and presumptuous, to demaunde to have agayne two hundred thousande crownes, of so olde dette, as they sayd, of a xl. yere paste. There was never a better poynt for the Frenche kyng, if he wyll, than to come into Flaunders: for if the Flemynges had nat as than demaunded the foresayd somme of crownes, but have desyred the kyng of his

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confort and ayde, the kyng wolde have gone or sent into Flaunders so puissauntlye, to have bydden batayle, with the ayde of the Flemynges, to any prince of the worlde: but it wente otherwyse, as ye shall her after in the storie.

Tidynges came into Fraunce to the counsayle there, howe that Philyp Dartwell, whose courage was all Englysshe, and the countre of Flaunders, had sent into Englande certayne of their men, to make alyaunces with thenglysshmen; and the voyce ran, and the common renome, that the kyng of Englande with a great puissaunce shulde come in that season and aryve in Flaunders, and to lye in Gaunt. These tidinges were lightly to be beleved, howe that the Flemynges wolde fortify themselfe in some maner awyse. Than it was devysed, that the messanger that was come fro Philyppe Dartvell, whome they helde in prison, shulde be delyvered: and to say the trouthe, ther was no cause why to retayne hym: so he was delyvered, and sent to thost before Andwarpe. The same season they of Bruges had taken certayn burgesses of Turney, and kept them in prison. The Flemynges shewed well howe they had as lyve have warre with Fraunce, as peace: and whan they of Tourney sawe that, they dyde so moche, than they atrapped and toke certayne burgesses of Courtrey, and so kept them in prison in Tourney. Thus ther engendred hatred dayly bytwene Fraunce and Flaunders; howbeit, the lordes of Tourney wolde nat that their dede shulde be a tytell of warr to the Flemynges, who were their neighbours, without it were by the commaundement of the Frenche kyng: the whiche commaundement they had nat as than. Therfore they devysed to sende two of their burgesses to the Flemynges, and to have in eschange prisoners for prisoners: so ther was chosen to go on this message, Johan Bone,[1] and John Pycart. And so they wente to thoost before Andwarpe, and spake with Philyp Dartvell, who for the honour of the cytie of Tourney, and nat for love of the Frenche kyng, as he sayd, welcomed and receyved them amyably. For Philyp sayd, howe the kyng had nat deserved their love, whan that their messanger, sent to hym for a good entent, shulde be put in prison. Sir, quoth the two burgesses, ye have agayn your messanger. That is true, quoth Philyp, but that was more for feare than for love;

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[1] *Bon-Enfant.*

Howe the kyng of Englandes counsayle mocked the Flemynges.

but sirs, tell me wherfore ye be come to us. Sir, quoth the burgesses, it is to have agayne our men of the cytie of Tourney, that be in prison at Bruges. A, sirs, quoth Philyp, if they kepe them, in lykewise so do ye kepe of our men of Cortrey; but sirs, ye shall nat lese your comyng; rendre agayne ours, and we shall rendre yours. Sir, quoth they, ye speke well, and so shall it be done. So ther they were acorded to make this eschange. And so Philyp Dartwell wrote to Peter de Boyse, and to Peter de Myrt, beyng at Bruges, that they shulde delyver the prisoners of Tourney, and to receyve for them the prisoners of Courtrey. And so whan they departed, Philyp Dartvell sayd to them, Sir, take hede what I say: I wyll nat betray you: ye be of the towne of Turney, the which is under the Frenche kyng, with whom we wyll have no treatie, untyll the season that Teremonde, and Andwarpe, be opyned to us; therfore sirs, come no more to us, for they that do shall nat go home agayne; therfore constrayne your people and marchauntes nother to come nor go into Flaunders, and they do on their jeopardy, for we loke for none other thyng, but that the Frenche kyng wyll come and make us warre. The burgesses of Tourney understode well those wordes, and so departed and returned to Turney, and shewed as ye have herd before. Than ther was made a commaundement that non shulde go a marchandise into Flaunders, on payne to be in the indygnacyon of the Frenche kyng. And so the prisoners were delyvered; but they of Tourney durst nat marchaundyse with them of Flaunders. But whan they wolde have any marchaundyse of Flaunders, than they wolde go to Valencennes: for they of Haynaulte, of Holande, of Zelande, of Brabant, and of Liege, might go and come, and make their marchaundyse through all Flaunders.

Thus the sege laye styll before Andwarpe. Philyp Dartvell, and they of Gaunt, lay on the mount of Andewarpe, on the syde towarde Heynalte, and there were his engyns, and great bombardes and gonnes, the whiche made suche noyse whan they were losed, that the noyse therof might well be herde sixe leages of. And next were lodged they of Bruges, beyonde the ryver of Lescalt. And next them, they

Howe the kyng of Englandes counsayle mocked the Flemynges.

of Ipre, of Courtrey, of Proprigne, of Cassell, and of the Franke of Bruges, so that they vyroned rounde aboute the towne. Thus the towne was envyroned; and the Flemmynges thought by this siege to famyne them within. And somtyme they within wolde yssue out, and somtyme wan and somtyme lost, as aventure falleth often tymes in suche cases. But ther was none assaut made, for Philyppe Dartvell wolde nat folisshely adventure his men, for he sayd, he wolde have them without any assaut, seyng howe they coude have no conforte fro any parte. A byrde coude scant have flyen into the towne, but that some of the host shulde have sene her, it was so set rounde about.

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Letters sent to Philyp Dartvell fro the commyssaries of the Frenche kyng: and howe the messangers that bare the letters were taken, and set in prisone.

NOWE let us retourne to the French kyng. His uncles, and the counsayle of France, determyned to sende to Turney certayne prelates and knyghtes of the realme, to treate with the Flemynges, and to knowe more playnly their ententes. So ther were apoynted to go to Tourney, sir Myles of Ormayns, bysshop of Beauvoys, the bysshop of Auxere, the bysshop of Lan,[1] sir Guy of Honcourt, and sir Trystram de Boyse;[2] and so all these came to Tourney, as commyssaries fro the Frenche kynge. And ther was Johan Bone Enfant, and John Pycart, who were newly come thyder fro the sege before Andwarpe, and they shewed to these commyssaries and lordes of France, howe that Philyppe Dartvell, whan they toke their leave of hym, sayd to them, Sirs, we wyll never harken to any treatie tyll Andwarp and Teremonde be to us opyned. Well, quoth these lordes, Philyp Dartvell is of great pride; howbeit, yet he is nat mayster of all the good townes in Flaunders; therfore let us sende and write to Gaunte, to Bruges, and to Ipre, and let us sende to every towne a letter and a mes-

[1] *Laon.*

[2] *Bos.*

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Letters sent to Philyp Dartvell fro the commyssaries of the Frenche kyng.

sanger: we must have some maner of entre of comunycacion yf we purpose to begyn. Than they wrote thre letters to the thre principall townes of Flaunders, and in every letter they began ever with Philyp Dartwell: the content of the sayd letters here foloweth.

To Philyppe Dartvell and to his companyes, and to the good people of the thre townes of Flaunders, and to the Franke of Bruges: Please it you to knowe, that the French king hath sent us into these parties, in hope that good peace and concorde may be made bytwene the noble prince therle of Flanders, his cosyn, and the comons of the countre of Flaunders. For the renome and brute rynneth, howe that ye go about to seke alyaunce with the kyng of Englande, whiche thyng is agaynst reason, and to the prejudice of the realme of Fraunce, and of the crowne royall, the which the kyng may in no wyse suffre. Wherfore we desyre you in the name of the French kyng, that ye wyll gyve us saveconduct, to thentent that we may go and come, and sende in and out to make the peace, and to bring the mater to suche a conclusyon that the kyng may be content. Prayeng you to write to us an answere of your ententes in this behalfe; and thus oure Lorde kepe you. Written at Tourney, the xvi. day of Octobre.

Whan these thre letters conteyning one thing were writen and sealed, they were delyvered to thre men. And it was sayde to them, Sirs, ye shall go to Gaunt, ye to Bruges, and ye to Ipre, and bring us agayne an answere. They answered it shulde be done; and so they departed every man his way. And whan the one of them aryved at Gaunt, Philyp Dartvell was ther the same tyme, or els they of Gaunt wolde nat have opyned the letter without hym. And so he opyned the letter and reed it, and whan he had done, he laughed therat: and so departed fro Gaunt, and returned to the sege before Andwarp, and bare the letter with hym, but the messanger abode styll in prisone in Gaunte. And whan he was come to the siege, he called to him the lorde of Harsels, and other of his companyons, and reed to them the letter sende fro the Frenche kynges commyssaries, and sayd, Sirs, methynke the Frenchmen do but tryfell with me, and with the countre of Flaunders; I sayd, or this, to the burgesses

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Letters sent to Philyp Dartvell fro the commyssaries of the Frenche kyng.

of Turney, whan they were here before me, that I wolde here no tidynges out of Fraunce, nor entende to no treatie, without Andwarpe and Teremonde were yelden to us. And therwith came tydinges to them fro Bruges and fro Ipre, howe they had receyved lyke letters, and the messengers retayned and set in prison. That is well sayde, quoth Philyp; and than he sayd, howe he wolde write agayne to the commyssaries of Fraunce; and so he dyd. He wrote on the superscripcyon, To the ryght noble and discrete lordes commyssaries of Fraunce; the content of whiche letter foloweth.

Right dere and puissaunt lordes: to your right noble discressyons, please it you to knowe, that we have receyved right amiably the letters to us sent, fro the ryght excellent Charles of Fraunce: makyng mencyon, how that ye ryght noble lordes ar come to Tournay, for to treat for peace and acorde in hys name, bytwene us, and the ryght hygh prince the erle of Flaunders, and his sayd countrey; and howe that ye have by the sayd kyng and his counsayle suffycyent puyssance and authorite to conclude and acomplyssh, as they of Tourney, our right dere and good frendes, beare wytnes, by their letters patentes, by us sene and reed. And bycause that the kynge writeth, that it is ryght displesaunt to hym, that the discorde hath so long endured, wherof we have great marveyle howe it may be, for in tyme past, whan Gaunt was assysed, Andwarpe was of lytle valur; and also whan that we by the comon counsayle of the thre good townes of Flaunders, wrote unto hym as to our soverayne lorde, to have made peace and acorde, and as than it pleased him nat so to do, the whiche nowe semeth to us he wolde do. And also in lyke maner we have receyved letters patentes, conteyning howe that two tymes ye have written to us, and that ye have come two tymes for the same ententes. But acordyng to the answere we have sent you or this, that we have no wyll nor entent to harken to any treaty of peace, without the townes and fortresses whiche be closed agaynst the countrey of Flaunders, and specyally agaynst the towne of Gaunt, wherof we be regarde, be opyned at our wyll, and at the commaundement of the good towne of Gaunt; and without this be first done, we can

Letters sent to Philyp Dartvell fro the commyssaries of the Frenche kyng.

make no treatie as ye desyre, for we thynke the king dothe and may do assemble great puyssaunce, for the ayde of his cosyn, in the colour of this treatie. For we se well, that falshod may be wrought in the meane tyme, as there hath ben done or this; wherfore our entencyon is to be sure and redy at our defence. Our hoost shall be redy apparelled to defende our enemyes, for we hope by the ayde of God, to have the vyctorie, as we have had or this tyme. Moreover, we gyve you knowlege, that the brute is, howe ye thynke that we of Flaunders treate to have alyaunce with the kynge of Englande, and to have socoure of hym: wherin ye saye we do agaynst right, bycause we be subjectes to the crowne of Fraunce, and howe that the kynge there is our soveraygne lorde, wherfore ye say, we ought to aquyte us truely agaynst hym. And so we have done or this, for in tyme past we have sende to hym our letters, as to our soveraygne lorde, requyring hym to have made our peace, wherunto he hath gyven us none answere, but our messanger taken and sette in prisone, the whiche we thynke a great blame in suche a lorde. And moreover, yet we repute in hym more blame in that we wrote to hym as to our soverayne lorde, and he nat wyllynge to sende us an aunswere; and bycause it pleaseth hym nat so to do, we thought, and yet thynke, to seke for the profyte of the countrey of Flaunders by some other meanes, and to suche as wyll helpe us. Howebeit, as yet there is nothynge, but that the kyng may helpe all the mater, so that the forteresses be opyned to us. And therfore we defended them of Tourney, whan they were laste with us in oure hoost, that they shulde no more come in suche maner to us, with any maner of letters or credence by mouth without saveconduct. And yet for all that they be come to Bruges and to Gaunt, with other letters: wherfore we have taken the messangers, in gyveng ensample to other to bringe any suche letters: for we thynke ye study some treason, and specially agaynst me Philyppe Dartvell, fro the whiche God defende me. Wherfore we wyll ye knowe that your traveyle is for nought, without so be the fortresses be opyned to us, the whiche we trust by the ayde of God shortely shal be; and thus God kepe you. Written before Andewarpe, the xx. day of Octobre, the yere of our Lorde

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Letters sent to Philyp Dartvell fro the commyssaries of the Frenche kyng.

God, a thousande thre hundred lxii. By Philyp Dartvell, regarde of Flaunders.

Whan Philyppe Dartvell had thus writen his letter, by the advyce of his counsayle, and had well examyned it, and so sealed it, than he bethought hym who shulde beare it, and so demaunded if there were no prisoner taken before Andwarpe. And it was shewed him, how there was a varlet of Arthoyse, taken the day before at a scrimysshe; than he commaunded that he shulde be brought before hym, and so he was. Than Philyppe sayde, Thou art my prisoner, I may make the to dye and I wyll; howbeit, syth thou art here, thou shalte be delyvered, upon covenaunt on thy faythe, that thou shalt delyver suche letters as I shall take the to the French kynges counsayle nowe being at Tourney. And whan the varlet harde spekyng of his delyveraunce, he was never so joyouse, for he went verely to have dyed; and sayd, Sir, I swere to you by my faithe, that I shall beare your letter whyder it shall please you, and if it be into hell. Than Phylyp began to laughe, and sayd, Thou sayest well; and so Philyppe gave hym two crownes, and delyvered hym the letter, and caused hym to be conveyed out of the hoost, and set in the way to Turney. And whan he came to Turney, he went to the lodgynge of the bysshoppe of Laon, and so he came before the bysshop and dyd his message fro poynt to poynt; and ther was demaunded of hym tydinges of the hoost before Andwarpe: and he shewed as moche as he knewe, and so dyned there. And after dyner the bysshop departed to his company, and wolde nat open the letter tyll they were present. And whan the thre bysshoppes were all togyder, they opyned the letter and redde it at good leyser, and made due examynacion therof: than they spake togyder, and sayde, howe that Philyp Dartvell by that he shewed was full of pryde and presumpcion, and sayd, howe that he loved but lytle the majeste royall of Fraunce; and so toke counsayle togyder, and sayd, howe that the provost and counsayle of the towne of Turney knewe right well howe they had sent letters to Philyp Dartvell, and to the other townes of Flaunders, wherfore they sayde, it shulde be well done, that they shulde here the answere that Philyp had made; and so sent for the provost, and sowned the comon bell, and all the counsayle drewe togyder: and than before them all, the letter was red two or thre tymes. The wyse men had great marveyle of the presumptuous wordes that were therin written; and so it was determyned that a copy of the letter shulde remayne styll in Turney; and therwith the counsayle departed, every man to his logyng.

Letters sent to Philyp Dartvell fro the commyssaries of the Frenche kyng.

Philyp Dartvell beyng styll in the hoost before Andwarpe, repented him nothyng of that he had writen so roughly to the comyssaryes of Fraunce, but he repented hym in that he had written so amiable to the provost and them of Turney, shewyng them honour by way of dissymulacion; but he dyd it bicause he wolde nat beare all the blame, nor norisshe all the hate that might fall therby. So thus Philyppe wrote to them in maner as foloweth; and the superscripcyon was, To the right honorable and sage our dere frendes the provost and cytezins of Tourney.

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Of the letters sent to Tourney fro Philyp Dartvell. And howe the French kynge and his counsayle were enformed of the answers that the Flemynges had made to the comyssaries.

RIGHT dere and good frendes: Please it you to knowe that we have receyved your letters, makynge mencyon of ii. of your burgesses, and yvell bearers of letters,[1] to Gaunt and to Bruges, fro the comissaryes of Fraunce, who be retayned by us: and at your requestes to be delyvered out of prisone, wherby the good love and affectyon that hath bene, bytwene you and the comons of Flaunders, shulde perceyver, as ye write: the whiche love right dere frendes semythe to us to be ryght lytell; for it is come to our knowledge, that the Frenche kynge, and the dukes of Burgoyne, and of Brytayne, assembleth them togyder, to come and ayde the erle of Flaunders, and to recover his countrey, and to fyght with us, for all the letters that ye have sent us to treat for peace. Wherfore we

[1] *de deus vos bourgois et manans, portant lettres.*

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Of the letters sent to Tourney fro Philyp Dartvell.

thynke this no way to treat for peace, but we shall take hede therof, and are redy and shal be ever at our defence day and nyght; and as for the prisoners your burgesses, we shall kepe them with us tyll we know the certentie of the assembles of these said lordes, and tyll it be our pleasure to delyver them. For whan your burgesses were last in Flaunders to treat for peace, ye knowe well ther it was ordeyned and commaunded, that no person fro thensforthe with letters nor otherwyse, shulde go nor come without saveconducte. And these sayd comyssaries have done the contrary, to thentent to make debate and dyscorde. Wherfore dere frendes, we desyre you that ye wyll sende no parsone, burges, nor other, into Flaunders, fro you nor fro none of the lordes; but if there be any thyng touchynge your owne cawses, that we may do for you, we shall do in lyke maner as we wolde ye shulde do for us: for we have a speciall trust and affyaunce in you, as we ought to have in our good neyghbours. For it is the generall entencyon of all Flaunders, that all marchantes and their marchandyses shulde passe and repasse safelye, out of the one countrey into the other, without any interupcyon or let. And thus God kepe you. Written in our hoost before Andwarpe, the xxii. day of the moneth of October, the yere of our Lorde God, a thousande thre hundred fourscore and two. By Philyp Dartvell, regarde of Flaunders.

Aboute a thre dayes after that the first letters were sent to the lordes comissaryes of Fraunce, as the lordes were in the hall in counsayle, there was brought to them these other letters by a varlet of Doway, and he shewed them howe that they of the host before Andewarpe had sent it to them. So there the letter was receyved, and redde at good leysour. And than finally the lordes of Fraunce sayd to them of Tourney, Sirs, we counsayle you for the best, that ye make none alyaunce nor aquayntaunce with them of Flaunders, for and ye do, ye shall have no thanke therof in Fraunce: nor receyve no letters sent to you fro them; for if the kynges counsayle knowe that ye do, ye shall receyve blame and domage therby, for the mater can nat longe contynue as it is. And they of Turney answered and sayd, howe they wolde perceyver in their counsayle; sayng, that by the grace of God they wolde do nothynge, wherby they shulde have any reprofe. And so a thre dayes after the commissaryes departed fro Tourney, and went to the kynge to Peron, and with hym was his thre uncles, the dukes of Berrey, Burgoyne, and Burbon.

Of the letters sent to Tourney fro Philyp Dartvell.

And the day before the erle of Flaunders was come to the kyng to shewe him the greves that he had, and to do feaulte for the countye of Arthoyse, the whiche was fallen to hym the same yere, by the dethe of his mother. And whan the sayd comyssaries were come to the kyng, before him and all his counsayle, there was red the two letters that Philyp Dartvell, and they of Flaunders, had sent to them of Tourney; the which they toke in great dispyte, and sayd, that in the begynninge of the kynges raygne, suche pride as was than used in Flaunders ought nat to be suffred. With the whiche wordes the erle of Flaunders was nothynge dyscontent: and so there the erle before the kynge and his counsayle made his complayntes, which were well harde: and the kynge answerde hym, and sayd, Cosyn, retourne you into Arthoyse, and brevely we shal be at Aras: for we can nat shew better that the quarell shulde be ours, but to aproche our enemyes. The erle was well content with that aunswere, and so departed and went to Hedyn. And the kynge, as he that wolde go into Flaunders, to abate the pride of the Flemmynges, as his predecessours had done before, set all his clerkes awarke, and sent letters and messangers into every cost of his realme, commaundynge every man without delay, in their best aparell for the warre, to come to hym to Arras at a day lymited: shewyng them, howe by the pleasur of God, he wolde go and fight with the Flemynges in Flaunders. No man durste disobey; but every man made them redy bothe nere and farr, as they of Auvergne, of Rouergue, of Tholousyn, of Gascoyne, of Limosyn, of Poyctou, of Xaynton, of Bretayne, and of Burbonoyse, of Forestes, of Burgoyne, of Doulphyn, of Savoy, of Barroyse, of Lorayn, and of all the cyrcuites and countreys of Fraunce. And so every man came towarde Arras, in Arthoyse. There was so great an assemble of men of warre, that it was marveyle to consyder.

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Howe Philyp Dartvell made the passages in Flaunders to be kept, and howe dyvers French knyghtes were lost in Flaunders, and coulde nat retourne agayne.

THE erle of Flaunders beyng at Heden harde every day newes fro the kynge, and fro the duke of Burgoyn, and of the great assemble that was made in Fraunce. Than the erle commaunded through all the countre of Arthoyse, that no man on payne of dethe, shulde put out of the countrey, nor out of their logynges, no maner of thyng into any forteres, nor into no closed towne; for he wolde that the men of warre shulde be sarved and eased with every thynge abrode in the countrey. And so the kynge came into Arthoyse, where they founde every thyng in great plenty; every grange full of corne: and so therle of Flaunders came to Arras, and there dyd homage to the kyng, for the countie of Arthoyse: and there the kyng receyved hym for his liege man, and sayde to him, Fayre cosyn, if it please God and saynt Denyce, we shall sette you peaseably in your herytage of Flaunders, and shall abate the pride of Philyp Dartvell, and of the Flemynges, in such wyse, that they shall never be able hereafter to rebell agayne. Sir, quoth the erle, of this I have great trust, and therby ye shall attayne to suche honour, that all the worlde shall prayse you, for certaynly great is the pride of Flaunders.

Philyppe Dartvell beyng at siege before Andwarpe, was well enfourmed howe the Frenche kyng with his puissance was commyng on hym. Than he sayd to his men, Sirs, what wenyth the yonge ryottouse kynge[1] to entre into Flaunders? he is a yere yet to yong to assayle us: I shall cause the passages and entres to be so kept, that it shall nat lye in his power of all this yere to passe the ryver of Lyse. And so than he sent to Gaunt for the lorde of Harsels; and whan he was come to him, he sayd, Sir of Harsels, ye knowe well, and here dayly, howe the Frenche

[1] *cils roitiaux.*

kyng apareleth hymselfe to distroy us all; it behoveth us to regarde wisely, and to take counsayle in this mater; sir, ye shall abyde here at the siege, and I wyll goo to Bruges to lerne more certayne tidynges, and to encorage the people of the good townes; and I shall stablissh suche people at the passages, that the Frenchmen shall nat passe over. Therto accorded the lorde of Harsels. Than Philyppe Dartvell departed fro the siege, and so rode to Bruges like a great lorde, with his penon displayed before him of his armes; he bare a felde sable, thre hattes sylver. Whan he came to Bruges, he founde ther Peter de Boyse, and Peter de Myrt, who were capitayns of Bruges: and ther he shewed them howe that the Frenche kynge with all his puyssance, wolde come into Flaunders, Wherfore I wyll that ye Peter de Boyse go to the passage of Comynes, and kepe the ryver; and ye Peter de Myrt, shall go to the bridge of Warneston, and kepe that passage; and cause all the bridges to be broken above on the ryver, tyll ye come to Gerge,[1] to Hasels,[2] to Meurevylle,[3] and to Courtray, and so the Frenchmen can nat passe. And I shall go to Ipre to refresshe them, and to comfort them, exortyng them to kepe firmly the unyte that we have sworne eche to other; and it shall nat be in the Frenche kynges puyssance to passe the ryver of Lyse, and to entre into Flaunders, if the passages be well kept. Than bothe Peters answered, and sayd, Sir, ye say well, lette it be done as ye say, but sir, what worde here you out of Englande? Truely, quoth Philyppe, we here as yet none, wherof I marveyle; but asnowe the parlyament is at London, wherfore I thynke shortly we shall here some worde. The Frenche kyng can nat be so hasty but that I trust we shall have some ayde out of Englande. I hope the kynge of Englande maketh some assemble, so that the Englysshmen wyll aryve here in a nyght with suche a nombre, that we shall nat nede to feare the Frenchmen, with the ayde of Flaunders; for all is under our obeysaunce, excepte Teremonde, and Andwarpe.

Howe Philyp Dartvell made the passages in Flaunders to be kept.

In the mean season that all this besynes was, and that the kyng was at Arras, and that these men of warre assembled in Arthoyse, and Tournesyes, and about Lysle, certayne knyghtes and squiers, beyng aboute Lysle, by the entysinge of the Hasell of Flaunders, thought to do some enterprise,

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[1] *La Gorgue.*

[2] *Estaire.*

[3] *Merville.*

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Howe Philyp Dartvell made the passages in Flaunders to be kept.

wherby to be renomed. And so on a day ther gadred togyder a sixe score men of armes, knightes and squiers, and rode and passed the ryver of Lysle at Pounte Amenyn,[1] a two leages fro Lysle, the whiche bridge was nat broken; and so rode to the towne of Harle, and so ther chased nigh all the people out of the towne, so that the laram rose, and the townes all about range their belles alarum. And whan the Hasell of Flaunders, and sir Johan of Jumont, the Chatelyn of Wyllone,[2] sir Henry Duffle, and the other knyghtes and squyers, had well moved the countrey, and sawe that it was tyme to returne, they toke agayne the way to returne by the same bridge that they had passed: and there they founde a great nombre of the Flemynges breakyng the bridge. And whan they had broken a parte therof, they covered it agayn with hey and strawe, that it shulde nat be aspyed. And ther these knyghtes founde redy aparelled to gyve them batayle, a great nombre of villayns of the countrey: than the knightes couched their speares, and ran at them with all their force, and the Flemynges opened and gave them way, it was sayd for the nones, and fledde, and sayde amonge themselfe, Let us flye and gyve them way, for we are sure the bridge wyll nat beare them; we shall se anon good game. And so the Hasell of Flaunders, and the other knyghtes, dasshed all at ones on the bridge, the which was nat able to beare so many men; howebeit, the Hasell, and a xxx. with him, passed over, and as the other wolde have passed, the bridg brake under them, and so fell downe horse and men, and many were slayne. And whane they that were behynde sawe that, they were sore abasshed, and wyst nat whyder to flye to save themselfe. Some entred into the ryver, thynkinge to swymme over, but they coude nat, the water was so depe, and the bankes hyghe, that the horses coulde nat gette up, the which was great myschefe for them, for the Flemynges came on them and slewe them without mercy, and made some to fall agayne into the water, and were drowned. Sir Johan Jumont was in a great adventure to be lost, for the bridge brake under hym; yet through the valyantnes of his body he saved hymselfe. Howbeit, he was sore hurt on the heed and on the body, so that it was sixe wekes after or he coude helpe himselfe. In this recountre was slayne the Chatelayn of Wyllon, of Bouchars, and of saynt Hilary,[1] and dyvers other slayne and drowned, and also sir Henry Duffle. There were slayne and drowned mo than threscore, for he was happy that coude save himselfe, and many hurt and sore wounded that scaped. Tydinges came to the lordes of Fraunce, beynge at Arras, howe their men had lost the journey, and howe the Hasell of Flaunders had folysshly taken on hym that enterprise. Some complayned them and some nat; and suche as were expert men of warr sayd, they dyd great folly to passe a ryver without any gyde, and to entre into a great towne, and to retourne agayne the same waye they went, without kepynge of the passage in the meane season; it was none enterprise of wyse men of warre, and bycause they rode forthe lyke foles, so it came by them.

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[1] *au pont à Menin.*

[2] *Bouillon.*

Howe Philyp Dartvell made the passages in Flaunders to be kept.

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The ordynaunce that the Frenche kyng made for to entre into the countie of Flaunders, after that the passages were stoped and broken.

SO this mater passed over and was forgote, and Philyppe Dartvell departed fro Bruges and wente to Ipre, wher as he was receyved with great joy. And Peter de Boyse went to Commynes, wher as all men of the countrey were assembled; they made all the bridge to be unnayled, redy to be broken downe incontynent, if nede requyred, but they wold nat clerely pull it downe as than, for the advauntage of them of the countrey to passe and repasse with their beastes over the water of Lyse. The same proper hour that Philyp Dartvell came to Ipre, tydinges came howe that at the bridge of Amenyn the Frenchmen were dystrussed, and howe the Hase of Flaunders was nere taken. Of these tydinges Philyppe Dartvell was greatly rejoysed, and laughyng to encourage them that were about him sayd, Sirs, by the grace of God and the good ryght that we have, this mater shall take suche an ende, that if the kyng with his yong counsayle passe the ryver of Lyse,

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[1] *li castelains de Buillon et Bouchars de Saint Hilaire.*

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The ordynaunce that the Frenche kyng made for to entre into the countie of Flaunders.

he shall nat retourne agayne into Fraunce. Thus Philyp Dartvell was fyve dayes at Ipre, and preched openly in the market-place, to encourage his people, and to cause them to kepe their promyse. And also he shewed them howe the Frenche kynge, without any tytle of reason, was comyng to distroy them; wherfore he sayd, Good people, be nat abasshed though he come on us, for he shall nat be of puyssaunce to passe the ryver of Lyse. I shall cause the passages to be well kept, and I have ordeyned to be at Commynes Peter de Boyse, with a great nombre of men; he is good and trewe, and loveth the honoure of Flaunders; and Peter de Myrt is at Warneston: and all the other passages on the water of Lyse ar broken, so that they can come over at no place but at one of those two. And also I have harde tidynges of our men that we sent into Englande; we shall have shortly great comfort of the Englysshmen, for we have good alyaunce with them. Therfore let us lyve in hope, for honoure shall be with us; therfore good frendes of Ipre, be ye true, and kepe faythfully the promyse that ye have promised to me, and to the good towne of Gaunt, who hath endured so moche payne, to mayntayne the right and fredome of Flaunders. And all suche as wyll kepe true promyse with me, lette them holde up their handes towarde heven, in token of loyalte: and therwith all suche as had harde hym speke lyfte up their handes. Than Philyp discended fro the scaffolde wher as he hadde preched, and went to his lodgynge and taryed there all that day: and the next day departed and wente towarde Andwarpe to the sege; and he passed by Courtrey, and there taryed two dayes.

Nowe let us leave to speke of Philyppe Dartvell, and retourne to the yong kyng Charles of Fraunce, who was at Aras, havyng great wyll and desire to entre into Flaunders, to abate the pride of the Flemynges. And dayly there repayred to him men of warre fro all partes. And whan the kynge had sojourned there viii. dayes, than he went to Lens in Arthoyse, and ther taryed two dayes; and the thirde day of Novembre he departed and went to Seclyn, and there rested. And there the chiefe constable of Fraunce, and the marshals of Fraunce, of Burgoyn, and of Flaunders, were in counsayle howe they shulde be ordred; for it was a comon

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The ordynaunce that the Frenche kyng made for to entre into the countie of Flaunders.

sayinge in all the hoost, howe it was a thyng impossyble to entre into Flaunders, seyng howe the passages were so strongely kept. And also dayly it rayned so sore, that the wayes were so enpayred that men coulde skant go forthe. And some of the wyse men of Fraunce sayd, howe it was a great outrage to enterprise that voyage in that season of the yere, and to bring the kyng so farre forwarde into that countre; sayng also, howe it had bene better for hym to have taryed tyll somer than to make warre in that countrey, where as he hadde never bene before, and specially in that season of the yere: and also they sayd, howe the ryver of Lyse is so yvell to passe, that there is no place to skape but at certayne places. Thanne the marshals demaunded fro whens the ryver dyde come; and it was sayde howe it came fro Ayer[1] and fro saynt Omers. Well, quoth the constable, sythe it hath a begynning, we shall passe it well inough; lette us ordre our peple, and let us take the way to saynt Omers, and there shall we passe the ryver at our ease, and so entre into Flaunders, and let us go alonge the countrey: and the Flemynges are so proude, that outher before Ipre or in some other place they wyll come and fyght with us. And so to this purpose agreed all the marshals, and therupon rested all that nyght. Than the next mornyng the lorde Dalbret, the lorde of Coucy, sir Aymenion of Pomyers, sir John of Vyen, admyrall of Fraunce, sir Willyam of Poyctres, the bastarde of Langres, the Begue of Vyllanes, sir Raoll of Coucy, the erle of Conversant, the vycount Dacy, sir Raoll of Raynevall, the lorde of saynt Just, sir Arture of Hedyn, sir Antony Darchyes, the lorde of saynt Pye, sir Willyam of Bordes, the lorde Longevyle, the lorde of Sully, sir Trystram of Lescouet, sir Olyver Clesquyn, sir Moryce of Treguidy, sir Guy of Bayeux,[2] sir Lucas of Lestrughen, sir Nycholas Pamell,[3] the two marshalles of Fraunce, sir Loys of Sanxere, and sir Loys[4] of Blanvell, the marshall of Burgoyne, the marshall of Flaunders, and sir Anguerant of Helwyn;[5] all these came to the constable of Fraunce to take advyse howe they shulde passe outher by Lyle to go to Comynes or els to Warneston,[6] where as the passages were kept, or els to go hygher up towarde the Gorge of Venoy[7] and to saynt Venant, and so to

[1] *Aire.*

[2] *Le Baveux.*

[3] *Penniel.*

[4] *Jean.*

[5] *Eudin.*

[6] *Arvalneston* P.

[7] *La Ventie.*

The ordynaunce that the Frenche kyng made for to entre into the countie of Flaunders.

passe the ryver of Lyse. And so among these lordes there were dyvers opinyons, and suche as knewe the countrey sayde, Surely as at this tyme it is no goynge into that countrey nor into the lande of Cassell, of Surmes,[1] nor of Verthes.[2] Why, what way shall we than holde? quoth the constable. Than the lorde of Coucy sayd, I counsayle let us goo to Tourney, and there lette us passe the ryver of Lescaulte, and take the way to Andewarpe; that way is easy ynoughe; and there lette us fyght with our enemyes; we shall have no let, and we be ones passed the ryver and Tourney; and than let us go streight to Andewarpe, and do ryghtfull judgement on Philyp Dartvell; and so we shall be daily refresshed with vitayle and purvyance out of the cost of Haynalt, the which shall folowe us fro Tourney along by the ryver. These wordes were well harde, and with dyvers well upholden; but the constable and marchals inclyned rather to go the right way, nother on the ryght hande nor on the lyfte; and to sustayne their opinyon, they layd dyvers reasons, sayng, If we shuld go and seke for any other passage but the right way, it myght be sayd that we do nat lyke good men of warre; at lest without we assay to passe by Comynes, the whiche is kept. And also if we withdrawe ourselfe fro our enemyes warde, they wyll be rejoysed therby, and have newe refresshynge and take newe counsayle, and say, howe we be fled away. And also there is one poynt that ought to be dowted; we knowe nat in what astate they be in with the Englisshmen, for by incydent if ayde shulde come to them out of that cost, it shulde be a great let for us; therfore we thynke it were best to delyver the mater as shortly as coud be devised. Therfore, a Goddes name, let us take the way to Comynes, and God shall helpe us; we have or this tyme passed and repassed great ryvers, more greater than the ryver of Lyse; it cannat be kept long fro us; at lest, whan we are at the ryver syde, than let us take advyse. Suche as be in our company in the vowarde have sene this xx. or xxx. yere often tymes passed a more daungerous ryver than this is; and if we be ones over, our enemyes shal be a hundred tymes more abasshed than and we went at our ease on the right hande or on the left out of our right way; and also beyng ones over, we may reken ourselfe lordes of all Flaunders. And so every man acorded to this last apoyntment, the which was kept and nat broken. And bycause that all the lordes were as than togyder, they sayd, It is nedefull that we advyse and regarde the ordre of our batayls, and apoynt them that shall go with the constable in the vowarde, and to knowe who shall make the wayes before the batayle, and who shal be the fotemen; and to ordeyne them that shal be currers to discover our enemyes, and who shall be in the kynges batayle, and what servyce they shall do, and who shall beare the Oriflambe of Fraunce, and to apoynt them that shall assyst it, and to knowe who shall be in the wynges and who in the reregard. Of all these thynges they toke advyse and counsayle, and it was determyned by the sayd lordes and offycers, that sir Joys of Halwyn and the lorde of Rambures shulde be governours of the fotemen, such as shulde go before the hoost and make the wayes, and to cut downe hedges, wodes, and busshes, and to fyll valeys, and pull downe hyls, and to do all other necessary thynges. And of them there were in nombre a xvii. hundred and lx. And than in the vowarde were the marshals of Fraunce, of Flaunders, and of Burgoyne, and they hadde under their rule a xvii.[1] hundred men of armes, and seven hundred crosbowes, besyde four thousande men afoote that the erle of Flaunders had delyvered them, well pavessed and harnessed. And it was ordeyned that therle of Flaunders and his batayle, wherin he hadde men of armes, knyghtes, squiers, and fotemen, to the nombre of xvi. thousande, shulde be the wynge to the vowarde, for to recomfort it, if nede required. Also it was ordeyned, that bytwene the batayle and the erles vowarde the kynges batayle shulde folowe, and therin to be the kynges thre uncles, Berry, Burgoyn, and Burbon, the erle of Marche, sir James of Burbon, his brethren,[2] the erle of Cleremount dolphyn[3] of Auvergne, the erle of Dampe Martyn, the erle of Sanxere, sir John of Boloyne, and to the nombre of sixe thousande men of armes and two thousande crosbowes, Genoways and other. And than it was ordeyned for the reregarde, two M. men of armes and two hundred archers, and chyefe governour of them was sir John Dartoyse erle of Ewe, sir Guy erle of Bloyse, sir Warans erle

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[1] *Furnes.*

[2] *Bergues.*

The ordynaunce that the Frenche kyng made for to entre into the countie of Flaunders.

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[1] *xii.*

[2] *messires Jaquèmes de Bourbon, ses frères.*

[3] *and Dolphyn* P.

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of saynt Powle, sir Wyllyam erle of Harecourt, the lorde of Chastelon, and the lorde of Sere;[1] and to beare the Oryflambe was apoynted sir Peter Villers, and four knyghtes to acompany hym, as sir Robert of Bayeux, sir Moris[2] of Saucourt, sir Guy of Triguidy, and Bandon de la Heuse; and to kepe the baners, the Bourge[3] of Ruet, and the Bourge[3] of Mount Dowset. These lordes entended surely never to retourne into Fraunce tyll they had fought with Philyppe Dartvell and his puyssaunce; and therfore they made all thyng redy to fyght the next day, if nede requyred. Also the lorde de la Bret, the lorde of Coucy, and sir Hugh of Hanlon[4] were apoynted to set and ordre the batayls in aray. And the marshals of the lodgynges were apoynted to lodge the kyng and the batayle, and that was sir Willyam of Bannes and the lorde of Champreny: also it was ordeyned, that the day that the batayle shulde be on, the kynge to be a horsebacke, and none other but he, except viii. valyant men, to be a horsebacke about hym, as the lorde of Raynevall, the Begue of Villanes, sir Aymenion of Pomyers, sir Anguerant of Halwyn, the vycount Dacy, sir Guy of Bayeux, sir Nycholas Pennell, and sir Willyam of Bourdes; of the whiche eyght the lorde of Raynevall and sir Anguerant of Helwyn to be in the fronte before the kynge: and the Begue of Vyllaynes, and the vycount Dacy, who is called in dyvers places before the vycount Dannoy, these two knyghtes to be besyde hym; and behynde hym, the other foure knyghtes before named. And sir Olyver Clyssone, constable of Fraunce, and sir Willyam Poycters, bastarde of Langres, shulde ryde before, and dyscover and advyse the maner of their enemyes, the daye of the batayle. And whane all these thynges were apoynted and determyned, every thynge as was nedefull, thanne the counsayle brake up, and every man departed to their lodgynges: and suche as hadde nat bene at the counsayle were shewed what they shulde do; and also it was ordeyned, that the next day the kyng shulde departe and to passe through the towne of Lysle, and nat to rest there, but to lodge at the abbay of Marquettes, and the vowarde to passe farther towarde Comynes and Warneston, as soone as they myght.

[1] *Fère.*

[2] *Gui.*

[3] *Borgne.*

[4] *Chalon.*

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Howe the Frenchemen coulde nat passe by the bridge of Comynes, and how they passed without knowledge of the Flemynges.

AS it was thus ordeyned, every thynge was done; and the next day they of the vowarde dyslodged and went towarde Comines, and they founde the wayes redy made; for the lorde of Fransures and sir Joyse of Helwyn had taken great laboure to make the wayes redy; and this was on a Monday. And whan the constable and marshals and they of the vowarde were come to the bridge of Comynes, there they were fayne to stoppe, for they founde the bridge so broken that it was nat possyble to make it agayne, if any defence were made to the contrarie. And the Flemynges were beyond the ryver puyssaunt ynough to lette them, and to kepe the passage agaynst any that wolde scrimysshe or assaut them, for they were mo than ix. thousande; and there was Peter de Boyse capitayne, who made good semblant to defende the bridge, for he and his men were by the bridge on the causey, raynging on bothe sydes. Than the constable and the other lordes of Fraunce behelde the maner of the countrey and ymagined well that it was a thynge impossyble to passe that way, without the bridge were newe made. Thane they caused some to ryde up and downe by the ryver syde a myle or two, to se if there were any passage, and they so dyde, and retourned agayne and shewed their maysters that they coulde nat fynde no place where as their horses coude take any lande on the other syde of the ryver. Than the constable was sore dyspleased and sayde, We have bene but yvell counsayled to take this way; yet it had bene better to have gone by saynt Omers than to byde in this danger, or els to have passed the ryver of Lescaulte at Tourney, as the lorde of Coucy sayde, and so to have gone the streyght way to Andwarpe, and to have fought ther with our enemyes, sythe we must fight with them, and wyll; they be so proude, that they wolde have bydden us at their sege. Than sir Loyes of

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Howe the Frenchemen coulde nat passe by the bridge of Comynes.

Sanxere sayd, I counsayle let us lodge here for this daye, and cause our people to lodge as well as they can whan they come; and lette us sende to Lyle by the ryver, and gette some shyppes and nayles, and with them lette us make a bridge to morowe agaynst the fayre medowes, sithe we can do none otherwyse. Than sir Joys of Halwyn sayd, Sir, we have well advysed howe that there is a great let bytwene this and Lysle: sir, the ryver is called Menyn, and by this ryver the shyppes or barkes must passe if they shulde come hyder; and, sir, the Flemynges have broken the bridge, and have put in bytwene the joystes great tymbre and stakes, that it is impossyble for any vessell to passe by. I can nat tel than, quoth the constable, what we shall do: it were good we toke the way to Ayre, and ther passe the ryver of Lyse, sythe we can have no passage here. In the meane season that the constable and the marshals of Fraunce and of Burgoyne were about Comynes in this abusyon, and wyst nat what to do, there were a certayne knightes and squiers enterprised valiantly to assay to passe this ryver by some meanes, and to go fyght with the Flemynge, and to wynne the towne and passage of Comynes, as ye shall here after.

Thus as the vowarde was come fro Lyle to Comynes, the lorde of saint Pye and dyvers other knyghtes of Heynalt, of Flaunders, of Arthoyse, and also of Fraunce, without knowledge of the constable or marshalles, they were determyned togyder and sayd, We wyll go gette two or thre lytell botes, and launche them into the ryver of Lyse beneth Comynes in some coverte place; and we wyll sette great stakes on bothe sydes of the ryver to tye ropes therto, for the ryver is nat very large, and by that meanes we shall get over a great nombre of men in a shorte space, and than we may go and assayle our enemyes behynde them or they beware, and wyn the passage. And acordynge to this counsayle, the lorde of saynt Pye made to be brought out of Lysle a barke and ropes with other necessaries; also sir Herbert of Belperche, and sir Johan of Roy, who were companyons toguyther in that voyage, broughte with theym another barke; also sir Henry of Manny, sir Johan of Malestrayt, and sir John Chaudronne, Bretons, brought another. The lorde of saynt Pye was the firste that entredde with his

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barke, cordes and stakes; and there he pytched a great planke and stake on the one syde, and tyed a corde therto; thane thre varlettes passed over to the farther syde with the barke, and caryed the other ende of the corde with them, and there they sette another great stake, and tyedde that ende of the corde to the stake. And that done, than the varlettes retourned with the barke to their maysters. And so it was that the constable of Fraunce and the two marshals, who were at the bridge fote of Comynes, were anone enformed of the said besynes. Than the constable sayd to sir Loys of Sanxere, one of the marshals, Sir, go your way, and se if it be possible to passe the ryver by that meanes, as ye have herde devysed; and if ye se that it be possyble, than fynde the meanes to get mo barkes. And so these sayde knyghtes prepared themselfe redy to passe whan they sawe the barkes redy, and therwith ther came to them the sayd marshall of Fraunce with a great rout, and he behelde well the maner. Than the lorde of saynt Pye sayd to hym, Sir, may it please you that we shall passe? It pleaseth me right well, quoth the marshall: howbeit ye put yourselfe in a great adventure; for if your enemyes at Comynes knowe of you, they may do you great domage. Sir, quoth the lorde of saynt Py, he that nothyng adventureth nothynge getteth. In the name of God and saynt Denys, we trust to passe, so that ar to morowe at night we trust to fight with our enemyes. Than the lorde of saynt Pye set his penon in the barke and entred hymselfe first, and with hym to the nombre of ix.; and anone they were launched forthe by the corde that was tyed on the other syde of the ryver; and than they issued out and went into a lytell wode there besyde, bycause they wolde nat be sene: and they on the rerewage drue agayne to them the barke. Than entred therle of Conversant sir Danghien and his baner with him, and also the lorde of Vertayne his brother[1]; and so ix. of them passed and no mo, and agayne the thirde tyme ther passed as many. And therwith there came two other barkes with sir Herbert of Belperch and sir John of Roy, and with the Bretons: and anone they were langed into the ryver, and ordred as the other were. And so [these] knightes passed; and ther was none that passed but good men of

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[1] *li contes de Conversant sires d'Enghien et avoecq luy li sires de Vertain, et Ferabras de Vertain ses frères bastars.*

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armes, and they passed with so good wyll, that it was great marveyle to beholde them; and there was suche prese to passe, that and the marshall had nat bene there, they wolde have over charged the barkes.

Tidynges came to the constable and to the lordes of France beyng at Comynes, how their peple passed, as ye have herde; than the constable sayd to the seneshall of Reux, Go, I requyre you, and se yonder passage, and whider our people do passe as it is sayd or nat. This knight was never so joyouse of nothyng that ever he herde, and so strake his horse with the spurres, and in his company xl. men of armes; and whan he came to the passage and sawe the maner therof, and how that ther were passed allredy to the full nombre of a C. and l., than he alighted and sayd, howe he wolde passe in lyke wise: the marshall of France coude nat let hym. Tidynges came to the constable, howe that his cosyn the lorde of Rieux was passed over the ryver. Than the constable a lytell began to muse and sayd, Cause the crosbowes to come forthe and scrimyssh with these Flemynges beyond the bridge to kepe them busy, to thentent that they take no hede to our men that are passyng the ryver; for if they knewe it, they wolde ryn to them and distroy their passage, ye, and sle all them that are passed; the whiche I had rather dye than it shulde come to passe. Than the crosbowes and men afote and gonners shote over the brige into the towne. And so ther began a sore scrimysshe, and they made semblaunt to passe the bridge; and the Flemynges, who were well pavessed, made them redy to defende the passage. And thus they endured all that Monday: and anone it was night, for the dayes were as than but short, and styll ther passed men of armes by the sayd barkes; and as they were over, they drue togyder in a lytell grove ther besyde, in covert. Nowe beholde, all thynges consydred, what parell and harde adventure that they were in; for if they within Comynes had parceyved them, they had bene distroyed, or the moost parte of them, and had lost bothe their barkes and ropes; but God dyde for them, to thentent to abate the pride of the Flemynges.

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Howe the Frenchmen that were passed the ryver of Lyse put themselfe in batayle before the Flemynges.

I REPUTE, and also every man ought to reken this enterprise to be of great valyantnesse for them that passed; for the knightes and squiers of the vowarde, whan it was late, stale fro thost and went to the passage to passe with their companyons: so there passed the lorde de Lavale, the vycount of Rohan, the lorde de la Belyer, the lorde of Cambort,[1] sir Olyver the lorde of Clesquyn, the Barroys of Barres, the lorde of Colet,[2] sir Raynalde of Thouars, lorde[3] of Pousanses,[4] sir Wyllyam of Lignacke, sir Water Passac, the lorde of Thouars,[5] sir Loyes of Cousale,[6] sir Trystram de la Gayle, the vycount of Meaux, and the lorde of Mailly; and what of Bretons, Poictevyns, Beruyers, Francoys, Burgonyens, Flemynges, Arthoysens, Troyens, and Heynouers, a great nombre. Whan they were passed the ryver, the same nyght they were to the nombre of four hundred men of armes, of chosen men of warre; there was nat a varlet that passed over. And whan sir Loyes of Sanxere sawe so many passed over, as sixe baners and xxx. penons, he thought it shulde have bene a great shame for hym, without he passed in lyke wise; and so he and his knightes and squyers entred into the barkes, and with hym passed the lorde of Hangest, sir Percivall of Raynvall,[7] and dyvers other. And whan they were all togyder, they sayd, Nowe it is tyme that we go toward Comynes and loke on oure enemyes, and se yf we may lodge in the towne. Than they dyde on their bassenettes and made themselfe redy, and so went forthe through the maresses along by the ryver syde in good order, with their baners and penons wavyng before them redy to fight; and the lorde of saynt Pye was in the formast front, and chyefe governour and leader of that company, bycause he knewe the countre better than any other that was there. Thus as they were coming in good order towarde the towne, Peter de Boyse and the Flemynges,

[1] *Combourg.*

[2] *Cholet.*

[3] *the lorde* P.

[4] *Pauzauges.*

[5] *Thors.*

[6] *Cousan.*

[7] *Esneval.*

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who were redy raynged on the causey, dyd cast their eyen along the ryver syde, and sawe these men of armes aproche, wherof they had marveyle. Than Peter de Boyse said, What devyls of hell hath brought these men of armes hyder? Which way have they passed the ryver of Lyse? And some that were by hym sayd, We are sure they be passed by some barkes or botes without our knowlege, for ther is no bridge nor passage bytwene this and Curtrey, that they coude passe. What shall we do? shall we go and fight with them? Nay, nat so, quod Peter; lette them come, and lette us abyde in oure strength; they be beneth and we a highe over them, therfore we have a great advauntage on them; and if we shulde dyscende downe to fight with theym, we dyde nat well: lette us abyde tyll it be darke night, and than let us take counsayle what is to be done farther; they be no suche nombre that can long endure agaynst us in batayle; we knowe all the shyfte in the countre, and so do nat they. His counsayle was beleved, for the Flemynges never removed out of their place, but helde themselfe styll at the foote of the bridge, and raynged all alonge the causey in good order of batayle, and made countenaunce by semyng as though they set nothyng by them: and they that were passed came thorough the maryse by the ryver syde aprochyng to Comynes. The constable of Fraunce, who was on thother syde of the ryver, dyde cast his eyen, and saw on the other syde the men of armes, with their baners and penons in a lytell batayle, comynge towardes Comynes. Than his blode began to trymble, for feare that he had of them; for he sawe well there were a great nombre of Flemynges raynged in good order of batayle agaynst them. Than he said in great displeasur, O saynt Ives, O saynt George, O Lady of Heven, what is this that I se yonder? I se in parte the chefe flour of all our army, the whiche are nowe in an harde adventure. Wolde to God I were deed, syth I se them do so great an outrage. O sir Loyes of Sanxere, I wolde have thought ye had ben more atemperate and wyser than I se ye be nowe; howe is it, that ye durst put in adventure so many noble knightes and squiers as be nowe in your company, and so fewe in nombre, agaynst ten or xii. thousande fierse and proude people, who wyll take none to mercy. And if ye nede we can

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nat helpe you. O Rohen, O Lavall, O Rieux, O Beaumanoyr, O Longvyle, O Rochfort, O Manny, O Malestroit, O Conversant, O suche and suche, I complayne of you all, that without my counsayle ye wyll put yourselfe in this adventure. Wherfore am I constable of Fraunce? If ye lese, the faut shal be layd to me, and it shal be sayd that I sent you thider. He had gyven a commaundement before, that none shulde departe fro the hoost, to jeopart to passe the bridge; but whane he sawe so many noble men passed, and sawe the dealyng of them, than he sayd with an highe voyce, I abandon the passage to every man that wyll assay to passe, by any maner of meanes. And with those wordes knightes and squyers avaunced themselfe to fynde way and engin howe to passe the bridge; but it was incontynent night, so that of necessyte they must leave their labours, as in castyng of bordes and plankes on the joystes, and some layd their pavesses to passe over. So that the Flemynges had moche ado to defende themselfe, for they wyst nat well to whom to take hede. For they sawe beneth the bridge in the maryse a great nombre of men of armes standyng close togyder, and styll mo comyng to them; and also they sawe them that were on the other syde of the bridge scrimysshyng sore with them, and dyde what they might to make the bridge agayne.

Thus, as ye have herde before, the Frenchemen passed by the barkes that nyght, and came prively thoroughe the marysses and myre to their anclees. Nowe beholde and consyder the payne that they endured, and the valyantnesse of them; seyng, howe in so long nightes and wynter as in Decembre, they abode all the longe colde night in their harnesse, on their fete in the myre, their bassenettes on their heedes, without meate or drinke. Certaynly, I say, this ought to be reputed for a great valyantnesse; and trewely they were but a handfull of men, to the regarde of the Flemynges that were within Comynes and about in the countre. So thus they stode, and nouther durste envade nor assayle, but determyned to stande so styll tyll it were fayre day, sayeng eche to other, We shall se whan it is day the Flemynges wyll come out of their strength and assayle us; and whan they come, let us crye our cryes all with one voyce, every man his owne crye or els his lordes, thogh it so be that the lordes be nat here, for by suche cryes we shall abasshe them: and than lette us stryke in among them with good courage and wyll: it is in God to gyve us grace to disconfyte them, for they are but yvell armed, and we have good speares, well heeded, and good swerdes; the habergyns that they beare shall nat defende them. Thus in this good conforte they abode all that night. And the constable who was on the other syde of the ryver towarde Lysle had great feare in his hert of them, and wysshed hymselfe and all his puissaunce within the towne of Comynes. Than the marshals of Burgoyn and of Flaunders sayd to conforte hym, Sir, be nothynge abasshed; they that be passed over be chosed men of warre, valyaunt and of great wysdome; they wyll do nothyng but by good order and discrecyon. Sir, they wyll nat fight this day, the night is to nere aprochynge; and, sir, ye have abandoned the passage to passe who wyll. To morowe, assoone as it is day, we shall do oure beste to passe the bridge: we have provyded this daye for woode and tymbre more than we shall nede: I trust we shall be soone over, and reconforte them if they have any nede, and yonder unhappy people shall nat endure agaynst us. Thus the constable was reconforted, by the sayeng of suche valyant persons as were in his company.

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Howe the Frenchemen that were passed the ryver of Lyse disconfyted the Flemynges, and slewe many of them, and wan the passage of Comynes.

PETER DE BOYSE, who knewe well that these men of armes in the marysse were nere joining to Comynes, thought himselfe in no suretie, bycause he knewe natte what thende shulde be; howbeit, he sawe well that he had in his company a sixe or sevyn thousande men. Than he sayd to them, Sirs, yonder men of armes that have passed the ryver they be nat made of stele; they have all this laste day traveyled, and all this nyght stamped in the myre; I thinke nowe at the brekyng up of this newe mornyng it

Howe the Frenchemen disconfyted the Flemynges.

were best we set on them; we are men ynoughe to close them rounde about; and if we beate them ones, ther is none wyll medyll with us after; let us make no noyse tyll the tyme come to do our feate. On the other syde, the French knightes that were in the marysses, nat farre fro their enemyes, were nat at their ease, they stode so in the myre, some to the ancles, some to the mydde legge. Howebeit, the greate pleasure and desyre that they had to conquere the passage with honour made them forget their payne and traveyle: yf it had bene in somer as it was in wynter, it had ben but a pleasure for theym; but as than the erthe was colde and wete, and the nightes long: and sometyme rayned on their heedes, the whiche ran downe by their bassenettes, for they stode ever redy to fight, and loked ever whane they shulde be assayled: the remembraunce wherof made them to forgette their paynes. There was the lorde of saynt Pye, who aquyted himselfe right nobly; he was the formast, and ever went prively, to spye, se, and harken the dealyng of his enemyes. And whan he retourned, he shewed his companye howe there was no noyse amonge them, sayeng, paradventure they do it, bycause they wyll be redy to do that is their purpose. Thus he went in and out to spye what his enemyes dyde, tyll at last about the breakyng of the day the Flemynges all in a plumpe, without any maner of noyse, came softely towarde the maryse. Whanne the lorde of saynt Pye, who was watchyng for them, sawe certaynly that they were comyng, than he cam to his company and sayd, Sirs, let us sette on them, for our enemyes are comynge at hande; they come fayre and softely without noyse, wenyng to sette on us, or we be ware of them; therfore nowe lette us all shewe ourselfe lyke men of warre, for incontynent we shall have batayle. And with those wordes every man apparelled hymselfe redy, and set themselfe in as good order as coude be devysed.

And so whan they aproched they made their cryes, as they were apoynted before to do, and receyved the Flemmynges with the speare poyntes, in suche wyse that the mayle in their cootes coulde holde out no more than two or thre folde of clothe wolde have doone. The constable of Fraunce herde well the crye and noyse, and sayd, Sirs, surely our company are

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fightynge; God ayde them, for we canne nat as at this tyme. Thus the Frenchemen receyved the Flemynges with the good speare heedes of Burdeaux, the whiche went throughe habergyns, shulders, bellyes, and heedes, in suche wyse that the Flemynges gave backe, and the Frenchemen wanne grounde. There was Peter de Boyse in the formast front hurt with a speare through the shulder and also in the heed, and he had bene deed without remedy if his men had nat saved hym. For he had a xxx. gret varlettes, whome he had apoynted to wayte ever on his owne person; and so they toke hym in their armes, and bare him out of the prease: the myre was so great, that every man waded to the mydde leg. The men of armes, who had bene used to great feates of armes, they beate downe the Flemynges, and slewe them without mercy: some cryed saynt Pye, Lavall, Sanxere, Rieux, Anghien, and other cryes. The Flemmynges began to be abasshed and to be discomfyted, and began to recule backe, and to fall one upon another. And the Frenchemen entred in among the thyckest of them, and spared no more to slee them than they had ben dogges; and surely they had good cause so to do, for if the Flemynges had achyved the prise over them, they had bene served of the same sauce.

Whan the Flemynges sawe howe they were assayled so valyauntly, and that the men of armes had conquered the causey and the bridge, than they determyned to set fyre in their owne towne, for two causes; the one was, to thentent to cause the Frenchmen to recule backe; and secondly, to cause their owne company also to recule backe to the towne. And as they devysed so they dyd; they put fyre into dyvers howses in the towne, thynkynge therby to have abasshed their enemyes, whiche avayled them nothynge: for the Frenchmen, as valyauntly as they dyd before, so they pursewed them styll betyng and sleyng of them. Than the Flemynges forsoke the towne, and entred into the feldes, and drewe togyder, and than sent about in the countrey, to styrre and reyse up the people, as to Vertaygne,[1] to Propringue, to Vergues,[2] to Rolers, and to Mesiers,[3] to Warneston, and to all other townes about, to cause them to come to Comynes: and belles began to braule, wherby it myght well be knowen that ther was besynesse in hande. So some drewe

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[1] *Wervicq.*

[2] *Bergues.*

[3] *Messines.*

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to the noyse, and some went to save themselfe and their goodes, to Ipre and to Courtrey; women and children forsoke their houses, and left their bestes, corne, and other movables behynde them; and some went towarde Comynes to ayde their company, where as they were fyghting. In the meane season whyle these Frenchmen that had passed the ryver of Lise by the lytell barkes were in hande with their enemyes, the constable, with the great bande of the vowarde, dyd what they myght to passe the bridge; and there was great prease, bycause the constable hadde abandoned the passage to every man who so wolde adventure. So every man preased forthe, they had no lette to passe; so these lordes passed the same day the bridge with moch parell; for they were fayne to lay pavesses and targes on the joystes of the bridg to passe over. The same nyght they had caused to be brought two lode of nayles, the which greatly dyd helpe them to amende the bridge. And so within a short tyme the bridge was made agayne good and stronge; and so all the company passed over the same Tuisday in the mornynge, and so fought at the passage. Therle of Flaunders understode howe they fought at the passage of Comynes, and he sent thyder a sixe thousande men afote, to ayde ther company: but or they came all was done, and the bridge newe made. Than the constable sent them to the bridge of Warneston, to make that bridge agayn, that all their caryage myght easly passe over.

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Howe the French kynge passed the ryver of Lyse, and howe Philyppe Dartvell made his ordynaunce to resyst the kyng and his puissance.

TIDYNGES came the Tuisdaye to the kynge, who was at the abbey of Marquetes, and his uncles with him, howe that the passage of Comynes was conquered, and his vowarde passed over, wherof they were greatly rejoysed. Than was it ordeyned that the kyng shulde passe; and so he harde masse and the lordes also, and dranke, and

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lept on their horses, and so toke the way to Comynes. They of the voward delyvered the towne clene fro the Flemynges, and there were slayne in the stretes and in the feldes about a four thousande, besyde those that were kylled in the chase, and in mylles and churches where as they had hyden themselfe for feare. For as sone as the Bretons were over, they lept on their horses, and entred into the chase to fynde out the Flemynges and to over ryn the countrey, whiche was as than fat and ryche. The lorde of Ryeux, the lorde de Lavall, the lorde Malestroyt, the vycount of Bellyer, the lorde of Comborte, and their company, rode so long that they came to Verayne,[1] a great towne, the whiche anon was taken and brent, and all they within put to dethe. Ther the Bretons had great pillage and profite, and in lykewise so had other, as they spredde abrode in the countrey, for they founde the houses full of clothe, fethers, cloth of golde and sylver; for the Flemynges in trust of the strength at Comynes had nat avoyded their goodes out of the countrey. The Bretons that entred fyrst into the countre dyd set nothyng by the clothe nor other ryches, but by the golde and sylver that they founde there. But suche as came after toke all, and left nothyng behynde them, for all was fysshe that came to net.

Ye may well knowe, tydinges wyll anon spredde abrode: the same Tuisday worde came to Philyp Dartvell, where as he lay at siege before Andewarpe, howe that the Frenchmen had passed the ryver of Lyse by barkes that Monday, and howe they had conquered the passage at Comynes, and howe ther were a sixe thousande of his menne slayne, and, as it was thought, Peter de Boyse was also slayne. Of these tidynges Philyppe was greatly abasshed, and began greatly to marveyle, and demaunded of the lorde of Harsels what was best to do. He answered and sayd, Go you to Gaunt, and assemble togyder all the men ye can gette in the towne, and than come hyder agayn, and so with all youre puyssaunce drawe towarde Courtrey; and whan the kyng understandeth that ye come so stronglye, he wyll be advysed or he come moche farther into the countrey. Also I trust we shall here shortlye tidynges fro oure company that be in Englande, and it may be so that the kynge of Englande and his uncles

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[1] *Wervicq.*

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Howe the French kynge passed the ryver of Lyse.

wyll passe the see with great puyssaunce, or some of them; the whiche shall come well to passe for us. I marveyle greatly, quod Philyppe Dartvell, that the Englysshemen tary so long, seyng they knowe that the Frenchemen be entred into our countre: I wotte nat what they mean therby; and specially I marveyle of our owne men, that we here nat fro them. But howesoever it be, I wyll go to Gaunt, to fetche the rerebande, and so shall come agayne and fight with the Frenche kyng, whatsoever come therof. I am enformed, howe the kynge hath twentie thousande men of armes, the whiche mounteth to lx. thousande men of warre. I shall bringe as many agaynst hym in batayle, and yf it please God of his grace that I may discomfyte hym, with the good ryght that we have, I shal be the moost honoured lorde of the worlde; and if I be discomfyted, as great a fortune hath fallen on a gretter lorde than I am. Thus as Philyppe Dartvell and the lorde of Harsels were toguyder devysinge, ther came certayne persons to them, suche as had bene in the batayle before Comynes, who verifyed all, as ye have herde before. Thane Philyppe Dartvell sayd, Is Peter du Boyse deed or alyve? They answered and sayd, Sir, he is nat deed, but he was sore hurt in the batayle, and is gone to Bruges. And so therwith Philyp lepte on his horse, and a xxx. men with hym, and toke the way to Gaunt; and he went a lytell out of the way, to se certayne men that were deed of the garyson of Andwarpe, who were issued out the same night, to make a scrye in the hoost, and so ther were a xii. slayne; and as he stode and behelde them, he sawe where an haraude was comyng from Gaunt warde, belongyng to the kyng of Englande, and he was called Irelande. Of the comyng of this haraude Philyppe was right joyefull, bycause he came out of Englande, and demaunded of hym tidynges. Sir, quod the haraude, there is fyve of your men with a knight of Englande, called sir Wyllyam Ferineton, are come to Gaunt: and they, by the acorde of the kynge of Englande and of his uncles, and generally by consent of all the realme of Englande, they have brought you letters, as I am enformed, the whiche letters comyth to you as Regent of Flaunders. And whan ye knowe what the letters conteyne, and the great alyances that ye shall have with them

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of Englande, and your men ones retourned, ye shall knowe what conforte ye shall have of them. Well, quod Philyppe, ye contente me moche of this devysing; but I feare me it wyll be to late; go your way to the hoost to our lodgynge. And so he was brought to the lorde of Harsels; and Philyppe rode forthe to Gaunt ryght pensyfe, in suche wyse that no man coude have a worde of hym.

Nowe let us speke of the Frenche kynge, and let us shewe howe he parceyvered. Whan he harde howe that the passage of Comynes was won, and the bridge newe made, than he departed fro the abbey of Marquettes, and so rode forth towarde Comynes, in good order, every man in his degre: so the kyng came the same Tuysday to Comynes, and he and his uncles lodged in the towne, and the vowarde was dyslodged, and went and lodged on the mount of Ipre. And so all his people and caryage passed by Comynes and Warnestone: and on the Wednisday the kynge came and lodged on the same mount of Ipre; and on the same Wednisday the rerewarde passed by the bridge of Comynes, wherin was two thousande men of armes and two thousande crosbowes; and the erle of Ewe, and the erle of Bloyse, the erle of saynt Powle, the erle of Harcourt, the lorde of Chatelon, and the lorde of Fere[1] were governours of them. And whan it was night, and that the lordes had thoght to have rested them after their traveyle, there fell sodenly a larum and a skrye, so that the lordes thought surely to have had batayle, and thought that the Flemynges of Ipre, of Cassell, and of Bergues had bene gadred togyder, and come to gyve them batayle. Than these lordes armed them agayne, and set on their bassenettes, and set forthe their baners and penons, and ordred their men; every man under their owne ensygnes: thus they stoode nygh all nyght in the myre to the myde legge. These lordes endured moche payne, as the erle of Bloyse and other, who had nat bene acustomed to suffre such colde in such longe nyghtes as in Novembre; but they suffred it for their honour, for they went surely to have bene fought with all incontynent; but all was nothing, for the skrye arose by certayne varlettes amonge themselfe. Howebeit, these lordes endured this payne, and bare it as well as they myght.

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[1] *Sere* P.

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Howe the towne of Ipre and dyvers other put themselfe under the obeysance of the French kyng, and of the ordre of the kynges hoost.

AND on the Thursday in the mornyng the rerewarde dislodged fro Comynes, and drue to their company, who were on the mount of Ipre. And there the kyng and the lordes toke counsayle what was best to do, whether they shulde go before Ipre, or before Courtrey, or before Bruges: in the meane season the French forangers ran over the countrey, and they founde catayle and other thynges, that it was marvayle to consydre; for after they were ones over the passage at Comynes, they lacked nothynge. Whan they of Ipre sawe the kynge with all his puyssaunce so nere them, and the passage at Comynes conquered, they were nat well assured of themselfe, and so they drewe togyder to counsayle. The rych and notable men of the towne wolde ever that they shulde have sent to crye the kyng mercy, and to sende hym the keyes of the towne. But the capitayne, who was of Gaunt, and set ther by Philyp Dartvell, wolde in no wyse that they shulde yelde; sayng, Sirs, our towne is stronge inough and well provyded; we may byde a siege longe ynogh if nede be, and in the meane tyme Philyppe Dartvell, our regent, wyll gather his puyssance, and come and fyght with the kyng, and rayse the siege; thinke nat the contrary. The other answered and sayd, We be nat in surety of this, for we thynke it can nat lye in Philyppe Dartvells power to withstande the kyng, without the helpe of the Englysshmen, the whiche is nothyng lykely; therfore we thynke it were best to yelde us to the French kyng, and to none other. So moche rose wordes bytwene them, that they rose agaynst the capitayne and slewe him, who was called Peter Vanelayre. And whan they of Ipre hadde done this dede, they caused two freres to go to the kynge and to his uncles, desyring the kyng that he wolde take an amyable treaty with them of Ipre. The kynge than, by the advyce of his counsayle, Howe the towne of Ipre and dyvers other put themselfe under the obeysance of the French kyng.

gave save-conduct to xii. of them of Ipre and an abbote to come and go save, to knowe what wolde be their desyre; than the frers returned to Ipre. And so than xii. were chosen out in the towne, and an abbote, to go to the kyng on the mount of Ipre: and whan they came before the kyng, they kneled downe, and offred hym to become alwayes under his obeysance, without any meane or reservacion. The kyng than, by the consent of his counsayle, as he that thought to reduce the countrey by faire meanes if he myght, receyved their offre on a condicyon; and that was this, that they of Ipre shulde pay to the kynge xl. thousande frankes towardes his charges comynge thyder; to the whiche they of Ipre made no refuse, but were ryght joyfull therof. Thus they of Ipre were taken to mercy, and they desyred the kyng and his uncles to come into their towne to refressh them, wherof they sayd all the towne wolde be ryght gladde. The kyng agreed therto, consyderyng howe fro thens he myght go into Flaunders, to whiche parte he wolde. So thus they of Ipre returned into their towne, and the people therof were right joyfull whan they knewe how they were receyved to mercy. And so anon this xl. thousande frankes was gadered among them, and payed to the kynge or he entred into Ipre.

All this tyme the kynge lay styll on the mount of Ipre; and than there came tydynges to him, howe that the Parysiens rebelled, and had determyned, as it was sayde, amonge themselfe, to have beaten downe the castell of Beautye, standyng in the wode of Vyncenes, and also the castell of Lowre,[1] and all the strong howses about Parys, to thentent that they shulde nat be greved by any of them. There was one amonge them thought to have said well, but he spake right yvell, as it apered after; for he sayd, Sirs, let us nat do thus, tyll such season as we knowe howe the kynge our lorde dothe in his journey in Flaunders: if they of Gaunt come to their entent, as we trust they shall, than it wyll be good tyme to do it: let us nat begyn a thyng, and afterwarde repent us. He that sayde this was called Nycholas the Flemynge. And so by his wordes the Parysiens seased to do that outrage; but they helde themselfe styll in Parys, and provided for all thynges, as harnes and other abylments, as richely as though they had bene great

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[1] *Louvre.*

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lordes: and they were of harnessed men cape a pe, lyke men of armes, mo than xxx. thousande, and as many with malles; and dayly they caused harnes to be made, and solde to every man that wolde bye. Beholde and se what a myschiefe shulde have fallen, if the kyng and the noble chivalry that was with hym had bene discomfyted in Flaunders: it may be well thought that all noblenes shulde have ben deed and lost in all Fraunce, and as well peradventure in other places. The rebellyon called the Jaquery was never so great nor horible as this was likely to have bene. In lykewise at Reynes, at Chalons in Champayne, and on the ryver of Marewe,[1] the villayns rebelled, and thretened the gentlemen, ladyes, and chyldren, suche as were abydinge behynde the kynge. Also at Orleance, at Bloys, at Rohan in Normandy, and at Beauvoysen, the dyvell was entred into their heedes to have slayne all noblemen, if God had nat purveyed of remedy, as ye shall here after in this hystorie. Nowe let us retourne to Flaunders.

Whan they of Cassell, of Bergues, of Bourbourcke, of Gravelyns, of Furnes, of Dunkyrke, of Propringe, of Tourrout, of Vaylant,[2] and of Messyne, understode howe they of Ipre were become Frenche, and had yelded up their towne under the obeysance of the Frenche kyng, and that gracyously he had receyved theym to his mercy, they were greatly rejoysed and recomforted. And thus whane they had well ymagined, all these sayd townes toke their capitayns and bounde them fast, to thentent that they shulde nat skape, and so they brought theym to the mount of Ipre to please the kyng, and cryed hym mercy on their knees, sayng, Noble kyng, we put our bodyes, goodes, and townes to be under youre obeysance; and sir, to shewe more playnly that ye be our ryght lorde, we have brought you here our chyefe capitayns that Philyppe Dartvell had sette to rule us, and agaynst our wylles to obey them: sir, do your pleasure with them, as it shall lyke you best; for, sir, they have ruled us at their pleasure. Than the kynge was counsayled to take them to mercy, so that amonge them they shulde gyve to the kyng lx. thousande frankes towarde his charges, and therby all their catayls, and other thynges that they had abrode in the feldes, shulde be saved, and nat brent nor

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[1] *Marne.*

[2] *Bailleul.*

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Howe the towne of Ipre and dyvers other put themselfe under the obeysance of the French kyng.

distroyed. Of the whiche composicion they were ryght gladde, and thanked the kyng and his counsayle that they were so skaped: but all the capitayns that had bene sette by Philyp Dartvell in the sayd townes were all beheeded on the mounte of Ipre. Of all these apoyntmentes and treaties the erle of Flaunders was nat made prevy to none of them, nor he was nat called to counsayle. Somewhat it anoyed hym; for all that voyage he and his men lay ever on a wynge, bycause they were Flemynges; and it was ordeyned and commaunded, in the kynges name, on payne of dethe, that no man in the hoost shulde speke any Flemysshe.

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Howe the Frenche kynge departed fro the mount of Ipre, and howe Philyppe Dartvell and the Flemynges apareled themselfe to fyght.

WHAN the Frenche kyng with all his hoost, vowarde and rerewarde, had lyen on the mount of Ipre as longe as it hadde pleased him, and that his men had solde there moche marchandise, of suche stuffe as they had won abrode in the countrey, to them of Lysle, of Doway, and of Tourney; they solde for a franke that was worthe foure; and there were some Bretons that thought to wyn more thane other: they charged their wagans and horses with stuffe, as with cloth, lynen and wollen, golde and sylver, plate and vessell, and dyd sende it into savegarde, over the ryver of Lyse, and some into Fraunce by their servauntes. So than the kynge went to Ipre, and lodged in the towne as many as myght, and there they refresshed them a fyve or sixe dayes. They of Bruges were well enfourmed howe the kyng was at Ipre, and howe that all the countre to Gravelynge was yelded to hym, so they wyst nat what to do, outher to yelde or nat; howbeit, they dyd no more at that tyme. The moost princypall cause that moved them nat to yelde, was bycause they hadde a great nombre of their men of the towne with Philyppe Dartvell at the siege of Andwarpe, to the nombre of seven thousande: and also in the towne of Gaunt they

Howe the Frenche kynge departed fro the mount of Ipre.

had lying in hostage of the moost notablest marchauntes of Bruges, to the entent that Peter de Boyse shulde be the more surer to rule them. Also Peter de Boyse, and Peter de Myrt, was there amonge them, shewyng and sayeng to them thus, Fayre sirs, and good men of Bruges, dismay you nat, though the kynge be come to Ipre. Ye knowe well howe auncyently all the puyssance that was sent by kyng Philyppe to Courtrey, by our auncetours they were all discomfytted and slayne. In lykewise so shall they all be slayn and disconfyted, for Philyppe Dartvell hathe a great puyssance: he wyll nat leave the mater thus, he wyll fyght with the kyng, he may well do it, for the right is ours, and fortune is favorabell to them of Gaunt. So nowe if he may discomfyte the kyng, there is nat one shall skape nor repasse agayne the ryver of Lyse, and so thus in an hour all our countrey is wonne agayne; and soo thus ye of this towne shall be reputed good and true, mayntayninge your fraunches, and to be in the grace of Philyp Dartvell, and of us of Gaunt.

These wordes and suche other lyke shewed dayly by Peter de Boyse, and by Peter de Myrt, refrayned them of Bruges to fall to any treatie with the French kyng. In this meane season the burgesses of Gaunt that had bene in Englande aryved at Calayes, and with them sir Wyllyam Ferineton, an Englysshe knyght, sent into the countre of Flaunders by the kyng of Englande, to conclude with the Flemynges a peace to be taken bytwene them and their countreys. Than the capitayne of Calys, sir Johan Delverays,[1] sayd to them, Sirs, ye are welcome, but as at this present tyme ye may passe no farther, for the Frenche kyng is at Ipre, and all the countrey bytwene this and that is tourned to hym: shortly ye shall here other tydinges, for it is sayde, that Philyp Dartvell assembleth his power to fyght with the kyng, and than it shall be knowen who shall have the better; if the Flemynges be discomfyted, than ye have nothyng to do in Flaunders; and if the kyng lese the felde, than all is yours. Thus the men of Gaunt, and sir Willyam Ferineton, taryed styll at Calays.

Nowe lette us speke of Philyppe Dartvell, howe he parceyvered. He hadde great desyre to fyght with the kynge, and that he well shewed, for he came to Gaunt, and there he

[1] *Devereux.*

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Howe the Frenche kynge departed fro the mount of Ipre.

ordeyned that every man that was able to beare armes, and the towne kept, shulde folowe hym. Every man obeyed hym, for he made them to beleve that by the grace of God they shulde discomfyte the Frenchmen, and shulde be styll lordes of Gaunt, and of dyvers other countreys: and so he hadde with hym out of the towne a ten thousande men in harnes for the arerebande. And so he came before Courtrey, and he had sent to Bruges, to Audyn,[1] to Ardanbourc, to Sluse, and to the four mestyers, and to the chatelayne of Grantmont, Teremonde, and Aloys. And so he raysed among them a xxx. thousande, and so lodged one nyght before Andewarpe, and the next day he departed and went before Courtrey, and he hadde in his company a fifty thousande men in harnes.

Tidynges came to the kynge, and to the lordes of Fraunce, that Philyppe Dartvell had his puyssance aproched fast towarde them, and it was said that he had in his company a threscore thousande men; than the vowarde departed fro Ipre, and the reregarde, and all the hoost. Whyle the lordes were thus in the feldes they endured moch payne, for it was in the hart of wynter, in the begynning of December, and it rayned nygh every day. The lordes were fayne to lye every nyght in the hygh wayes, for every houre they loked for batayle. For it was dayly said in the hoost, howe their enemyes commeth to morowe, and that was sayde by the foragers that went dayly forthe a foragyng. The kynge was lodged in the myddes of his felde amonge his men. And in that Philyppe Dartwell and his company taryed so long or he came, the lordes of Fraunce were sore dyspleased, for the wether was soo sore, that they wolde fayne the mater had bene determyned: with the kyng was the floure of all chivalry of Fraunce. Philyp Dartvell and the Flemynges were to proude, whan they were so hardy to fight with the kyng. For if they had leyn styll at the siege before Andwarpe, and a fortefyed themselfe there, and by the reason of the rayne and foule wether that fell, the Frenchmen wolde never have gone to have fought with them there; and if they had, they coulde nat lightly have fought with them, but to their great payne and parell; but Philyppe glorifyed so in his fayre fortune and victory that he had before Bruges, that it semed to him that nothynge coude go agaynst hym, for he hoped well to be lorde of all the worlde. This was all his ymaginacyon, for he doughted nothyng the French kyng, nor all his puyssance, for if he had, he wolde nat have done as he dyd, as ye shall here after.

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[1] *Damme.*

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Of the marvayle that came to the Flemynges in the nyght, and howe they ordeyned their batayle all in one company.

THE Wednisday at night that the batayle was the next day, Philyp Dartvell with all his puyssance came and lodged in a fayre grounde, right stronge, bytwene a dike and a lytell grove of woode with a strong hedge, so that lightly no man coulde come well at them, and this was bytwene the hyll and Rosebeque, where as the kyng lay. The same night Philyppe Dartvell made a supper in his lodgyng to all his capitayns right plenteous, for they had provisyon ynoughe folowynge them: and after supper he sayd to them, Faire sirs, ye se well we be here in armes, I hope well to morowe we shall have some besynes, for the kyng, who hathe great desyre to fynde us to fyght, is lodged at Rosebeque. Nowe I require you all kepe faythe and trouthe, and be nat abasshed of any thyng that ye se or here, for this that we do is in the upholdynge of our ryght, and lette us frely fyght, to mayntayn the jurisdictyons of Flaunders. Admonyst your people to do well their devoyre, and ordre them so well and wisely, that by our good order and array we may have the victory of the journey to morowe. By the grace of God we shall fynde no lorde that dare fyght agaynst us in the felde, and it shall be more honoure for us, than though we had comfort of the Englisshmen; for if they were in our company they shulde have the renome, and nat we. Also say to your company that they save no parsone alyve, and so therby we shall lyve in rest, for here is with the kynge all the floure of Fraunce, there is none left behynde. Wherfore I commaunde on payne of deth that no man take

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Of the marvayle that came to the Flemynges in the nyght.

any prisoner, without it be the kynge hymselfe, for I wolde he were saved, for he is but a chylde, he ought to be pardoned: he knoweth nat yet what he dothe, but as he is led : we shall bring hym to Gaunt to lerne to speke Flemysshe. But as for dukes, erls, and other parsones, slee them all : the comons in Fraunce wyll nat be dyspleased there with, for I am in surety they wolde that none of them shulde returne agayne into Fraunce, and no more I trust they shall. All such as were with Philyppe at this supper acorded to his opinyon, and so answered with one voice and sayd, Sir, ye say well, and thus it shal be done. Than they toke their leave of him and retourned to their lodginges to their companyes, to shewe them as ye have harde before. Thus passed the nyght in the hoost with Philyppe Dartvell ; but about midnyght, as I was enfourmed, there fell in their hoost a marvaylous thynge, I never harde of none lyke it in any maner.

Thus whane the Flemynges were at rest in their lodginges, howbeit, they knewe well their enemyes were on the hyll, nat past a leage fro them, as I was enfourmed, Philyp Dartvell had brought a damosell with him out of Gaunt ; and as Philyppe lay and slept on a couch, besyde a lytell fyre of coles, in a pavilyon, this sayd damosell about the houre of mydnight issued out of the pavilyon to loke out on the ayre, and to se what tyme of the nyght it was by liklyhode, for she coulde nat slepe. She loked towarde Rosebeque, and she sawe in the skye dyvers fumes and fyre flyeng, it was of the fyres that the Frenchmen made under hedges and busshes. This damosell harkened, and as she thought, she harde great brute bytwene their hoost and the French hoost: she thought she harde the Frenche cryes, cryeng Mountjoy, saynt Denyce, and other cryes ; and this she thought was on mount Dorre, bytwene them and Rosebeque. Of this thyng she was sore afrayed, and so entred into the pavylyon, and sodenly awaked Philyp, and sayd, Sir, ryse up shortly and arme you, for I have harde a great noyse on the mount Dorre, I beleve it be the Frenchmen that are comyng to assayle you. With those wordes he rose and cast on a gowne, and toke his axe in his hande, and yssued out of the pavylion to se what it was. And as the damosell had shewed

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Of the marvayle that came to the Flemynges in the nyght.

hym, he herde the same hymselfe, and it semed to hym that there was a great tournement on the sayd hyll; than incontynent he entred into his pavilyon, and caused his trumpet to be blowen. As soone as the trumpet had blowen, every man arose and armed them. They of the watche sent incontynent to Philyppe Dartvell to knowe for what cause he styrred up the host, seyng there was no cause why, shewyng him howe they had sent to their enemyes hoost, and there was no styrring. Why, quod Philyppe, wherof rose that noyse on the mount Dorre. Sir, quoth they, we herde the same noyse, and sent thyder to knowe what it was, and they that went hath made report, that whan they came there, they herde nor sawe nothyng, and sir, bycause we founde nothynge, we made no noyse therof for styrring up of your hoost; if we shulde have styrred them without a cause, we ought to have ben blamed for our labour. And whan they of the watche had shewed Philyppe these wordes, he apeased hymselfe and all the hoost; howbeit, he had marveyle in his mynde what it myght be. Some sayde it was fendes of hell, that played and tourneyed there as the batayle shulde be the next daye, for joye of the great pray that they were likely to have ther.

Ever after this sodayne afray, Philyppe Dartvell and the Flemynges were in dout of betrayenge; and so at good leysar they armed them, and made great fyres, and eate meate and dranke, wherof they had sufficient. And an hour before day, Philyppe sayd, Sirs, it were good we drewe into the felde and order our peple, to the entent that thoughe the Frenchemen come on us at the breakyng of the day, that we may be redy to receyve them. They all accorded to his sayeng, and so issued out of their lodgynges, and came into a hethe without the woode. And before them there was a great large dyke newly made, and behynde them full of busshes of genepar, and other small busshes: there they ordered their batayle all in one company, and by the report of their constables they were to the nombre of l. thousande chosen men, who dyde sette but lytell by their lyves: also there were a threscore archers Englysshmen stolen away fro Calys, thynkyng to have more profyte by Philyppe Dartvell. So thus every thyng was ordred, their cariage, women, and varlettes; and Philyppe

Of the marvayle that came to the Flemynges in the nyght.

Dartvell had his page by hym on a good courser, worthe to a great lorde fyve hundred florens; he had hym nat by hym to the entent to flye away, or to steale fro his company, but it was the gretter therby to shewe his estate, and to mount on hym if nede were, to folowe the chase of the Frenchmen. He had of the towne of Gaunt about a nyne thousande men well armed, whom he kept ever about his owne person, for he had more truste in them than in any other. And he and they with their baners were in the formast front, and they of Aloyes and Grantmont next them: and than they of Courtrey, of Bruges, of Danne, of Scluse, and of Franke, who were armed the moost partie with malles and chapeause of stele, and hocquetons and gantlettes of steele and baleyne, eche of them bearynge a stake typped with yron. These townes had difference in armes and lyvereis, to knowe one company fro another. Some had cotes of yelowe and blue, some with blacke bandes on reed cootes, some bordered with whyte on blewe cotes, some planted with grene and blewe, some losenged with whyte and blacke, some quartred whyte and reed, some all blewe and one quarter reed, some reed cutte upon whyte, and their baners accordyng to their craftes, with great holmesses hangynge at their gyrdels. So thus they taryed for the day light, whiche was nere aprochyng. Nowe I shall shewe you the order of the Frenchmen.

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Howe the constable and admyrall of Fraunce, and the bastarde of Langres, wente to se the Flemynges, and howe they fortifyed themselfe.

THE Frenche kynge, and the lordes about hym, knewe right well howe the Flemynges aproched nere to them, and sawe well ther was no remedy but batayle, for ther was no mocion made of tretie of peace. The Wednisdaye there was a crye made in the towne of Ipre, that all maner of peple as men of warre shulde drawe to the felde to the kynge, and to do as they oughte to do. Every man obeyed the kynges commaundement, as reason was, and drue

Howe the constable and admyrall of Fraunce, and the bastarde of Langres, wente to se the Flemynges.

to the felde, except suche varlettes as were commaunded to kepe their maysters horses; howbeit, in the vowarde they had many horses for the adventurers, and to dyscover the feldes. Thus this Wednisday the Frenchemen kept the feldes nere unto Rosebeque, and at night the kyng made a supper to his four uncles, and to the constable of Fraunce, and to the lorde of Coucy, and to other great lordes, straungers, of Brabant, of Heynalte, of Hollande, of Zelande, of Almayne, of Lorayne, and of Savoy, who were come thyder to serve the kyng, wherof he thanked them greatlye. The same nyght the erle of Flaunders kept the wache, and with hym a sixe hundred speares, and xii. hundred men of other persons of warre. And after supper whan these lordes were departed, the constable abode styll to speke with the kyng and his uncles. It was ordayned by the kynges counsayle, that the constable of Fraunce, sir Olyver of Clysson, shulde leave his office for the next day, bycause it was thought that they shulde have batayle, and that the lorde of Coucy shulde occupy the offyce for that tyme, and sir Olyver to be about the kynges person. And so whan he wolde have taken leave of the kyng, the kynge sayd to hym ryght swetely and amiably, Sir constable, we wolde that ye rendre up your offyce into our handes for this night and to morowe all day: we have ordayned another to occupy the rome, and we wyll that ye abyde about our persone. Of these wordes the constable had great marveyle, and answered and sayde, Right dere sir, I knowe well I can nat have so great honour as to ayde to kepe youre persone; but sir, this shulde be right displesaunt to all my company, and to all theym of the vowarde: if they have nat me in their company, paradventure they maye lese more therby than wynne. Sir, I say it nat bycause I shulde thynke myselfe so valyant, that for lacke of me they shulde nat do well; but sir, savyng the correctyon of your counsayle, I say that all these fyftene dayes past I have done none other thynge but pursewed myne offyce, to the honoure of you and of your people; and sir, I have shewed every man what they shulde do. And sir, if they fight to morowe, and se nat me amonge them, they wyll be abasshed, wherby I shall receyve blame, and some wyll saye that I have devysed many

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Howe the constable and admyrall of Fraunce, and the bastarde of Langres, wente to se the Flemynges.

thynges, and flye away fro the first strokes. Sir, I requyre your grace breke nat that hath ben first ordayned, I ensure you ye shall have profyt therby. So the kynge and suche as were about hym wyst nat what to say. At last the kyng right sagely said, Constable, I knowe well ye have in all causes right well acquyted yourselfe and shall do: the kyng my father that deed is, loved and trusted you above all other, and for the great trust and affyaunce that he had in you, therfore I wolde have you aboute me in this besynesse. Ryght dere sir, quod the constable, ye are so well acompanyed, and with so valyant and so noble men, and are so ordred by delyberacion of wyse counsayle, that there is nothynge can be amended; wherfore sir, ye and youre counsayle ought to be content. And I therfore requyre you in Goddes behalfe, to suffre me alone in myne offyce, and I truste to morowe ye shall have so good fortune in your journey, that your frendes shal be gladde and your ennemyes displeased. To the whiche wordes the kynge gave none aunswere of a great space, but at last sayd, Constable, in the name of God and saynt Denyce, exercyse your offyce at your pleasure, I wyll speke no more therof, for ye se farther in this matter than I do, or suche as moved first the matter. Be to morowe with me at my masse. Sir, quod the constable, with right a good wyll: and so toke leave of the kyng and retourned to his logyng. And on the Thursdaye in the mornynge, every man apparelled themselfe redy armed, save their heedes, for they knewe well by all lykelyhodde that they shulde have batayle the same day. The Frenche kyng herde masse betymes in the mornyng, and all the great lordes with great devocyon, prayeng to God to sende them honoure that daye. The same mornynge there arose a great myst, so that one coulde nat se an acre of brede before hym, wherof the lordes were ryght sore displeased, but they coude nat amende it. And after masse the kynge and the constable, and other great lordes, wente to counsayle, to determyne what they shulde do; and ther it was ordayned that sir Olyver of Clysson, constable of Fraunce, sir Mathue[1] of Vyenne, admyrall of Fraunce, and sir Wylliam of Poicters, bastarde of Langres, these thre shulde go and vysette the demeanour of the Flemynges, as nere as they might, and to

[1] *Jehans.*

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Howe the constable and admyrall of Fraunce, and the bastarde of Langres, wente to se the Flemynges.

come agayne and make report to the kynge, and to his uncles, of the trouthe of every thynge; and in the meane tyme, the lorde de Labreth and sir Hughe of Chatelone shulde order the bataylles. So thus these thre departed fro the kyng, mounted on good horses, and rode streyght where as they thought to fynde their enemyes. The same mornyng in the great myst, the Flemynges rose and drewe toguyder, in the same stronge place that they had fortifyed, and so stode toguyder all in one batayle tyll it was eyght of the clocke, and coude here nothyng of the Frenchmen. And than by great pride the capitaynes sayd eche to other, What do we here, thus standyng styll on our fete and take colde? Why do we nat go forthe with great courage, sythe we have so great wyll to fight with our enemyes? We tary here for nothynge; the Frenchmen wyll never seke us here. Lette us go at the leest to the mount Dorre, and take the advauntage of the hyll. These wordes so multiplyed, that they all agreed to avaunce forthe to take the hyll that was bytwene them and the Frenchmen; and so than to escape fro the dyke that was before them, they went about the lytell wode that was behynde them, and toke the playne feldes; and as they came about this wode, the forsaid thre knyghtes advysed them by great leysar, and so rode in costyng their batayle within a bowe shot of them; and whan they were passed on the lyft syde, than they rode agayne on their ryght syde, so that they well advysed their hole batell: the Flemynges sawe them right well, but they brake none aray for all them. Than Philyppe Dartvell sayd softely to his capitayns, Let us dresse us and make us redy to the batayle, for our enemyes are nere us; I se right well the thre knightes that have passed and repassed by us have well aviewed oure batayle. Thane they drewe all into one batayle as they wente to the hyll. Than Philyppe sayd aloud, Sirs, whan we come to the batayle, lette us thynke on our enemyes howe they were disconfyted at the batayle of Bruges, by reason that we helde oureselfe close toguyder; let us beware that we opyn nat: every man beare his weapen ryght before hym, and enterlase your staves over your armes, one within another, wherby they shall nat entre upon us. And lette us go a good pase by leysar, and nother tourne on the lyfte

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Howe the constable and admyrall of Fraunce, and the bastarde of Langres, wente to se the Flemynges.

hande nor on the right, and shote our gonnes all at ones, and shote with oure crosbowes: and thus we shall abasshe our enemyes.

Whan Philyppe Dartvell had thus ordred his men, and sette his batayle in arraye, and shewed theym what they shulde do; than he made out a wynge of part of his men, suche as he best trusted, and by him was his page with his courser, to whome he sayd, Go thy waye with my horse behynde yonder busshe, and whan thou seyst the Frenchmen flye, than bring me my horse and crye my crye: than men wyll gyve the roume, to the entent that I may folowe in the chase with the formast. The page dyde as he was commaunded. Than he set besyde hym on a wynge xl. archers Englysshmen, whome he had in wages.

Nowe beholde if Philyp ordred hymselfe well or nat. I thynke, and so dyde many, suche as were expert in bataylles, that he dyde nat well nor wysely in one thynge, and that was, whane he departed in the mornynge out of the stronge place that he was in. For it is to be thought that the Frenchemen wolde never have sought theym there, to have fought with them, for they coulde nat have done it without great domage. But lyke foles they thought to shewe themselfe valyaunt, and lytell fearyng their enemyes, and so they were served therafter.

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The maner of the batayle of Rosebeque, and howe the Flemynges were disconfyted by the counsayle of the thre foresaid knightes, who had avewed all their behavyng.

SO these thre foresayd knyghtes retourned to the kyng, and to the bataylles, the which were redy in good arey as thei ought to be: for ther were many noble and wyse men and well experte in armes, bothe in the vowarde and in the reregarde, and in the kynges batayle, and they knew right well what ought to be done, for ther was the flour of all the good chivalry of the worlde. So thus every

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The maner of the batayle of Rosebeque.

man gave these thre knyghtes way to come to the kyng. The lorde Clysson spake first enclynynge his body to the kynge, doyng of his hatte and sayde, Sir, be mery, yonder people be all yours, oure varlettes shall beate them. Constable, quod the kynge, God graunt it; let us go forwarde than in the name of God and saynt Denyce. Thane suche knyghtes as were apoynted to attende on the kynges body were sette in good order: and there the kynge made many newe knightes, and so dyde every lorde in his owne batayle; and dyvers baners were newe reysed up. Than it was ordayned, that whane they shulde joyne to fyght, that the kynges batayle, with the Oriflambe of Fraunce, shulde be in the fore fronte, and the vowarde shulde passe by asyde on a wynge on the one syde of the kynge, and the rerewarde to passe by, a lytell on the other syde of the kynge, so that all thre batayls might at ones close about the Flemynges batayle, who came close toguyder, all in one batayle. So the arereward were shewed of this apoyntment: the erle of Ewe, the erle of Bloyse, the erle of saynt Poule, the erle of Harcourte, the lorde of Chatyllone, and the lorde Fere, were chiefe of that warde. And before the erle of Bloyse, there was made barone the yonge lorde of Haurell:[1] sir Thomas Dystre,[2] and sir James Hameth, bastarde, were made knightes: there were made the same day by the reporte of the haraudes, four hundred thre score and sevyn knightes. And so than the thre knightes departed fro the kyng and went into the vowarde, where as their romes were. Than incontynent the Oriflambe was displayed that sir Peter of Vyllers dyde beare. And some saye as they have founde written, that it was never before sene displayed agaynst christenmen. But than in that voyage there was great questyon made, whyder it shulde be displayed or natte; howebeit, dyvers reasons consydered, finally it was determyned to be displayed as than, bycause the Flemynges helde the opynion contrarie to Pope Clement; and therfore the Frenchemen called theym Urbanystes, wherfore they sayde they were herytikes, and oute of the true beleve; that was the chyefe cause that it was borne and displayed in Flaunders. This Oriflambe is a precyous baner, and was sent first fro hevyn for a great mysterie, the whiche was ever a great comfort to them that sawe it.

[1] *Havrech.*

[2] *Diest.*

The maner of the batayle of Rosebeque.

And the same daye it shewed some of his vertue, for all the mornyng there was a great thicke myst, that one coude scante se another, but as soone as it was displayed and lyfte up on hyghe, the myst brake away, and the skye was as clere as any tyme in the yere before. The lordes of France were greatlye rejoysed whan they sawe the sonne shine so clere, that they might se all about them; this greatly dyde reconfort them. It was great beautie than to regarde the baners and stremars wave with the wynde; and behelde well the great batayle of the Flemmynges, who ever styll aproched, fast joyned toguyder with their staves upright, that it semed a lytle grove of wode, there were so many of them.

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Howe the Flemynges were disconfyted at the batayle of Rosebeque.

I WAS as than enfourmed of the lorde of Destenort,[1] who shewed me howe that he was there and sawe it, and so dyde dyvers other, that whan the Oriflambe was displayed, and the myst gone away, there came a dove and made dyvers flyghtes over the kynges batayle: and a lytell before they fought she sat downe on one of the kynges baners, the whiche every manne toke for a good token. So thus aproched the Flemynges, and began to shote gonnes and arowes fethered with steele. Thus the batayle began, the whiche was right sharpe and feirse at the first encountryng, for the Flemynges set on proudly, thrustyng with their speares and shulders lyke wylde bores, and they helde themselfe so close toguyder that they coulde nat be opyned. Ther was with the shot of the gonnes at the fyrst thrust slayne of the French parte, the lorde Delbarwyn[2] baneret, Morlette of Harwyn,[3] and James Dorre[4] and so therwith the kynges batayle was reculed; but the vowarde and the arerewarde passed on forth, and enclosed about the Flemynges, and helde theym strayte, I shall shewe you howe. On these two wynges the men of armes fersly assawted, with their stronge speres well heeded with heedes

[1] *Schoonvorst.*

[2] *Wavrin.*

[3] *Halewyn.*

[4] *d'Ere.*

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Howe the Flemynges were disconfyted at the batayle of Rosebeque.

of fyne stele, wherwith they persed the Flemynges cotes of mayle into the harde bones, so that the Flemynges were glad to eschewe the strokes. So thus these men of armes kept the Flemynges so short, that they coude nat well helpe themselfe, nor put downe their armes to gyve any strokes. So there were many that lost their strength and brethe, and fell one upon another, and so dyed for lacke of breth without strikyng of any stroke. And ther was Philyppe Dartvell wounded and beaten downe amonge his men of Gaunt; and whan his page with his horse sawe the disconfyture of his mayster, he departed and lefte his mayster, for he coulde nat helpe hym, and so rode to Courtray, towardes Gaunt.

Thus these batayls assembled togyder. So the Flemynges batayle was inclosed on bothe sydes, so that they coulde passe no way; than the kynges batayle came forth agayne, the whiche was before a lytell drawen abacke. The men of armes beate downe the Flemynges on every syde; some had good axes of stele, wherwith they brake asonder bassenetes, and some had malles of leade, wherwith they gave suche strokes, that they beat all downe to the erthe before them. And as the Flemynges were beaten downe, there were pages redy to cut their throtes with great knyves, and so slewe them without pytie, as though they had bene but dogges. The strokes on the bassenetes were so great, that no man coulde here other speke for noyse: I harde reported that though all the armorers of Parys[1] and Brusels hadde bene workynge toguyder, coulde nat have made so great a noyse. There were some that advaunced so sore into the prease, that they were slayn and overcome for lacke of brethe, as sir Loys of Gousalles, a gentle knight of Berrey, and sir Fleton of Revyell, and dyvers other, whiche was great domage. But so great a batayle as the Flemynges were, coulde nat be overcome without great losse, for yong knightes and squiers wyll lightly avaunce themselfe to get honour; and the prease was so great, and the besynesse so parylous, that whan they were in the thicke of the prease, they coude nat releve themselfe, but were troden under fote to dethe. And so by that meanes there were dyvers of the Frenchmen slayne, but to no great nombre. The Flemynges were slayne by hepes one upon another; and whane they that were behynde sawe the dis-

[1] *Bareys* P.

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comfyture of their company, they were abasshed, and cast downe their pavesses and armures, and tourned and fled away towarde Courtrey, and other places, and had mynde of nothynge but to save themselfe: and the Bretons and Frenchmen chased them through dykes, groves, and busshes, and ever foughte and slewe them downe ryght; there were many fledde bytwene Courtrey and the batayle, to go to Gaunt. This batayle was on the mount Dorre, bytwene Courtrey and Rosebeque, in the yere of our Lorde God, a thousande thre hundred fourscore and two, the Thursday next before Advent, in November, the xxvii. day, the French kyng Charles than beyng of xiiii. yere of age.

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Howe the body of Philyp Dartvell was brought to the kynge and so hanged up, and howe the towne of Curtray was brent.

THUS, as ye have herde, the Flemynges were disconfyted on the mount Dorre, their pride abated, and Philyppe Dartvell slayne. And of them of Gaunt and of their parteners slayne with hym in the felde to the nombre of nyne thousande, acordynge to the reporte of the herauldes, and in the chase xxv. thousande slayne; and the batayle endured nat past halfe an hour, or it was disconfyted. And after this disconfyture, the whiche was right honourable for all christendome, and for all noblenesse, for if these sayd villaynes had atchyved their ententes, there had never so great crueltie have ben sene before in all the worlde, for the comonties in dyvers countreis had rebelled, to have distroyed all noblenesse.

What thynke you that they of Parys wolde saye whan they knewe of this disconfyture? I thynke they were nothynge joyfull therof. Thus whan this batayle was atchyved, at laste they lefte the chase, and trumpettes sowned the retrait. And so every man drewe to his lodgynge, and the vowarde lodged forwarde there as the Flemynges had lyen the nyght before, and there toke their ease

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and were well refresshed, for newe purveyaunce came to them fro Ipre. And so that night they made great fyres, with suche pavesses and staves as the Flemynges had broughte to the felde. And whan the kyng was in his lodgynge, there was pyght up a pavilyon of crymasyn sendall, right noble and riche; and there the kynges uncles unarmed hym, and dyvers other lordes of Fraunce came thyder to se hym, as reason requyred. Than the kynge sayde to them that were about hym, Sirs, if Philyppe Dartvell be alyve or dedde, I wolde fayne se hym; they answered, howe they wolde do their payne that he shulde se hym. And thanne there was made a crye throughe the hoost, that whosoever coude fynde Philyppe Dartvell, shulde have a hundred frankes for his laboure. Than there were many that went among the deed bodyes, who were nyghe dispoyled of all their clothes. At laste ther was suche serche made that he was founde and knowen, by a varlette that had served hym longe tyme before, and he knewe hym very well by dyvers tokens. So he was drawen and brought before the kynges pavylyon; and the kyng behelde hym a longe space, and so dyde all thother lordes. And he was turned and retourned, to se what hurtes or woundes he had, but they coude se no wounde wherby he shulde dye; but it was judged that he fell in a lytell dyke, and a great meny of the Gauntoyse on hym, wherby he was pressed to dethe. And so whan they had well regarded hym, than at last he was taken fro thens and hanged upon a tre. This was the ende of Philyp Dartvell.

Sir Danyell of Helwyn, who was within Andewarpe, with other knyghtes and squyers, the whiche had kepte the garyson right honourably, the Wednisdaye before the batayle, bycause he knewe well that the kyng was in Flaunders, and shulde have batayle with the Flemynges, late in the nyght he caused foure fagottes to be sette a fyre, and caste a highe out of the towne, in tokenynge to them that lay at the sege, howe their siege shulde be reysed. The Thursdaye, tidynges came to the lorde of Harselles, howe that their company were disconfyted, and Philyp Dartvell slayne. And as soone as thes tidynges were knowen they dislodged, and toke their way to Gaunt, and left behynde them the moost parte of

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their provysion. But they within Andwarpe knewe nothynge therof, tyll the next mornynge: and whan they knewe therof, they issued oute, and brought in great pyllage that they founde hydden there about. The same Thursday at nyght, tidynges came to Bruges of the disconfyture of the batayle, wherof they were greatly abasshed, and sayde, Lo, we may nowe se our owne distructyon; if the Bretons come hyder and entre into our towne, we shall all be pylled and slayn, for they wyll have of us no mercy. Than the burgesses and their wyves toke all their best jowelles and riches, and put it into shyppes to save it, to sende it by water into Hollande, and into Zelande: in this case they were four dayes, so that they left no disshe nor cuppe of sylver in all Bruges, but all was put into shyppes for dout of the Bretons. Whan Peter de Boyse, who laye there sore wounded with the hurtes that he toke at the passage of Comynes, understode the disconfyture of his company, and howe that Philyppe Dartvell was deed and slayne, and howe the people of Bruges were so abasshed, than he was in no suretie of hymselfe; and so determyned to departe and to go to Gaunte, for he thought that they of Gaunt wolde also be sore abasshed, and so made a lytter to be dressed for hym, for he coude nat ryde. Ye may knowe well, whan these tidynges came to Gaunte, of the losse of their men, and of the dethe of Philyp Dartvell, they were so sore disconforted, that if the Frenchmen had come thyder the daye of the batayle, or the next day after, or the Saturday after, or ever that Peter de Boyse came thyder, they wolde have suffred them to have entred into the towne without any resystence, to have done what they had lyste; but the Frenchemen toke no hede therto. They thought right well to be lordes therof at their pleasure, seynge that Philyppe Dartvell was deed, they thought surely that the people of Gaunte wolde have yelded them to the kynges mercy. Howbeit, they dyde nat so, for they alone made greatter warre than ever they dyd before, as ye shall her after in this hystorie.

On the Friday the kyng disloged fro Rosbeque, bycause of the eyre of the deed bodyes, and he was counsayled to go to Courtray to refresshe hym there. The Hase, and dyvers other knightes and squyers, suche as knewe the countrey,

Howe the body of Philyp Dartvell was brought to the kynge.

lepte on their horses and galowped streyght to Courtray, and entred into the towne, for there was made no defence agaynst them. The burgesses and their wyves, and all other men, women, and chyldren, entred into cellars, and into the churches, to flye fro the deth, so that it was pytie to se it. Suche as entred first into Courtray had great profyte by pyllage: and so than after there entred the Frenchemen and Bretons, and every man toke up their lodgynge as they came: and the kynge entred the firste day of Decembre. Than there was a newe persecucyon made in the towne on the Flemynges, suche as were hydden about, for as they were founde out they were slayne, for ther was no man taken to mercy. The Frenchemen, and they of that towne, hated eche other mortallye, bycause of a batayle that was ones fought before Courtray, where as sir Robert Arthois, and a great parte of the floure of Fraunce were slayne. It was shewed the kynge, howe that there was in Courtray, in the churche of Oure Lady, a chapell, wherin were fyve hundred gylte spurres, parteyninge of olde tyme to the lordes and knyghtes of Fraunce, suche as had bene slayne at the sayde batayle of Courtray; the whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde God a thousande thre hundred and two: and they of Courtray ones a yere made therof a great triumphe and solempnyte. Wherfore the kyng sayd it shulde be derely bought: and so it was after, for at his departynge he sette the towne a fyre, to the entent that it shulde be knowen ever after, howe that the Frenche kynge had bene there. And anone after that the kynge thus come to Courtray, there came thyder a fyftie speares fro the garyson of Andwarpe, with sir Danyell of Helwyn, to se the kynge, who made them ryght good chere, and so dyde all the lordes. And whanne they had bene there a day, than they retourned to Andwarpe, to their company.

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Howe they of Bruges yelde themselfe under the obeysance of the French king, and howe they of Gaunt were reconforted by Peter de Boyse.

THE Bretons, and they of the vowarde, shewed well by their demeanoure, that they hadde great desyre to go to Bruges, to pylle and to robbe the towne. The erle of Flaunders, who loved ryght well the towne of Bruges, and wolde nat by his wyll that the towne shulde be clene distroyed, and also he was enformed howe they of Bruges were disconforted and greatly abasshed, he had pytie on theym, and sayde to his sonne, the duke of Burgoyne, Sir, if they of Bruges wolde come to aske mercy, for Goddessake lette them nat be refused: for if the towne be overronne with these Bretons, it shall never be recovered agayne, but lost for ever; the duke agreed well therto. Thus whyle the kyng lay at Courtrey, they of Bruges lyved in great feare, and wyst nat what to do, outher to avoyde the towne, or els to abyde the adventure; and so at last they determyned to sende two freres to the kyng to Courtrey, to obtayne a saveconduct for twelfe of the best of their towne, to come and speke with the kynge and his counsayle. These two freres came to Curtrey, and spake with the kyng and his counsayle, and with the erle of Flaunders, who molefyed the mater as moche as he might. The kyng graunted for these twelfe burgesses this saveconduct to go and come to speke with hym. So thus these freres retourned to Bruges; and so twelfe of their burgesses departed and went to Courtrey, to the kynge and to his uncles; they kneled downe on their knees before hym and sayd, Sir, we requyre your grace to take and accepte us as your owne, and to do with all the men of the towne at your pleasure; but sir, for Goddes sake have pytie of us, let nat the towne be distroyed nor loste, for sir, yf it be distroyed, many good men are utterly undone for ever: and sir, in that we have ben contrarie to oure naturall lorde, it was by the puissaunce of Philyppe Dartvell and of

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Howe they of Bruges yelde themselfe under the obeysance of the French king.

the Gauntoyse, for and that hadde nat bene, the towne of Bruges hadde bene full trewe to their lorde. The kynge entended well to their wordes, by the meanes of the erle of Flaunders, who was there present, who kneledde downe before the kynge, and desyredde to have mercy for theym. Than it was shewed theym, that to apease the Bretons and the menne of warre lyenge in the feldes, bytwene Courounte,[1] and Bruges, that it muste behove theym to paye some certayne somme of money; and so there was comunyng on that mater, and it was demaunded of them to pay two hundred thousande frankes. So at last it was determyned that they shulde pay sixe score thousande frankes, thre score thousande in hande, and the resydue at Candelmas next after, and so therby to lyve in rest and peace, and clerly to become liegmen to the French kyng, and to owe to hym faythe, homage, and obeysaunce. Thus the good towne of Bruges abode in peace, and nat robbed nor pylled, wherwith the Bretons were ryght sore displeased, for they had thought to have had great profyte therby. So that some of them sayd, whan they sawe that the peace was made, and lykely to have no more warre, This warre of Flaunders is nothyng profytable for us, for we have lytle advauntage therby: let us returne into our countrey, but let us go through Haynalt, for duke Aubert who hath the governynge there came nat to ayde nor to helpe his cosyn therle of Flaunders, but hath dissymuled with hym, wherfore it is good that we go and vyset hym, for he hathe a good countrey and a fat; we shall fynde none that wyll let us the way, and so let us recover our domages, and our wages yvell payed. So there were all of one accorde, to the nombre of xii. hundred speares, what of Bretons, Burgonyons, Savosyns, and of other countreis. O, what jeopardy the good countre of Heynalt was in. But the knowledge therof came to the gentyll erle of Bloyes, who was there as one of the great lordes among other, and one of the chiefe governours of the areregarde, and one of the kynges counsayle. And anone whan he knewe that the Bretons and Burgonyons desyred nothyng but pyllage, and howe they manasshed the good countre of Heynalte, than to fynde remedy therfore, he advaunced forthe and sayd, howe it was nat a thyng to be consented

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[1] *Thourout.*

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Howe they of Bruges yelde themselfe under the obeysance of the French king.

unto, that the good countre of Heynalt shulde be overronne; and so called to hym his cosyns, the erle of Marche, the erle of saynt Poule, the lorde of Coucy, the lorde Dangeen, and dyvers other, havyng landes in the countie of Heynault, and he shewed them howe in no wyse they ought to consent that the good countre of Heynalt shulde be overronne, fro whens they be dyscended, and have therin fayre herytage. Also he sayd, Sirs, ye knowe well that the countre of Heynalt hath done no maner of trespasse, for in all the warre bytwene the erle of Flaunders and his countre, alwayes Heynalt bare no faute, but hath served the kyng in this voyage well and truely, with the barones and knyghtes therof; and also or the kyng came into Flaunders, the knightes and squyers of Heynalt served truely the erle of Flaunders, so that some of them were closed and beseged in Teremonde, and Andwarpe, and there adventured bothe body and goodes. So moche the erle of Bloys dyde, and went fro one to another, and gat suche frendes, that all the mater was broken, and so abode styll in peace. Also the same erle dyd another thyng. Ther was as than in Flaunders a knyght, called the lorde of Esquymyn,[1] who for the love of a kynsman of his, called sir Danyell Buse,[2] who throughe his owne faute was slayne in the towne of Valencennes, and so to revenge his quarell, the sayde lorde sayde he wolde make warr, and harry the towne of Valencennes. And he had goten suche frendes toguyder to do yvell, as drewe to the nombre of fyve hundred speares, redy to go into Heynalt to harry the towne of Valencennes, affirmyng howe he had a good quarell so to do. But whan the erle of Bloyes was enformed therof, he defended the sayd knight, that he shulde nat be so hardy to entre into Heynalt, nor into the countrey of his cosyn duke Aubert; for if he dyde, it shulde be derely bought. So moche dyde the gentyll erle of Bloys, that he stopped the sayde knightes enterprise, and the mater put clerely into his handes, and to the lorde of Coucy: and so thus the towne was in peace. Suche service dyde the erle of Bloys in this army to them of Heynalt, and to them of Valencennes, wherby he gatte great love, and specially of the towne of Valencennes.

All this season the lordes and men of warr lay styll at Courtray, and there about, for they knewe nat what the

[1] *Dixmude.*

[2] *d'Use.*

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kynge wolde do, whyder he wolde go to Gaunte or nat. For the Frenchmen beleved, that whan they of Bruges were yelded up, that they of Gaunte wolde do so in lykewise, seyng they had lost their capitayne, and had receyved great domage and losse of their men at the batayle of Rosebeque. And of trouthe, ones they of Gaunt were in mynde so to have done, for they were thre dayes they wyst nat what to do, outher to departe and leave the towne, or els to sende the kayes therof to the kynge, and to yelde them to his mercy; they were so abasshed that they wyst not what to do, nor the lorde of Harsels who was there wyst nat howe to reconforte theym. Whan Peter de Boyse entred into the towne, he founde the gates wyde opyn without any kepyng or defence, wherof he had great marveyle, and demaunded what it ment that they kept no better their towne. And suche as were come to se hym answered and sayd, A, sir, what shulde we do? ye knowe well we have lost oure good capitayne and men of our towne, besyde straungers, to the nombre of nyne thousande; this domage toucheth us so nyghe that we have no recovery. A, folysshe people, quod Peter de Boyse, ye are abasshed and wot nat well why, for the warr as yet is nat at the ende, for the towne of Gaunt was never so renomed as it shal be yet herafter. If Philyp Dartvell be deed, it was by his owne outrage: close up your gates and entende to your defences, ye nede nat feare that the kynge wyll come hyder in this wynter tyme; and in the meane tyme, or the newe season come, we shall be newe releved with our men out of Holande, Zelande, Guerles, Brabant, and other places; we shall have men ynowe for our money. Francoys Atreman, who is in Englande, shall retourne, and he and I shall be your capitayns. The warre was never so sore as we shall make it; we are better nowe alone, than whan we had all the helpe of Flaunders, and we are nowe better expert than we were before; therfore lette us entende nowe to provyde for the warre, and we shall do more than ever we dyde before. Thus with suche wordes Peter de Boyse reconforted them that were sore abasshed at his returnyng to Gaunt, for and he had nat bene, they had yelded themselfe symply to the Frenche kynge. Lo, thus ye may se what counsayle and confort ther is in one man, in tyme of nede. And whan they of Gaunt sawe that fyve or sixe dayes were passed, and that no man came towardes their towne, nor no lykelyhod of any siege, than they were greatly reconforted, and more prouder than ever they were before.

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Howe the treatie of alyaunce bytwene the Englysshemen and the Flemynges was broken; and howe the French kyng departed out of Flaunders.

YE have herde before howe sir Willyam Ferineton was at Calys, sent thyder by the kyng of Englande and by his counsayle, and brought letters with hym to have bene sealed by the good townes of Flaunders, makynge mencyon of great alyaunces to be taken bytwene thenglysshmen and the Flemynges. And at Calais with hym was styll Fraunces Atreman, and sixe burgesses of Gaunt; and whan tidynges came to them of the disconfyture at Rosebeque, they were sore abasshed. And the Englisshe knight sawe well that he had no more to do to entre any farther into Flaunders, for he sawe well that the treatie was broken; so he toke the letters unsealed, and retourned into Englande agayne assoone as he might, and so shewed the mater howe it was fallen. Wherof the gentylmen of the countre were nat greatly displeased, for they sayd, and also say yet, that if the comons of Flaunders had wonne the vyctorie, and that the noble men of Fraunce had ben slayne, the pride of the comons in every countre wolde have ben so great, that all noble men shulde have repented it, the whiche was well sene but a lytell before in Englande; wherfore of the losse of the Flemynges there was but lytell thought taken. And whan they of Flaunders, suche as had ben in Englande with Fraunces Atreman, knewe these tidynges, it was right grevous to them, and so departed by water and arryved at Mydelborowe, in Zelande, and suche as were of Gaunt retourned to Gaunt, and every man home to their owne townes. And Fraunces Atreman and his company, beyng at Calis, departed and went to Gaunt; but that was nat as long as the Frenche kyng was in Flaunders: but as I was enfourmed they retourned by Zelande.

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Howe the treatie of alyaunce bytwene the Englysshemen and the Flemynges was broken.

In the same season that the Frenche kyng lay at Courtrey, he had dyvers counsayls to knowe howe he shulde parceyver in his warre, and whether he shulde go and ley siege to Gaunt or nat. The kyng was well wyllyng to have gone thyder: in lykewise so were the Bretons and Burgonyons; but the lordes consydred, howe it was in the moneth of Decembre, and in the deed tyme of wynter, and dayly it rayned, wherfore they thought it was no good hostyng tyll somer season. And also they sawe well howe their horses were but feble by reason of the colde season, and the ryvers great and large about Gaunt, wherfore they thought but a lost tyme to ley any sege there; and also the lordes were wery and sore traveyled with so long lyeng in the feldes in that colde tyme and rayny: so all thynges consydred, it was determyned that the kynge shulde go to Tourney, and there to refresshe him, and to kepe his Christmas. And they of farr countreis, as of Auvergne, of Dolphyn, of Savoy, and of Burgoyne, shulde returne home into their owne countreis fayre and easely; and the Bretons, Normayns, and Frenchmen, shulde abyde styll with the constable to attende on the kyng. For it was thought that they shulde have some busynesse with the Parisyens, who had newly forged a great nombre of malles, wherfore they thought to set another rule and order amonge them. And whan the kynge shulde departe fro Courtrey, he and his counsayle forgate nat the gylt spurres that they founde in a churche there in Courtray, the whiche of olde tyme parteyned to the noble men of Fraunce, somtyme slayne with erle Robert of Arthoyse, at the batayle of Curtrey. So than the kyng ordayned that at his departyng the towne shulde be set afyre and distroyed. Whan the knowledge therof came to the erle of Flaunders, he thought to have founde some remedy therfore, and so came before the kyng and kneled downe, and requyred hym to do none yvell to the towne of Curtrey. The kyng answered, howe that surely he wolde nat here his request; and so therle durst speke no more of that mater, but so

Howe the treatie of alyaunce bytwene the Englysshemen and the Flemynges was broken.

departed and went to his logyng. Before the fyre began, the duke of Burgoyne caused an horaloge to be taken downe, the moost fayrest and goodlyest that coude be founde on that syde of the see, the whiche horaloge was taken downe by peces and layed in chares, and the bell also; and after, it was caryed to Diyon in Burgoyne, and there it was sette up, and there sowneth the xxiiii. houres of the day and night.

At the departyng of the kyng fro Courtrey, the towne was clene distroyed and brent, and the knyghtes, squyers, and men of warre toke some of the men, women and chyldren to raunsome. And so the kyng rode and came to Turney, and was lodged in the abbey of saint Martyne. And they of the towne dyde great reverence to the kynge, as reason requyred, and all they of the towne were arayed in whyte, with thre barres of grene on the one syde. The cytie was devyded to lodge the lordes; the kyng lay at saynt Martyns, and his company had one quarter of the towne; the duke of Berry was lodged in the bysshoppes lodginge, the duke of Burgoyne at the Crowne, the duke of Burbone at the Golden Heed, the constable at Saynt James Heed. Ther was a cry made in the kinges name, on payne of dethe no man to do any hurt to the people of the cytie, and that no manne take any thyng without he pay truely therfore, and that none entre into the countie of Heynaulte to do any hurte or domage there. All these thynges were well kept and holden; there the lordes refresshed them well. And they of the farr countreis departed and retourned homewarde, some by Lysle, some by Doway, and some by Valencennes. The erle of Bloyse toke leave of the kynge and of his uncles, and of his companyon therle of Ewe, and so returned to his herytage in Heynalte. And he lay a day and a nyght at Valencennes, wher he was well refresshed. For he had achyved entierly the love of the good people of the towne, for the servyce that he dyde to the countre, whan the Bretons, Burgonyons, and Savoysyns wolde have overron the countre, whiche was let by his meanes: and also for sir Tyrrie of Disquemyne, who helde them of Valencennes in great feare, whiche mater was putte into the erles handes, and into the lorde of Couces, and so therby they were in peace. Than the erle departed fro Valencennes, and went to Lendecheries, and ther he taryed a season with the lady Mary his wyfe, and Lewes his sone. And the somer after he went to Bloyse, but the countesse his wife and his sonne taryed styll in Heynalt, and for the moost parte lay at Beaumont.

CAP. CCCCXXV
Howe the treatie of alyaunce bytwene the Englysshemen and the Flemynges was broken.

CAP. CCCCXXVI

Howe the Frenche kyng came to Parys, and howe he caused to be putte downe the cheyns and harnes in the towne; and howe the Parisyens were raunsomed at his pleasure.

IN lyke wise the erle of Marche and sir James of Burbone, his brother, departed fro Tourney and went to refresshe them at Scluse in Heynault, on their owne herytages. Sir Guy de Lavall, Breton, went to Chevre in Heynault, wher he had parte of enherytaunce, for he and sir Robert of Namure were lordes therof; and the lorde of Coucy went to Mortayn on the ryver of Lescalt, and there refresshed hym and his company; but for the most party he hymselfe was with the kyng at Turney. The erle of saynt Poule had commissyon to chastyce the Urbanystes, wherof ther were many in that towne. And so he founde many, and ever as he founde them in the churche of Our Lady or els where, they were taken and put in prison and sore raunsomed; and by that meanes the erle of saynt Poule gathered toguyder in a shorte season more than sevyn thousande frankes, for there was none that scaped hym but that payed or founde good suretie to paye. And whyle that the kyng lay at Tourney, they of Gaunt had a saveconduct to go and come, and to entreatie for a peace; but in all their treaties they were as harde and as proude as thoughe they had won the vyctorie of the batayle of Rosebeque. They sayd they wolde gladly put themselfe under the obeysaunce of the Frenche kyng, to holde of hym, and to have their resort to the court of Parys; but they sayd, they wolde never have nor take to their lorde the erle

Howe the Frenche kyng came to Parys.

Loyes; for they sayde, they coude never love hym, bycause of the great domages that they had receyved by hym and by his meanes. All that ever that kyng and his counsayle coude do coude never tourne them fro that opinyon; they wolde never make other answere, but sayde, thoughe they had lyved this two or thre yere in payne, trouble, and daunger, yet they trusted at laste to recover it, and to bringe up their towne agayne into great prosperyte and welthe. Than it was shewed them they might departe whan they lyst; and so they departed fro Tourney and retourned to Gaunt; and so the mater hanged styll in warre. The Frenche kyng and his lordes toke great payne to cause the countie of Flaunders to be good Clementyns, and to obey to Pope Clement. But the good townes and churches were so sore anexed and bounde to the opinyon of Pope Urbane, that they coude nat be turned. Therle of Flaunders hymselfe was of the same opinyon: and so they answered by the counsayle of therle to take advyce, and to answere determynatly by the feest of Ester; and so thus the matter hanged. The kynge kept his Christmas at Turney; and whan the kyng departed, he ordayned the lorde of Guystell to be capitayn of Bruges, the lorde of saynt Pye[1] at Ipre, and the great lorde of Guystell to be regarde of Flaunders, and sir John of Jumont to be capitayne at Courtrey. And he sent two C. speres, Bretons and other, in garyson to Andeburge; and to Andwarpe he sent sir Wyllyam of Langhien[2] and about a C. speares with hym in garyson. Thus the garysons of Flaunders were purveyed for to kepe garyson warr all wynter, and none otherwise tyll the next somer. These thynges thus ordred, the kynge departed fro Tourney and went to Arras, and his uncles with hym, and the erle of Flaunders in his company.

The kyng taryed at Arras, and the cytie was in a great adventure to have ben over ron and robbed with the Bretons, for there was great wages owyng to them; also they had endured great traveyle in that voyage, and they were nat well content with the kyng; it was great payne to refrayne them fro doyng yvell. The constable and marshals of Fraunce apesed them, promysyng howe they shulde be clerely payed of their wages whan they came to Parys: so thus the

[1] *Sempi.*

[2] *Gilbert de Leeuwerghem.*

CAP. CCCCXXVI

Howe the Frenche kyng came to Parys.

kynge departed and went to Peron. The erle of Flaunders toke leave of the kyng and went to Lyle. So long the kyng jurneyed, that he passed Peron, Noyon, and Compayne, and so came to saynt Lyse,[1] and there rested. And all his men of warre were lodged in the vyllages bytwene saint Lyse and Meaulx in Bry, and on the ryver of Marne, and about saynt Denyce, so that all the countre was full of men of warre: and so than the kyng departed fro saynt Lyse, and went towarde Paris, and he sent before his officers to prepare for hym his lodgynge at the castell of Loure. And also his thre uncles sent of their servauntes to prepare their lodgynges, and in lykewise so dyd other lordes. And all this was done for a cautell and wyle, for the kyng nor these lordes were nat determyned to entre so sodenly into Parys, for they douted them of Parys; but they dyde this to prove what countenance and order they of Paris wolde make at the kynges entre; they thought they wolde make this assay before. The servauntes that went before were commaunded to say, if any man demaunded of them if the kyng were comyng, that they wolde be ther incontynent. By the whiche the Parisyens advysed among themselfe to be armed, and to shewe the kyng at his entre what puyssance they were of, and what men of warr they were able to make to serve the kyng whan it pleased him; but they had ben better to have sytten styll in their houses, for the shewe that they made was converted to their great servytude, as ye shall here after. They sayd they dyde it for good, but it was taken to yvell. And wheras the kyng shulde have lodged at Lour, he made his lodgynge to be prepared at Bourgell;[2] and than voyce ran thorough Parys how the kyng was nere at hande to entre into Parys. Than mo than xx. thousande Parisyens armed them and yssued out into the feldes, and ordred themselfe in a fayre batayle, bytwene saynt Lader and Parys, towarde Mount Martyr; and they had with them crosbowes, pavesses, and malles redy apparelled, as thoughe they shulde have fought incontynent in batayle. The kyng was as than at Borgell and all the lordes, and thider to them was broght all the tidynges of all the demeanoure of them of Parys. Than the lordes sayde, A, ye may se the pride of these rybauldes; wherfore do they nowe

[1] *Senlis.*

[2] *Bourget.*

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shewe their estate? Yf they wolde have served the kynge in the same poynt as they be in nowe, whan the kynge went into Flaunders, thane had they done well. But they hadde no mynde so to do; they rather prayed to God that we shulde never retourne agayne. The whiche wordes dyvers that were ther helped well forwarde, to thentent to greve the Parisyens, sayeng, If the kyng be well counsayled, he shall nat adventure hymselfe to come among suche people as cometh agaynst hym with an army arrayed in batayle; they shulde rather have come humbly with processyon, and have rong all the belles in Parys, in thankynge God of the vyctorie that the kyng had in Flaunders. Thus the lordes were abasshed howe they shulde mentayne themselfe: finally it was apoynted, that the constable of Fraunce, the lorde Dalbret, the lorde of Coucy, sir Guy of Tremoyle and sir Johan of Vyen shulde go and speke with them, and demaunde of them the cause why they be issued out of Parys in so great a nombre, armed in order of batayle agaynst the kyng, the whiche thynge was never sene before in Fraunce. And upon their aunswere the lordes sayde the kynge shulde take advyse. They were wyse ynoughe to order as great a mater as that was, and gretter. So these said lordes departed fro the kyng without harnesse; and for the more suretie of their busynesse, they toke with them thre or foure herauldes, and sende them somwhat before to the Parisyens, and sayd, Sirs, go ye on before to yonder people of Parys, and demaunde of them a save-conduct for us to go and come, tyll we have spoken with them fro the kyng.

These heraudes departed and rode a great pace, and came to these people; and whan the Parisiens sawe them comyng, they thought full lytell they hadde come to have spoken with them; they thought they had but rydden to Parys as other dyde. The heraudes had on their cote armures, and whan they aproched nere to the Parisyens, they sayd on high, Where be the maysters? Wher be the rulers? Whiche of you be capitayns? We be come to you, sende fro the lordes. Than some of them of Parys parceyved well by these wordes that they had nat done well: they cast downe their heedes and sayde, Here be no maysters; we are

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all of one accorde, and at the kynges commaundement and the lordes; therfore, sirs, saye in Goddes name what ye wyll to us. Sirs, quod the heraudes, the lordes that sente us hyder (and named them) they knowe nat what ye thynke or entende: they requyre you that they may peasably without parell come and speke with you, and retourne agayne to the kyng, and shewe hym the answere that ye make to them, otherwyse they dare nat come to you. By oure faythes, sirs, quod they, they ought to say no suche wordes to us; but of their gentylnesse we thynke ye do but mocke us. Surely, sirs, quod the heraudes, we speke it in good certentie. Than, quod the Parisyens, go your way, and say to them that they may come at their pleasure to us, without daunger or parell, for they shall have no hurt for none of us, for we are all redy to fulfyll their commaundementes. Than the herauldes retourned to the lordes, and shewed them as ye have herde. Than the four lordes rode forthe and their company, and came to the Parisyens, whome they founde in good array and order of batayle; and there were mo than xx. thousande malles: and as the lordes passed by them, and behelde theym well, within themselfe they praysed moch their maner; and also as they passed by, ever the Parisyens enclyned themselfe to them. And whan these lordes were as in the myddes amonge them, than they rested and stode styll. And the constable spake a highe and sayde, Ye people of Parys, what hath moved you to issue out of the cytie in this order of batayle? It semeth ye wyll fyght agaynst the kynge our soverayne lorde, whose subgettes ye be, or shulde be. Sir, quod they, save your grace, we were never of wyll to do any thynge agaynst the kynge; but, sir, we be yssued out for non other cause but to shewe the kyng what puyssance the Parisyens be of: the kyng is but yonge; he never as yet sawe it; and without he se it he cannat knowe it, nor howe he may be served if nede be. Sirs, quod the constable, ye speke well; but we saye unto you fro the kynge, that as at this tyme he wyll not se you in this maner, for this that ye have done suffyseth; therfore we counsayle you to retourne agayne peaseably to Parys, every man to his owne lodgynge, and do of youre harnesse, if ye entende that the kynge shall come hyder. Sir, quod they, we shall

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with right a good wyll fulfyll youre commaundement: and so therwith they all retourned into Parys, every man to his owne house to unarme hym. And the sayde four lordes retourned to the kyng, and shewed unto hym all the wordes that ye have herde before. Than it was determyned, that the kyng, his uncles, and lordes, and certayne men of armes with them, shulde entre into Parys; and the great bande to byde without the cyte rounde about, to gyve the more feare to the Parisyens. And the lorde of Coucy and the marshall of Sanxere were ordayned, that assoone as the kynge were entred into Parys, that they shulde take downe the leaves of the gates of the four princypals of the cytie, towarde saynt Denyce and saynt More, so that the gates myght stande open day and night, for all maner of men of warre to entre in and out at their pleasur, to thentent to mayster them of Parys if nede were: and also, they to take downe all the chenesse in every strete, to ryde in and out at their pleasure. And as it was ordayned so it was done: and so the kyng entred into Parys, and lodged at Loure, and his uncles by him, and thother lordes in dyvers logynges. So thus the gates were taken out of the gouges and layd downe on the grounde, and the chenesse of every strete taken downe and brought into the palayes. Than the Parisyens were in great dout, and feared that they shulde be over ron, so that none of them durst loke out into the strete, nor open dore nor wyndowe. And thus they were a thre dayes in great parell and feare to receyve greatter domage, as they dyd. For it cost many of them great fynance and raunsome, for they were called into the chambre of counsayle one after another, suche as the lordes wolde have; and so there they were raunsomed, some at sixe thousande frankes, some at thre, and some at one. So that ther was levyed in Parys, to the kynges profyte, to his uncles, and to his mynisters, the somme of foure hundred M. frankes: ther was nothyng demaunded of the poore people, but of the great maysters and suche as might bear it: they were right happy that might escape with payeng of raunsome. And every man by himself was fayne to bring their harnesse in sackes to the castell of Beaute, otherwise called the castell of Vycennes, and there it was closed in a great towre, and their mals also.

Thus the Parisyens were dealt withall, to gyve ensample to all other good townes of France. And ther were reysed up subsydes, gabels, aydes, fouages, douzimes, trezimes, and all other suche thynges; and also all the playne countre about clene ryfled.

CAP. CCCCXXVI
Howe the Frenche kyng came to Parys.

CAP. CCCCXXVII

Howe dyvers notable men of Paris were beheeded with mayster Johan Marettes, at Parys, and in dyvers other townes of Fraunce; and of the warre of the Gauntoise that was newe begon agayne.

THERE were also divers taken and put in prison and many drowned. And than, to apease the remynant, there was a crye made in the cyte, that none on payne of dethe shulde do any hurt to any Parisyen, nor to robbe nor take any thynge out of any house without payeng therfore. This cry apeased greatly them of the cyte. Howebeit, on a day there were dyvers persones ledde out of the castell, judged to dye for their defautes, and for styrring up of the comons. Howbeit, there was great marveyle made of mayster Johan Marettes,[1] who was reputed and renoumed a sage and a notable man. Some said he had wrong to be judged to dye, for he had alwayes bene a man of great wysedome and good counsayle, and was one of the moost autentyke men of the court of parlyment, and had served kyng Philyppe, kyng Johan, and kynge Charles, and was never founde in no defaute. Howebeit, he was than judged to be beheeded, and a xii. in his company. And as he was caryed on a charet to the place of execusion, he spake and sayd, Where be they that hath judged me to dye? Let them come forthe and shewe the cause why. Thus he preached to the people as he went to his execusyon. The people had great pyte on him, but they durst speke no worde. He was brought to the markette place of the halles, and there first were beheeded suche as were brought thyder with hym. There was one called Nicholas Flamant, a draper, and ther was offred to save his lyfe threscore thousande

[1] *des Mares.*

Howe dyvers notable men of Paris were beheeded.

frankes; but it wolde nat be taken, but there he dyed. And whan they came to mayster Johan Marettes, they sayde to hym, Mayster Johan, crye mercy to the king to forgyve you your mysdedes. Than he tourned hym and sayde, I have served kyng Phylyppe his great graunt father, kynge Johan, and kynge Charles his father, well and truelye; these thre never layed any thynge to my charge, nor no more the kyng that nowe is wolde have done and he had bene at his full age and of mannes knowledge. I beleve in the judgyng of me he is nothyng culpable. I have nothyng to do to crye hym mercy; but I crye God mercy and none other: I requyre hym humbly to forgyve me my misdedes. And so than he toke leave of the people, so that many wept for hym. After this maner dyed mayster Johan Marettes.

In lykewise in the towne of Rohan,[1] to mayster the towne, ther were dyvers putte to dethe and raunsomed; also at Reynes, at Chaalons, at Troyes, at Sence, and at Orlyaunce. These townes were taxed at great sommes of florens, bycause at the begynning they disobeyed the kyng. Ther was gadered in the realme of Fraunce suche a somme of florens, that it was marveyle to speke therof; and all went to the profyte of the duke of Berrey and of the duke of Burgoyne, for the yong kynge was in their governaunce. And to saye the trouthe, the constable of Fraunce and the marshalles had a great parte to paye the men of armes that had served the kynge in his vyage into Flaunders: and the erle of Bloyes, the erle of Marche, the erle of Ewe, therle of saynt Poule, the erle of Harcourt, the erle Dolphyn of Auvergne, the lorde of Coucy, and the gret barons of Fraunce, were assigned to be payed on suche taxes as shulde be payed in their countreis, for suche servyce as they had done to the kyng in Flaunders, and they to pay their company. Of these assignacyons I canne nat tell howe the lordes were payed, for incontynent after newe taylles were ceassed in their countreis for the kynge; and so before all other the kynges taxe shulde be payed and executed, and the lordes dueties putte abacke.

Ye have herde before howe whane the kyng departed fro Courtrey, the towne of Gaunte abode styll in warre as it was before; and capitayns of Gaunte at that tyme were

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[1] *Rouen.*

Howe dyvers notable men of Paris were beheeded.

Peter de Boyse, Peter de Myrt, and Fraunces Atreman. And so they renewed the towne with newe soudyers, that came to them fro dyvers countreis, and they were nothynge abasshed to make warre, but as fresshe and as quycke as ever they were. And the capitaynes of Gaunt understode that ther were certayne Bretons and Burgonyons in the towne of Dardenbourge; they determyned to go thyder to loke on them. And so Fraunces Atreman departed fro Gaunt with thre thousande men, and so came to Dardenbourge, and ther made a great scrimysshe. And finally the Gauntoyse wan the towne, but that cost many of their lyves, for there were a two hundred of his men slayne, and the towne was robbed and pylled, and the moost parte therof brent. And so than they retourned to Gaunt with their boty and conquest, and were receyved with great joye: and anon after they went to the cytie of Dabes,[1] and to Teremonde juste to Andwarpe, and pylled and robbed all the countrey.

CAP. CCCCXXVIII

Of the alyaunce that was purchased bytwene thenglysshmen and the Flemynges, and of the bulles that pope Urbayne sent into Englande to dystroy the Clementyns.

THE erle of Flaunders, who lay at Lile, understode howe the Gauntoyse avaunsed themselfe to ryde and to overron the countre, and to distroy that they might. He was ryght sore displeased; he thought they had nat had the wytte nor puyssaunce so to do, sythe that Philyppe Dartvell was deed; howbeit, his counsayle sayd to him, Sir, ye knowe well and ye have alwayes herd say, howe the Gauntoyse are right subtyll people, the whiche they have well shewed and wyll shewe: and also agayne, they have ben in Englande and are retourned agayne, and specially Fraunces Atreman, who was companion to Philyppe Dartvell in all his faytes; as long as he lyveth ye shall have warre with them. Also, sir, we knowe

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[1] *Alost.*

CAP. CCCCXXVIII

Of the alyaunce that was purchased bytwene thenglysshmen and the Flemynges.

well he hath made great alyaunce with the kynge of Englande for the towne of Gaunt, and hath a certayne pensyon out of Englande secretely by Johan Saplemon, who is pure Englysshe, and dwelleth under you in the towne of Bruges, and hathe done the space of this xxiiii. yere; and to verify that this is true, Rase of Veyrte,[1] Loyes de Vos, and Johan Sercolacke[2] of Gaunt, and the clerke that procureth to be bysshoppe of Gaunt, all these are styll behynde in Englande, to performe this alyaunce; and, sir, ye shall here more trewer tidynges than we can tell you, or the myddes of May be past. The erle of Flaunders beleved well all these sayenges to be trewe, and so they were in dede. Than he began to ymagin agaynst this John Saplemon, and on thenglysshmen dwellynge in Bruges. Than he caused them to be somoned, to be at a certayne day assigned before the erle at Lysle; and so the erles servauntes came and somoned Johan Saplemon and dyvers other riche Englysshmen, or they were ware therof, commaundynge them the fyftene day after to be with the erle at his castell of Lysle. Whan the Englysshmen herde therof, they were sore abasshed and toke counsayle toguyder, having great marveyle why the erle shulde sende for them: all thynges consydred, they douted gretlye, for they knewe well the erle was fierse and fell in his hast. Than they sayd amonge themselfe, He that kepeth natte his body, kepeth nothyng; we dout lest the erle be enfourmed sore agaynst us. For with Fraunces Atreman, who hath a pensyon of the kyng of Englande whan he was in Englande, there was with hym two burgesses of this towne of Bruges; and paraventure they have made some enformacyon agaynst us to therle, for as nowe they be on his parte. So on this purpose rested the Englysshemen, that they durst nat abyde the erles judgement, nor to go to Lyle at the day before lymyted: so they departed fro Bruges and wente to Scluse, and dyde so moche that they founde a shyppe redy aparelled, and so they bought it with their money, and so departed and sayled tyll they arryved in London. And whan therle of Flaunders was enfourmed of this mater, and sawe that the Englysshmen apered nat at theyr day, he was sore displeased, and sende incontynent to Bruges, and caused to be ceased all that ever coude be founde parteyninge to the

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[1] *Voorde.*

[2] *Schotelaere.*

Englysshmen, and all their herytages gyven and solde, and John Saplemon clene banysshed out of Flaunders for a hundred yere and one day, and his companyons; and such as were taken were put in prisone, where as some dyed. And some recovered agayne all that ever they had lost.

CAP. CCCCXXVIII Of the alyaunce that was purchased bytwene thenglysshmen and the Flemynges.

There is a comune proverbe, the whiche is true, and that is, howe envy never dyeth. I say it, bycause Englysshmen are right envyouse of the welthe of other, and alwayes hath ben: it was so, that the kyng of Englande and his uncles, and the nobles of Englande, were right sore displeased of the welthe and honour that was fallen to the Frenche kynge and to the nobles of Fraunce at the bataile of Rosebeque. And the knightes of Englande spake and sayd to eche other, Ah, saynt Mary, howe the Frenchmen are nowe mounted in pride, by the overthrowyng of a sort of rude villayns. Wolde to God Philyp Dartvell had had of our men a ii. M. speares and sixe M. archers, ther had nat than scaped one Frenchman, but outher slayne or taken; but and God wyll this glorie shall nat long endure them. Nowe we have a fayre advauntage to entre into Flaunders, for the countre is nowe conquered for the French kyng, and we trust to conquere it agayne for the kynge of Englande. It sheweth well at this tyme that the erle of Flaunders is greatly subget to the Frenche kyng, and that he wyll please hym in all poyntes, whan our marchantes dwellyng in Bruges, and have dwelt ther beyonde this xxx. yere, be nowe banysshed and chased out of Flaunders. The tyme hath be sene they durst nat have done it; but nowe they dare do none otherwyse for feare of the Frenchemen; we trust it shall nat abyde longe in this poynt. This was the langage among thenglysshmen through the realme of Englande, therfore it was to be supposed that this was done but by envy.

In this season, he that wrote hymselfe pope Urbane the Sixt, came by the see fro Rome to Gennes, where as he was well receyved and reverently of the Genoways, and there he kept his resydens. Ye knowe well, howe all England was obeysant to hym, as well the churche as the people, bycause the French king was Clementyne and all Fraunce. This Urbane, on whome the Englysshemen and dyvers other countreis beleved, he beyng at Gennes, advysed howe he

Of the alyaunce that was purchased bytwene thenglysshmen and the Flemynges.

might anoy the French kyng; and so he thought to sende into Englande for socoure. I shall shewe you by what maner. He sent his bulles to the archebysshoppes and byshoppes of Englande, makyng mencyon how he assoyled from payne and from synne all suche as wolde ayde to distroy the Clementyns, for he knewe well howe Clement his adversarye had done in lykewise in the realme of Fraunce and dothe dayly: and they called the Urbanystes in their faythe and beleve to be but dogges. So this Urbane sawe well that the Clementynes wolde condempne and distroy hym if they might; and he sawe well he coude nat more greve the Frenchmen than by the Englysshmen; but first he sawe well he must fynde the meanes to gather toguyder great ryches; for he knewe well the nobles of Englande, for all his absolucyons, wolde nat ryde forthe in warre without money. For menne of warre lyve nat by pardons, nor they set nat moche therby, but in the artycle of dethe.

Thane he determyned besyde these bulles, to sende into Englande to the prelates, that they shulde ordayne a full dysme on the churches; the noble men and men of warre therof to be payed their wages, without grevynge of any parte of the kynges treasur, or of the comontie of the realme; the whiche thynge the Pope thought the barons and knightes of England gladly wolde herken unto. Than he caused to be writen and engrossed bulles, as well to the kynge and his uncles as to the prelates of Englande, of playne absolucyon from payne and synne. And besyde that, he graunted to the kyng and to his uncles a playne dysme to be taken and levyed throughe out all Englande, so that sir Henry Spensar, bysshoppe of Norwyche, shulde be chiefe capitayne of all the men of warr; bycause the goodes came fro the churche, therfore the Pope wolde that one of the churche shulde be chefe governoure, and to the entent that the churches and comons of the realme shulde the better beleve the mater. And besyde that, bycause he knewe the realme of Spaygne contrarie to his opinyon, and somwhat alyed with the Frenche kyng, he advysed that with parte of the same golde and sylver that shulde be gadered in the realme of Englande, that the duke of Lancastre, who reputed hymselfe kyng of Castell by the right of his wyfe, that he in lykewise shulde make another army into Castell. And also, yf the duke of Lancastre take on hym the sayd viage, than the Pope said he wolde graunt to the kynge of Portyngale, who made newe warre with kyng Johan of Castell, for kyng Fraunces[1] was deed, a playne dysme throughe out all Portingale. Thus pope Urbane ordeyned all his busynesse, and sent a xxx. bulles into Englande, the whiche were receyved with great joye. Than the prelates in their jurysdictions began to preche this voiage in maner of a crosey, wherby the people of Englande, who lightlye beleved, gave therto great faythe, and beleved verilye that they coulde nat go to Paradyse yf they dyed that yere, without they gave somwhat in pure almes towarde this warre. At London and in the dyoses there was gathered a tonne full of golde and sylver. And accordynge to the Popes bulles, he that moost gave moost pardon obteyned: and whosoever dyed in that season, and gave his goodes to these pardones, was clene assoyled from payne and from synne. And, accordynge to the tenour of the bulles, happy was he that dyed in that seasone, for to have so noble absolucyon. Thus they gathered money all the wynter and Lent season, what by the pardons and by the dysmes, that, as it was sayd, it drewe to the somme of xxv. hundred thousande frankes.

CAP. CCCCXXVIII
Of the alyaunce that was purchased bytwene thenglyssh-men and the Flemynges.

CAP. CCCCXXIX

Howe the bysshop of Norwiche and the Englysshemen yssued out of Englande, to ron and to make warre agaynst all those that helde with pope Clement.

WHAN the kynge of Englande, his uncles and counsayle, understode what money was gadered, they were right joyouse, and sayd howe they had money ynoughe to make warre agaynst two realmes, that was to saye, agaynst Fraunce and Spayne. To go into Spayne, in the name of the Pope and of the prelates of Englande, with the duke of Lancastre, was ordayned the byshoppe of London, called Thomas,[2] brother to therle of

[1] *Ferrans.*

[2] *William Courtney.*

CAP. CCCCXXIX

Howe the bysshop of Norwiche and the Englysshemen yssued out of Englande.

Devonshyre, to be chefe capitayn, and with him two M. speares and four thousande archers, and they to have halfe of the money thus gadered. But it was ordayned that they shulde nat so soone departe out of Englande as the bysshop of Norwiche, bycause that army shulde aryve at Calys, and so to entre into Fraunce; and they wyst nat what shulde fall therby, nor whider the Frenche kyng wolde reyse any puyssance to fyght with them or nat. Also ther was another poynt contrary to the duke of Lancastre, yet he had great joye of that vyage, for generally all the comontie of Englande more enclyned to be with the bysshop of Norwiche, than to go with the duke of Lancastre: for a long season the duke was nat in the grace of the people; and also they thought the realme of Fraunce to be nerer journey than into Spayne. And also some sayd, that the duke of Lancastre, for covytousnes of the sylver and golde that was gadered of the churche and of the pardons, wherof he shulde have his parte, that he dyde enclyne rather therto for the profyte than for any devocyon. But they said, howe the bisshop of Norwiche represented the Pope, and was by hym instytuted, wherby the greattest part of Englande gave to hym great faythe, and the kyng also. And so there was ordayned at the wages of the churche to go with this bysshoppe Henry Spensar dyvers good knightes and squyers of Englande and of Gascoyne, as the lorde Beaumont, sir Hugh Caurell,[1] sir Thomas Tryvet, sir Wyllyam Helmon,[2] sir Johan Ferres, sir Hugh Spensar, cosyn to the bysshoppe, sonne to his brother, sir Wyllyam Ferineton, sir Mathewe Reedman, capytayne of Berwike; all these were of Englande. And of Gascoyns, there was the lorde of Newcastell,[3] and sir John his brother, Raymon Marsen, Guyllonette de Pauxe,[4] Garyot Vyghier, Johan de Cachytan, and dyvers other. And counted, they were a fyve hundred speares and fyftene hundred of other men, and a great nombre of preestes, bycause the mater touched the churche and moved by the Pope.

These men of warr provyded themselfe for the mater, and passage was delyvered them at Dover and at Sandwyche. And this was about Ester; and so they passed over lytell and lytell as they lyst. This voiage was in the maner of

[1] *Calverley.*

[2] *Elmham.*

[3] *Castelnau.*

[4] *Pans.*

CAP. CCCCXXIX

Howe the bysshop of Norwiche and the Englysshemenyssued out of Englande.

a croysey. Thus they passed the see, or the bysshoppe and other capitayns were fully redy, for the bysshop and sir Hugh Caurell, sir Thomas Tryvet, and sir Wyllyam Helmon were with the kynge and his counsayle. And there they sware solempnely in the kynges presens to bringe truely to an ende their voyage, nor to fight against no man nor countrey that helde with pope Urbayne, but to fight and make warre agaynst them that were of the opinyon of Clement. Thus they sware; and than the kyng, by the advyse of his counsayle, sayd to them, Sir bysshoppe and all ye, whan ye come to Calais, I wyll ye sojourne there in that fronter the space of a moneth, and in that terme I shall refresshe you with newe men of warr, of armes, and archers; and I shall sende you a good marshall, a valyant man, sir Wyllyam Beauchampe, for I have sende for hym: he is in the marche of Scotlande, wher as he kepeth fronter agaynst the Scottes; for the trewse bytwene the Scottes and us falleth nowe at saint Johans tyde; and after his retourne ye shall have hym in youre company without any fayle; therfore I wolde ye shulde tarye for hym, for he shall be to you ryght necessarie, bothe for his wysedome and good counsayle. The bysshoppe and his company promysed the kynge so to do. And thus they departed fro the kynge and toke the see at Dover and arryved at Calayes the xxiii. day of Aprill, the yere of our Lorde God a thousande thre hundred fourscore and thre.

The same season there was capitayne at Calais sir Johan Delvarues,[1] who receyved the bysshoppe and his company with great joye. And so they landed lytell and lytell, and all their horses and baggage, and so lodged in Calays and there about, in bastylles that they made dayly. And so there they taryed tyll the fourthe day of May, abidyng for their marshall, sir Wylliam Beauchampe, who came nat of all that tyme. Whan the bysshoppe of Norwiche, who was yonge and couragious, and desyrous to be in armes, for he never bare armure before, but in Lumbardy with his brother, thus as he was at Calays, and sawe how he was capitayne of so many men of armes, he sayde one day to his company, Sirs, why do we sojourne here so long, and tary for sir Wyllyam Beauchampe, who cometh nat? The kyng nor

[1] *Devereux.*

CAP. CCCCXXIX

Howe the bysshop of Norwiche and the Englysshemen yssued out of Englande.

his uncles I trowe thynke lytell of us: let us do some dedes of armes, sythe we be ordayned so to do: lette us enploy the money of the churche truelye whyle that we lyve; let us conquere somewhat of our enemyes. That is well sayd, sir, quod all those that herde him speke; let us warne all oure company that we wyll ryde forthe within this thre dayes. And let us take advyse whiche way we shall drawe; we can nat issue out of the gates, but we entre into the landes of oure enemyes, for it is Frenche all aboute on every parte. We were as good to go towardes Flaunders as to Boloyne, for Flaunders is a lande of conquest, conquered by the puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng; we can nat bestowe our tyme more honourably, all thynges consydred, than to conquere it agayne. And also the erle of Flaunders hath done of late a great dispyte to men of our countre, for, without any tytell of reason, he hath banysshed and chased them out of Bruges and out of all Flaunders: it passeth nat two yere sythe that he wolde have ben lothe to have done so, but as nowe he is fayne to obey to the pleasure of the Frenche kyng. Wherfore, quod the bysshop, if I may be beleved, the first journey that we shall make shal be into Flaunders. Sir, quod sir Thomas Tryvet and sir Wylliam Helmone, ye shall be well beleved: lette us ryde into that partie within this thre dayes, for it is of the lande of our enemys. To this counsayle they all agreed, and gave warnynge eche to other.

CAP. CCCCXXX

Howe the Englysshemen toke the towne and mynster of Gravelynge, and howe the erle of Flaunders sent to speke with them.

AT all this agrement was nat sir Hugh Caurell, for he was gone to se a cosin of his, the capitayne of Guynes, called sir Johan Droithton,[1] and so he was there all day, and retourned agayne the nexte day. Than the bysshoppe sent for hym to the castell, for the knightes had sayd to the bysshoppe howe they wolde have the advyse

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[1] *Drayton.*

CAP. CCCCXXX

Howe the Englysshemen toke the towne and mynster of Gravelynge.

of sir Hughe Caurell or they dyde any thynge, bycause he had moost sene and used the warre. Than the bysshop sayd to hym as ye have herde before, and commaunded hym to say his advyse. Than sir Hughe answered hym and sayde, Sir, ye knowe well on what condycion we be departed out of Englande. Our enterprise toucheth nothynge the warre bytwene the kynges, but all onely agaynst the Clementyns, for we be soudyers of pope Urbane, who hath clene assoyled us from all synne and payne, if we do oure power to distroy the Clementyns. If we go into Flaunders, thoughe the countrey hath bene conquered by the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyne, yet for all that we shulde do amysse; for as I understande, the erle of Flaunders and all the Flemynges be as good Urbanystes as we be. Also, sir, we have nat men ynowe to entre into Flaunders, for they are all redy and used in the warre, and they are a great nombre of people: they have done nothyng els but lyved in warre this thre or foure yere, and also it is a stronge countrey to entre into; also the Flemynges have done us no trespasse. But, sir, yf we shall ryde, lette us ryde into Fraunce; there be our enemyes in two maners. The kyng our lordes warr is nowe opyn, and also the Frenchmen are good Clementyns, contrarie to our beleve and agaynst our Pope. Also, sir, we shulde abyde for our marshall, sir Wylliam Beauchampe, who shulde hastely come to us with a good nombre of men; and the last worde that our kynge sayd was that he wolde sende hym to us. But, sir, my counsayle is, if we shall nedes ryde, let us drawe towardes Ayre or Moustrell;[1] ther is none, I thynke, as yet that wyll come agaynst us, and alwayes men wyll come to us oute of Flaunders, who hath lost all that they have; they wyll be gladde to go with us, in hope to wynne somewhat agayne: they beare yvell wyll in their hertes to the Frenchmen, who hath slayne in the warres their fathers, bretherne, kynsmen, and frendes. Sir Hughe coude scant speke these wordes, but that the bysshop toke the mater hote and hasty, and sayde, A sir Hughe, ye have so well lerned to ryde in Fraunce, that ye can nat ryde into none other place: we cannat better ryde to our profyte, thanne to entre into the fronter of Flaunders by the see cost, as to the towne of Bourbourge, of Dunesshe,[2] of Mes-

[1] *Montreuil-sur-mer.*

[2] *Dunkirk.*

Howe the Englysshemen toke the towne and mynster of Gravelynge.

port,[1] of Bergues, of Cassell, of Ipre, and of Proprigue: in these sayd countreis, as I am enformed by the burgesses of Gaunt, they had never warre that greved them. Let us go thyder and refresshe us, and abyde there for our marshall if he wyll come; howebeit, we se nat yet but lytell aparence of his comynge. Whan sir Hughe Caurell sawe that the bysshop dyde take hym up so shortely, and he consydred well howe he was their chyefe capitayne, and that he was a great man and of great lygnage, he helde his peace, for he sawe well also, howe that his opynyon shulde nat be susteyned, nother by sir Thomas Tryvet nor by sir Wylliam Helmon. Than he departed and sayd, Sir, if ye ryde forthe, sir Hughe Caurell shall ryde with you, nor ye shal nat go that way, but that he dare well go the same. I beleve well, quod the bysshoppe, ye have good wyll to ryde forthe; therefore make you redy, for we wyll ryde to morowe.

On this purpose they were all agreed, and their rydinge forthe was publysshed throughe out the towne: and in the mornynge the trumpettes sowned, and every man departed into the feldes, and tooke the way to Gravelyng; and they were in nombre aboute a thre thousand men armed, and so they came to the porte of Gravelynge. The see was as than but lowe, and so they passed forthe and assayled the mynster, the which they of the towne had fortifyed. The towne was closed but with pales, the whiche coude nat long endure, nor also the men of the towne were but see men: if ther had ben gentylmen, it wolde have helde lengar than it dyde; nor also the countre was nat ware therof, for they feared nothyng thenglysshmen. Thus thenglysshmen conquered the towne of Gravelyng, and entred into it, and than drewe to the mynster, wherinto the people of the towne were drawen, and putte therin all their goodes, on trust of the strength of the place, and their wyves and chyldren, and made rounde about it great dykes, so that the Englysshmen coude nat have it at their ease, for they were ther two dayes or they wanne it; yet finally they wan it, and slewe all them that kept it with defence, and with the resydue they dyde what they lyste. Thus they were lordes and maysters of Gravelynge, and lodged toguyder in the towne, and founde ther plentie of provisyon. Than all the countre

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[1] *Nieuport.*

Howe the Englysshemen toke the towne and mynster of Gravelynge.

beganne to be afrayed, and dyde put their goodes into the fortresses, and sende their wyves and chyldren to Bergues, to Bourbourcke, and to saynt Omers. The erle of Flaunders, who lay at Lysle, whane he understode these tidynges, howe that the Englysshemen made hym warre and had taken Gravelynge, than he beganne to dout of them of Franke and of Bruges,[1] and called his counsayle to hym and sayde, I have great marveyle of the Englysshemen, that they ronne thus on my lande: they demaunded never nothynge of me, and thus, without any defyaunce, to entre into my lande. Some of his counsayle answered hym and sayde, Sir, it is a thyng well to marveyle of; but it is to be supposed, that they repute you therle of Flaunders to be Frenche, bycause the Frenche kyng hath so rydden in this countre, that all is yelded to hym. Why, quod therle, what is best than to be done? Sir, quod they, it were good that ye sende sir Johan Villayns and sir John Moulyn,[2] who be here presente, and also they have a pensyon of the kynge of Englande, into Englande to speke with the kyng there fro you, and to shewe him sagely all this busynesse, and to demaunde of him why he dothe make you warr. We thynke, whan he hereth youre messangers speke, he wyll nat be content with theym that thus warreth agaynst your countre, but call them backe to their great blame. Yea, quod the erle, but in the meane tyme whyle they go into Englande, they that be nowe at Gravelynge wyll go farther, and do great domage to them of Franke. Sir, quod they, than let them first go to them at Gravelynge, and desyre of them a saveconducte to go to Calayes, and so into Englande, and to knowe of them what it is that they demaunde of you: we thynke these two knyghtes are so well advysed, and wyll handell them so wysely, that they shall sette the countrey in rest and peace. I am content it be thus, quoth the erle. Than these two knightes were enfourmed by the erle and his counsayle what they shulde say to the bysshop of Norwych, and to shewe him what charge they have to go into Englande, to shewe the mater to the kyng there and to his uncles.

In the meane season that these knyghtes prepared to go to Gravelynge, to speke with the bysshop of Norwyche, all the countre arose about Burbourcke, Bergues, Cassell, Pro-

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[1] *à doubter d'eus et dou Franc de Bruges.*

[2] *Meulen.*

CAP. CCCCXXX

Howe the Englysshemen toke the towne and mynster of Gravelynge.

pringe, Furnes, Newport, and other townes, and they came to Donkyrke, and there abode in the towne, sayeng, howe they wolde shortely issue out and defende their fronters, and fight with the Englysshmen. And these men of Flaunders had a capitayne called sir Johan Sporequyn, governoure of all the landes of the lady of Bare, the whiche lande lyeth in the marchesse about Ipre. And this sir Johan Sporequyn knewe nothynge that the erle of Flaunders wolde sende into Englande, for the Hase of Flaunders was newly come to hym with xxx. speares, and shewed hym howe that the erle was at Lysle about a maryage to be had bytwene his suster and the lorde Delbaryn.[1] So these two knightes dyde as moche as they coulde to styrre the countrey to ryse, so that they were to the nombre of twelfe thousande pykes, with pavesses and cootes of steele, hoctons, shapeause, and bassenettes. And in a maner they were all of the lande of the lady of Barres, bytwene Gravelynge and Donkyrke, as I was enfourmed. And a thre leages in the way there stode the towne of Mardyke, a great vyllage on the see syde unclosed, and thyder came some of the Englysshmen and scrimysshed. And so thus came to Gravelynge sir Johan Villayne and sir Johan de Moulyne, for the erle of Flaunders, by a saveconducte that he had attayned fro the bysshoppe, or he came fro Burbourcke. Than they came to the bysshoppe of Norwiche, who made to theym by semblaunt ryght good chere: he had with hym at dyner the same day all the lordes of the host, for he knewe well the erles knightes shulde come to hym the same tyme: and his mynde was, how he wolde that they shulde fynde them all toguyder. Than these two knightes beganne to speke, and sayd, Sir, we be sende hyder to you fro the erle of Flaunders our lorde. What lorde, quod the bysshoppe. They answered agayne and sayde, Fro the erle; there is none other lorde of Flaunders. By the Good Lorde, quod the bysshoppe, we take for the lorde of Flaunders the Frenche kynge, or els the duke of Burgoyne, our enemys; for by puyssance but late they have conquered all the countre. Sir, quod the knightes, savyng your displeasure, the lande was at Tourney clerelye rendred agayne and put into the handes and governyng of the erle of Flaunders, who hath sent us to you, desyring you that we two, who have pensyon

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[1] *Wavrin.*

CAP. CCCCXXX
Howe the Englysshemen toke the towne and mynster of Gravelynge.

of the kynge of Englande, may have a saveconduct to go into Englande to speke with the kynge, to knowe the cause why, without any defyaunce, he maketh warre agaynst the erle and his countre of Flaunders. Sirs, quoth the bysshop, we shall take advyce and answere you to morowe. So thus they went to their lodgynge, and left the Englysshmen in counsayle; and so all that day they toke counsayle togyder, and concluded as ye shall here.

CAP. CCCCXXXI

The aunswere that the bysshoppe of Norwyche made to the knightes of Flaunders, and of the assemble that they of Cassell, and of the countrey about, made agaynst thenglysshmen.

ALL thynges consydred and regarded, they sayde they wolde graunt no safeconduct to them to go into Englande, for it was to farre of; for or they coude retourne agayne the countre wolde be sore styrred and greatly fortifyed; and also therle shulde by that tyme sende worde therof to the Frenche kyng and to the duke of Burgoyne, wherby they might come with suche nombre of people against them, that they shulde nat be able to resyst them nor to fight with them. So on this determynacyon they rested. Than it was demaunded amonge them what answere they shulde make to the knightes of Flaunders the next day. Than sir Hugh Caurell was commaunded to speke and to gyve his advyce. Than he sayde thus to the bysshoppe; Sir, ye are our chefe capitayne; sir, ye may saye to them, howe ye be in the lande of the duchesse of Bare, who is Clementyne, and howe for Urbane ye make warre, and for no body els; and offre them, that if this lande, with the churches and abbeys, wyll become good Urbanystes, and to ryde with you, and to bring you throughe the countre, ye wyll than cause all your company to passe through the countre pesably, and to paye for all that they shall take. But as touchyng to gyve them saveconduct to go into Englande, ye wyll nat graunt therto in no wise, for ye may say, CAP. CCCCXXXI The aunswere that the bysshoppe of Norwyche made to the knightes of Flaunders.

that youre warre toucheth nothyng the warre of Englande nor of Fraunce, but that we be soudyers of pope Urbane. Sir, as I thynke, this answere shulde suffyce. Every man agreed well to this, and specially the bysshoppe, who had mynde of nothynge that was sayd, but to fight and to warre on the countrey. Thus the mater abode all night. And in the mornyng after masse, the two sayd knightes of the erles, desyringe to have an answere, came to the bysshoppes lodgynge, and abode there tyll he came out to go to masse. And so than they stept forthe before hym, and there he made them good chere by semblant, and devysed with them a lytell of other matters, to delay the tyme till his knightes were come about hym. And whan they were all assembled toguyder, than the bysshop sayd to them, Sirs, ye tary for an aunswere, and ye shall have it, on the request that ye make for the erle of Flaunders. I say unto you, ye may retourne agayne whan ye lyst to the erle your mayster, or els to go to Calais on your jeopardy, or into Englande; but as for saveconduct, ye get none of me, for I am nat the kyng of Englande, nor I have nat so farr authorite so to do. I and all my company are but soudyers of pope Urbane, and of wages of hym, and take his money to serve him truely. And nowe we be in the lande of the duchesse of Bare, who is a Clementyne; and yf the people be of that opynion, we wyll make them warre; and if they wyll go with us and take our parte, they shall have part of our pardons and absolucyons; for Urbayne oure Pope, for whom we are in voiage, hath assoyled us clene frome payne and frome synne, and all those that wyll ayde to distroy the Clementyns. Whan the knightes herde these wordes, sir Johan Villayns sayd, Sir, in that as touchynge the Pope, I thynke ye have nat herde the contrary, but that my lorde therle of Flaunders hath ben alwayes good Urbanyst. Wherfore, sir, ye do yvell to make warr to hym or to his countre; nor I thynke the kyng of Englande your lorde hath nat charged you so to do, for he is so noble, that if he wolde have made hym warre, first he wolde have defyed him. With those wordes, the bysshoppe began to wexe angry and said, Well, sirs, go to your erle and saye unto hym, that he getteth nothyng els of us; and if ye wyll sende into Englande to knowe the kynges pleasure, do as ye lyst; but as for this way nor by Calys they shall nat passe. And whan these knyghtes sawe they coulde nat attaygne to their purpose none otherwise, they departed and returned to their lodgynge and dyned, and after dyner departed, and went the same night to saynt Omers.

The aunswere that the bysshoppe of Norwyche made to the knightes of Flaunders.

The same day that the knyghtes departed, there came tidynges to the bysshoppe, that there was at Donkyrke and theraboute a xii. thousande men in harnesse, and the bastarde of Flaunders in their company, as their chefe capitayne, and dyvers other knightes and squiers with them; in so moche it was shewed him, that on the Thursdaye before they had scrimysshed with his companye, and slayne a hundred of them. Lo, quod the bysshoppe, ye may se wheder the erle do medyll in this mater or nat; it is he that dothe all; he entreateth for peace with the swerde in his hande: let us ryde forthe to morowe, and go to Donkyrke, and se what people they be that be there gadered. Every man agreed therto; and the same day there came to the bysshoppe two knightes, the one fro Calys, the other fro Guysnes, and with them a xxx. speares and threscore archers. The knyghtes were called sir Nicholas Clynton[1] and sir John Dracton,[2] capitayne of Guysnes. In the nexte mornynge they made them redy to ryde forthe, and so drewe into the felde; they were mo than vi. hundred speares and sixtene hundred archers: and so they rode towarde Mardyke and Donkyrke. The bysshop made to be borne before him the armes of the churche, the baner of saynt Peter, felde goules two keyes sylver, lyke soudyers of pope Urbane; and in his penon he bare his owne armes, sylver and azure quarterly, a fret golde on the azur, a bende of goules on the sylver; and bycause he was yongest of the Spensars, he bare a border of goules for a difference. There was also sir Hugh Spensar, his nephue, with his penon: and with baner and penon there was the lorde Beaumont, sir Hughe Caurell, sir Thomas Tryvet, and sir Wylliam Helmon: and with penon without baner, there was sir Wylliam Dractone, sir Johan his brother, sir Mathue Reedman, sir John Ferres, sir Wyllyam Ferineton, and sir Johan of Newcastell, Gascone. Thus these men of armes rode towardes Mardyke, and there refresshed them and dranke, and so passed forthe and toke the waye to Donkyrke. And the

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[1] *Clifton.*

[2] *Drayton.*

CAP. CCCCXXXI

The aunswere that the bysshoppe of Norwyche made to the knightes of Flaunders.

Flemmynges that were there assembled were advertysed that the Englysshmen wolde come that way, redy aparelled to fight with them. So they determyned among themselfe to drawe into the felde, and to be redy in good aray to fight, if nede requyred; for they thought, to abyde in the towne and to be closed therin shulde be nothyng to them profytable. And as they ordayned so it was done; every man armed hymselfe in the towne, and issued out into the felde; than they sette themselfe in good array on a lytell hyll without the towne, and they were in nombre a xii. M. or mo.

And so therwith there came the Englysshmen aprochyng to Donkyrke, and they behelde the mountayne on their right hande towarde Burbourcke towarde the see syde, and there they sawe the Flemynges in a great batayle well ordred: than they taryed, for it semed to them that the Flemynges wolde gyve them batayle. Than the lordes drewe toguyder to counsayle, and there were dyvers opinyons; and specially the bysshop of Norwyche wolde that they shulde incontynent go and fight with them. And other, as the lorde Beaumont and sir Hugh Caurell, sayde to the contrarie, layeng dyvers reasons, and sayeng, Sir, ye knowe well the Flemynges that be yonder have done us no forfayte; and, to saye the trouthe, we have sente to the erle of Flaunders no defyaunce, and yet we be here in his countre: this is no courtesse warr that we make; we do nothyng but catche it and we may, without any resonable warre; and also all this countre that we be in be as Urbanystes as well as we be, and holdeth the same opinyon that we do: beholde nowe therfore and se what juste cause we have to ron thus on them. Than the bysshoppe sayde, Howe knowe we that they be Urbanystes or nat? In the name of God, quoth sir Hughe Caurell, me thynke it were good that we sende to theym an heraude, to knowe what thyng they demaunde, thus to be raynged in batayle agaynst us, and lette it be demaunded of what Pope they holde of; and if they aunswere and say howe they be good Urbanystes, than requyre them by the vertue of the Popes bull that we have, that they wyll go with us to saynt Omers, Ayre, or Arras, or thyder as we wyll bringe them. And whan they be thus requyred, than therby we shall knowe their entensyon, and ther upon we may take advyce and counsayle. This purpose was holden, and an heraude called Mountforde, parteyning to the duke of Bretayne, was commaunded by all the lordes to go to the Flemynges, and to shewe them as ye have herde before. The heraulde obeyed their commaundement, as it was reason, and so went to speke with them.

CAP. CCCCXXXI
The aunswere that the bysshoppe of Norwyche made to the knightes of Flaunders.

CAP. CCCCXXXII

Howe the Flemynges of the countre and they of the lande of Cassell were disconfyted by the Englysshemen, and Donkyrke taken, with dyvers other castelles in the countrey.

THUS the heraude departed fro the lordes, and had on his cote of armes, and so went towarde the Flemynges and thought non yvell; they were all toguyder in a gret batayle. And so the heraude wolde have goone to some knyghtes that were there, but he might nat; for assoone as he aproched nere to the Flemynges, they toke and slewe hym without any demaundynge fro whens he came, or wheder he wolde. Thus they slewe hym lyke people of small knowledge: the gentylmen that were there coude nat save hym. Whan the Englysshmen sawe their dealyng, they were sore displeased; so were the burgesses of Gaunt, suche as were there, who were right gladde to move forthe the mater, so that there might be a newe brewlynge in Flaunders. Than the Englysshemen sayde, Ah, yonder rybaudes have slayne our heraude; but he shall be dere solde to them, or els we wyll all dye in the place. Than they commaunded their archers to steppe forthe towarde the Flemynges: and there was a burgesse of Gaunt made knight, and incontynent the batayle began sore and sharpe. For to saye trouthe, the Flemynges marveylously defended themselfe, but the archers shotte so thicke, that they overthrue many and greved them sore; and the men of armes entred in amonge them with sharpe speares, and at the first front overthrue many. Finally, the Englysshmen wan the place, and the Flemynges disconfited and fledde away, thynkinge to entre into Donkyrke.

CAP. CCCCXXXII

Howe the Flemynges of the countre and they of Cassell were disconfyted by the Englysshemen.

But the Englysshmen chased them so sore, that they entred into the towne with them, so that in the stretes and on the sandes there was many a Flemmyng slayne. Howebeit, ther were many Englysshmen slayne, to the nombre of foure hundred or mo: they were founde after in the towne here and there by tenne at ones, twentie, xxx. ye and by fourtie; for as they dyde chase the Fleminges in the stretes, they were fought withall; howebeit, finally the Flemynges were nere all slayne or taken. Thus fell of this rencountre at Donkyrke, where ther were slayne of the Flemynges a nyne thousande.

The same day of the batayle there retourned to Lysle to the erle of Flaunders sir Johan Villayns and sir Johan de Molayne, and shewed hym all the report that they had sene and herde of thenglysshmen, wherwith the erle was right pensyve, to thynke howe he shulde deale in the mater. And also he was more pensyve, and so he had cause, whan he herde the tidynges that his men were slayne and disconfyted at Donkyrke. So he bare it paciently, and dyde reconfort hymselfe and sayde, Well, if we have lost at one tyme, we shall wyn agayne at another tyme, and it please God. So incontynent he wrote therof to the duke of Burgoyne, to the entent that some resystence might be made; for he ymagined well that the Englysshmen havynge ones that entre into Flaunders, that they wolde do more hurt in the countrey or they departed agayne. And whane the duke of Burgoyne understode therof, he sende knightes and squiers into the garysons on the fronters of Flaunders, as to saynt Omers, to Ayre, to saynt Venaunt, to Baylleule, to Bergues, to Cassell, and to all the bayliwykes, to kepe thentre of Arthoyse.

Nowe let us speke of thenglysshmen, and howe they parceyvered.

After the disconfyture at Donkyrke and the towne taken, the Englysshemen entred into great pride, for it semed to them that all Flaunders had ben theirs. And to say the trouthe, if they hadde as than gone to Bruges, as they sayd that knewe the dealyng of them of the towne, the towne had bene gyven up to them; but the Englysshmen wrought otherwyse, for they tooke advyse to go to Bourburcke and to gette that towne, and so to go to Ayre and to Cassell, and to conquere all the countrey, and to leave nothyng behynde

CAP. CCCCXXXII Howe the Flemynges of the countre and they of Cassell were disconfyted by the Englysshemen.

them that shulde be contrarie to theym, and than to go to Ipre. They thought verily that the towne of Ipre wolde soone yelde up, if they sawe all the countre yelden before. So thus the Englysshemen departed fro Donkyrke and went to Burbourcke; and whan they of the towne sawe them aproche nere to their towne, they yelded up the towne, savyng their lyves and goodes; and so they were receyved, and the Englysshmen entred with great joye, sayeng howe they wolde make ther a good garyson for to kepe warre agaynst them of saynt Omers and the fronters nere adjoyning. And so than after, they wanne the castell of Driceham,[1] and they were thre dayes before it or they wan it; and than they conquered it by force, and therin were slayne a two hundred men that were there in garyson. And than the Englysshemen repayred agayne the castell and sayde, howe they wolde kepe it to the best of their powers, and so sette therin newe men. And thanne they wente forth and came to Cassell and toke the towne, and had therin great pyllage. Than they departed, and sayde they wolde go and se the towne of Ayre; howebeit, there was many of them that knewe right well that the towne was nat easy to be wonne without great losse of their men; howebeit, the byshoppe of Norwiche sayde, he wolde go nere it and loke theron.

CAP. CCCCXXXIII

Howe the Englisshmen conquered all the countre of Flaunders, fro Donkyrke to Scluse, and howe they beseged the towne of Ipre.

THE same season, capytayne of Ayre was sir Robert of Bethune, vycount of Mealx, and with hym ther was sir Johan Roy, the lorde of Clary, sir Johan of Bethune his brother, the lorde of Montigny, sir Perducas of Pount saynt,[2] sir Johan of Chauny, and sir Floreyns, his son, and dyvers other, so that they were a sixscore speares of good men of armes, knightes and squyers. Whan the bysshoppe of Norwiche, and sir Hugh Caurell, sir Henry Beaumont, sir Thomas Tryvet, sir Wyllyam Helmon, sir Mathewe Reedman, and the other Englysshemen, whan they

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[1] *Drinkham.*

[2] *Pont-saint-Marc.*

CAP. CCCCXXXIII Howe the Englisshmen conquered all the countre of Flaunders, fro Donkyrke to Scluse.

dyde aproche nere to Ayre, at a place called the Newe Dike, they putte themselfe in order of batayle, and so passed forthe with baners and penons wavyng with the wynde, for they knewe nat what the vycount of Meaulxe was mynded to do. The vycont and his company beyng as thanne there in garysone, were rainged in good order on the causey, before the barryers of the towne, and there they might se clerely the Englysshemen passe by, takynge the way to saynt Venaunt, but they were nat men ynowe to stoppe theym their way. Thus they stode styll kepynge watche and warde, redy at their defence. And the Englysshmen passed by, and so wente the same night a two myles fro saint Venaunt, wherof a knyght of Picardy was capitayne, called sir Wyllyam de Melle,[1] who had fortifyed the mynster for hym and his company, to drawe into if nede requyred: and so he dyde. For the towne was closed but with small palys and dykes, wherfore it coulde nat longe endure agaynst the Englysshmen. So the Frenche men withdrewe themselfe, some into the castell and some into the churche, the whiche was right stronge; they of the castell were nat assayled, for it was marveylous stronge; there coude no manne aproche nere therto, the dykes rounde about were so large and depe. But the mynster was incontynent assayled by the Englisshmen whan they had entred the towne, bycause they had knowledge that the men of armes were withdrawen into it.

Sir Wyllyam of Melle was a good knyght and a valyant, and nobly defended the churche of saynt Venant. The Englysshe archers were rounde about it, and they shotte up arowes so thycke and so rudely, that they within durst scant apere at any defence. Howebeit, they above had stones and artyllarye great plentie, and dyde caste downe stones and other thynges, and hurt many beneth. Howebeit, the assaut was so sore contynued by the Englysshmen, that the mynster was won byforce, and sir Wyllyam de Melle within, who valyantly fought at his defence, and so dyde all his company. And if they had parceyved any confort of rescue, they wolde lengar have contynued; but there was no conforte that they coulde parceyve, and therfore they were the easier to wyn. Thus sir Wyllyam of Melle was prisoner with the Englysshmen, and so sette to his fynaunce, and so went

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[1] *Nesle.*

Howe the Englisshmen conquered all the countre of Flaunders, fro Donkyrke to Scluse.

into Fraunce by his bonde of oblygacion, as all gentylmen, Englisshe and Frenche, were wont to do eche with other. But so dyd nat the Almayns, for whan an Almayne hath taken a prisonere, he putteth hym into yrons, and into harde prisone, without any pytie, to make hym pay the greatter fynaunce and raunsome.

Thus whan the bysshoppe of Norwyche and thenglysshmen departed fro saynt Venant, they wente and lodged in the wode of Mepce,[1] whiche was nat farr thens, and about Baylneufe,[2] in Flaunders, and so entred into the bayliwyke of Propringe, and Messynes, and toke all the close townes, and therin founde great pillage, and conveyed all their pillage and botie to Bergues, and to Burborke. And whan they had all the countre at their pleasure, and that they were lordes of the see syde, as of Gravelyng to Sluse, of Donkyrke, of Newport, of Furnes, and of Blanque Berque, than they went and layed siege to Ipre, and ther they rested, and than sende to Gaunte. As I understode they sende Fraunces Atreman,[3] who had ben at the batayle, and at all their conquestes, for he was their gyde fro towne to towne.

CAP. CCCCXXXIIII

Howe the Englysshmen sende for them of Gaunt, and how they came to the siege of Ipre. And of the lorde saynt Leger and his company, who were disconfyted by thenglysshmen: and howe the bysshop of Liege came to the siege of Ipre.

WHANE Peter de Boyse, and Peter de Mirt,[4] and the capitayns of Gaunt, understode howe the Englysshmen sende for them to come to the sege of Ipre, they were gretlye therof rejoysed, and ordayned incontynent to go thyder: and so departed fro Gaunt on a Saturday in the mornynge, next after the utas of saynt Peter and s. Poule, to the nombre of twentie thousande, and with great caryage and ordynaunce, and so wente through the countre besyde Courtrey, to Ipre. And of their comynge the Englysshmen were greatly joyfull, and made them good

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[1] *Nieppe.*

[2] *Bailleul.*

[3] *Ackerman.*

[4] *de Wintere.*

CAP. CCCCXXXIIII Howe the Englysshmen sende for them of Gaunt.

chere, and sayd, Sirs, surely we shall nowe shortely conquere Ipre, and than we wyll wynne Bruges, Dan, and Sluse. Thus they made no dout that or the ende of Septembre, they shulde conquere all Flaunders; thus they glorifyed in their fortunes. The same season there was a capitayne in Ipre, a right sage and a valyant knight, called Peter de la Syeple;[1] he ordered all the busynesse of the towne. Ther were men of armes with hym, sette there by the duke of Burgoyne, and therle of Flaunders, as sir Johan of Bougrayve[2] chatelayne of Ipre, sir Baudwyn Delbeden[3] his sonne, the lorde Dyssegien, the lorde of Stades, sir Johan Blancharde, sir Johan Meselede, sir Hauiell, sir Nycholas Belle,[4] the lorde of Harlequebecke,[5] the lorde of Rollehen, sir John Ahoutre, John la Sieple squier, nephue to the capitayne, Fraunces Bell,[4] sir George Bell,[4] and dyvers other expert menne of armes, who had dayly great payne and wo to defende their towne. And also they were in great feare leest the comons of the towne shulde make any treatie with them of Gaunt, wherby they shulde be in daunger and be betrayed by them of Ipre.

The same season there was in the towne of Courtrey a valyant knyght of Heynalte, called sir Johan of Jumont: he was set there at the request of the duke of Burgoyne, and of therle of Flaunders. Whan he toke it on hym, there was never a knyght in Flaunders durst enterprise to kepe it, it was so perylous to kepe; for whan the Frenche kynge went oute of that countrey it was unrepayred, and fewe folkes abode therin, for all was brent and beaten downe, so that it was moche payne to lodge therin any horse; so this sir John Jumont toke on hym to kepe it, and incontynent dyde repayre it, and dyde so, thanked be God, that he attaygned nothyng therby but honour and prayse. The duke of Burgoyne, to whom the busynesse of Flaunders touched right nere, toke great study to bringe well all thing to passe; and so he sende a thre score speares, Bretons, to Courtrey, to thentent to refresshe the towne; and so first these speares came to the duke to Lisle. And on a Friday they departed thens, and toke the way to Comynes, and the lorde of saynt Leger and Yvonet of Cantemat[6] were capitayns of the sayd speares. And into the towne of Comynes the same morning at the breakynge of

[1] *Zype.*

[2] *de Borchgrave.*

[3] *Iseghem.*

[4] *Bailleul.*

[5] *Hollebeke.*

[6] *Tinteniac.*

CAP. CCCCXXXIIII
Howe the Englysshmen sende for them of Gaunt.

the day there was come two hundred Englysshe speares, to fetche forage abrode in the countre, to bringe it to their hoost before Ipre. The said Bretons, or they were ware, fell in their handes and daunger; so ther was a harde and a sore encountre at the foote of the bridge of Comynes, and valiantly the Bretons dyde beare themselfe; if they had bene rescued with as many mo as they were, by lykelyhode they had scaped withoute domage; howebeit, they were fayne to flye, for they were to fewe men to endure long. The moost parte of them were slayne and taken in the felde, retournynge towardes Lysle. The lorde of saynt Leger was sore wounded and lefte for deed in the place; they were happy that scaped. The chase endured within halfe a myle of Lyle, to the whiche towne the lorde of saynt Leger was caryed, wounded as he was, and a fyve dayes after he dyed, and so dyde fyve of his squyers. Thus fortuned of this adventure.

Thus styll the siege lay at Ipre. The Englisshmen and Gauntoys made many assautes, and they of the towne trymbled for feare. The erle of Flaunders, beyng at Lysle, feared greatlye the takyng of Ipre, for he knewe well the Englisshmen were right subtell, and confort might dayly come to them fro Calys, by reason of the garysons that they had won in their way; and in dede they might have had great socoure out of Englande and they had lyst, but at the begynnyng they set nothyng by the erle, nor by all the power of Fraunce. Ther were dyvers great lordes of Englande, about the marches of Dover, and Sandwiche, redy apparelled to passe the see to Calys, and to have ayded their company if they had ben requyred; ther were redy M. speares, and two thousande archers. Sir Wyllyam Beauchampe, and sir Wyllyam Wyndsore, marshals of Englande, were soveraygne capitayns, set there by the kyng and by his counsell; and for that cause the duke of Lancastre lost his vyage that season into Portyngale, for all the realme of Englande was rather enclyned to the bysshop of Norwiches army, than to the duke of Lancastres. Therle of Flaunders knewe ryght well all this besynesse and insydentes, as they fell in Englande, and every thyng that was done at the siege of Ipre, thynkyng to fynde remedy to his power.

CAP. CCCCXXXIIII

Howe the Englysshmen sende for them of Gaunt.

He thought well that the duke of Burgoyne wolde move the Frenche kyng, and the lordes of the Realme, to reyse and to assemble to drive the Englysshe men out of Flaunders, the whiche they had wonne the same yere. And bycause he knewe that the assemblynge of the lordes of Fraunce wolde be longe, and specially of them that shulde serve the kyng out of farre countreis, and that many thinges might fall or they came toguyder, therfore he advysed to sende to the byshoppe of Liege, sir Arnolde Desorge,[1] who was good Urbanyst, to the entent that he shulde come to Ipre, to treate with the Englysshmen to depart fro thens, and to drawe to some other parte, bycause he hadde great marveyle that they shulde make hym warre, seynge that he was good Urbanyst, and all the countre of Flaunders, as all the worlde knewe. So moche dyde the erle of Flaunders, that the bysshoppe of Liege came in to Heynaulte, and passed Valencennes, and so came to Doway, and than to Lysle, and spake with the erle, and ther determyned what he shulde say to thenglysshemen. And so thus the bysshop of Liege came to the siege before Ipre, to speke with the bysshoppe of Norwiche, and thenglysshmen, and with them of Gaunte, and they receyved hym right well, and were gladde to here hym speke.

CAP. CCCCXXXV

Of the great commaundement of assemble that the Frenche kynge made to the entent to reyse the siege before Ipre, and of them that were dysconfyted by the Englysshemen.

AND as I was than enfourmed, the erle of Flaunders, by the wordes of the bysshop of Liege, offred to the bisshoppe of Norwiche, and to the Englysshmen, that if they wolde leave their siege before Ipre, and to go to some other parte, and to make warre agaynst the Clementyns, howe he wolde fynde fyve hundred speares to serve them thre monethes, at his cost and charge. The bysshop of Norwiche and his company answered, howe they wolde take advyse: and so they went to counsayle, and there were many opinyons. They of Gaunt sayd, howe it was no trust on the promyse of the erle, for surely they sayd, howe he wolde begyle them and if he might. So all thynges consydred, the Englysshmen answered to the bysshop of Liege, howe that he myght departe whan it pleased hym, for as to his requestes they wolde in no wyse agre therto, sayeng howe they wolde never departe fro the siege, tyll they had the towne of Ipre at their commaundement. So whan the bysshop of Liege sawe that he coulde do no more in the mater, he toke his leave and retourned to Lysle, and shewed the erle his answere. Whan the erle sawe that it wolde be none otherwyse, he was more pensyve than he was before, and parceyved clerely that without the puyssaunce of Fraunce reysed the siege, he was lykely to lese the good towne of Ipre. Than he wrote all the matter and answeres to his sonne in lawe, the duke of Burgoyne, who lay at Compayne: and the bysshoppe of Liege departed fro the erle and went to Doway, to Valencennes, and so to his countre.

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[1] *Hornes.*

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The duke of Burgoyne sawe well how the matters of Flaunders dyde ryght yvell, and were lykely to do, without the kynge putte to his hande, and purveyed for some remedy. He dyde so moche, that a great counsayle was somoned to be holden at Compayne, with the great princes and lordes of the realme of Fraunce; so thyder came every man that was sende for, and thyder came personally the duke of Bretayne. And ther it was agreed by the kynges counsayle, the duke of Berrey, the duke of Burbone, and the duke of Burgoyne, howe the kynge shulde go agayne into Flaunders as puissantly as whan he went to Rosebeque, to the entent to reyse the siege at Ipre, and to fight with thenglysshmen, if they wolde abyde hym. All these thynges agreed and accorded, the Frenche kynge sende his commaundement throughe out all his realme that every man shulde be redy in their best apparell for the warre, and to be the fyftene daye of August, at Arras, and there about. The kynge sende also to them of farre countreis, as to the erle of Armynake, and of Savoy, and to the duke Frederyke of Bavyers; this duke was of hyghe Almaygne, and was sonne to one of the dukes bretherne, and greatly he desyred

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ones to bere armes for them of Fraunce, and to se the estate of Fraunce, for he loved all honour; also he was enfourmed that all the honoures of the worlde was in Fraunce. And bycause this duke was farre of, therfore he was sende for first. He prepared hymselfe redy, and sayde, howe he wolde passe throughe Heynalt to se his uncle, and his cosyn the erle of Bloys, and other. In the meane season that these lordes aparelled themselfe, the sege endured styll before Ipre, and dyvers sautes and scrimysshes made, and dyvers hurt of bothe parties; but the capitayne of Ipre, sir Peter de la Sieple, toke so good hede, that he had no domage.

This siege thus enduryng, the erle of Flaunders beynge at Lysle, was enformed howe the mynster of the towne of Emenyn[1] was sore in decay; and howe that if thenglysshmen came thyder, they shulde lightly wynne it, for it was nat kept; wherfore the erle was counsayled to sende and to repayre it. Than the erle called sir Johan de Moulyne,[2] and sayd, Sir Johan, take men out of this towne and crosbowes, and go to Emenyn, and repayre agayne the mynster, and kepe and defende it fro the Englysshmen, for if they shulde have it, they wolde yvell trouble the countrey all about. The knight answered he was content, and so prepared himselfe; and the next day departed, and with hym a yonge knyght, a bastarde sonne of the erles, called sir Johan Sansterre, and they were in nombre about a threscore speares, and threscore archers. Thus they departed fro the towne of Lysle, and rode towarde the towne of Emenyn, and so came thyder and founde no body there, but suche as were there at their pleasur; than they caused the mynster to be newly repayred, and sette men awarke theron. The same daye there rode forthe fro the siege of Ipre a two hundred speares, Englysshe and Gascoyns, who knewe by the forangers that they mette that ther were men of armes and crosbowes in the towne of Emenyn, and repayringe and fortifyeng the churche. Than the Englysshmen rode thyder, and as soone as they came before the mynster, they alyghted afote, and beganne to crye their cryes. Whane sir Johan of Moulyn and the bastarde of Flaunders sawe their maner, and that it behoved them to fight, they putte theymselfe in order, and caused their crosbowes to shote, wherwith dyvers Englyssh-

[1] *Menin.*

[2] *Meulen.*

men were hurt; howebeit, incontynent the Englysshmen entred in amonge them. There was of so fewe men a sore scrimysshe, and many slayne and hurt; howebeit, finally the Englysshmen were so many that the Flemynges coulde nat endure theym, but so they were disconfyted; and the two knyghtes taken, yet right valyantly they had defended themselfe: there were but a fewe that retourned to Lysle, for nigh they were all taken and slayne. Thus it fortuned of the adventure of Emenyn, wherwith the erle of Flaunders was right sore displeased, but he coude nat amende it. The Englysshmen brought their prisoners to the siege of Ipre, and within a whyle after they put them to their raunsome.

Of the great commaundement of assemble that the Frenche kynge made.

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Howe thenglysshmen and Flemynges of Gaunt made dyvers assautes before Ipre. And howe the Frenche kyng departed fro Compayne, and wente towarde Ipre, to reise the siege there.

THUS often tymes falleth the adventures of dedes of armes, somtyme to wyn, somtyme to lese, the adventures therof are ryght marveylous, as they knowe right well that folowe it. Thus styll contynued the siege before Ipre, and it was thentencyon of the bysshop of Norwiche, of the Englysshmen, of Peter de Boyse and of the Gauntoyse, to wyn Ipre by assaut or otherwyse. And accordyng to their ententes, often tymes they assauted and scrimysshed with them of the towne. And amonge all their assautes, there was one speciall great assaute, whiche endured all a day tyll it was nere night, and there was done many a proper dede of armes, as well by them without, as by them within. There was made the same day foure knightes within the towne, as sir Johan de la Syeple, cosyn to the capitayne, sir Fraunces Bell, sir George Bell, and sir Johan Bell was the fourth; they were good knyghtes, and dyde acquyte themselfe right well the same day. There was slayne with a gon a proper squyer of Englande, called Lewes Lynne: this was a sore assaute, and many hurt on bothe parties, as

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suche as adventured themselfe to sore. The archers of Englande who stoode on the one syde of the dyke, shotte up arowes so thicke, that almoost there was none within the towne durst loke out over the walles, nor scant stande at their defence. They of Ipre gadered up the same day two tonne full of artyllary, and specially of arowes, for they fell so thicke in the stretes that none durst go, without they were well armed or pavessed: this assaut endured tyll it was night. Than thenglysshmen and Flemynges that hadde assauted all the day in two batayls, retourned to their lodgynges right wery and sore traveyled; and in lykewyse so were they of the towne of Ipre.

Whan the Englysshmen and Flemynges that lay at the siege before Ipre sawe howe they coulde nat wynne the towne, and howe they lost moche of their artyllary, than they advysed to make a great nombre of fagottes and to cast them into the dykes, with strawe and erthe, to fyll up the dykes, to the entent that they might come to the walles to fight hande to hande with them of the towne, and to undermyne the walles, thinkynge therby to conquere it. So ther were sette men awarke to fell downe wode and make fagottes, and to bring them to the dyke. This was nat so soone done, nor their warke accomplysshed, but the Frenche kynge, who had great desyre to reyse the siege and to fight with the Englysshmen, avaunsed forthe his busynesse and departed fro Compaygne, and so came to Arras. And than passed forth the constable of Fraunce with a great nombre of lordes ordayned for the vowarde, and loged in Arthoise. The duke of Bretayne came with two thousande speres, who had great desyre to confort the erle of Flaunders his cosyn, and he was greatly bounde so to do, for he had founde hym ever redy aparelled in tyme past in all his busynesse. Thus lordes aproched bothe farre and nere. Than came the erle of Savoy, and therle of Genesve, with sevyn hundred speares of pure Savosyns. The duke Frederyke of Bavyere came forwarde into Heynalte, and was at Quesnoy, and refresshed him with his uncle the duke Aubert, and with his aunt the duches Margarete, and with his cosyns the duke of Lorayne, and the duke of Bare, and so fro thens he came into Arthoise. Sir Wyllyam of Namur, who had nat bene in none of the foresayd warres, for the erle had excused hym, he came than to serve the kyng, and the duke of Burgoyne, with two hundred speares of good men of warr, and so passed by Heynalte, and came and lodged at Tornesys. Lordes came fro every parte right strongly and with so good wyll to serve the kyng, that it was marveyle to consyder. Therle Guy of Bloyse had assembled his men at Landrechis, but his men coude nat tell if he were able or coude endure the payne to ryde with the kyng in that army, so he was brought in an horse lytter to Beaumont in Heynalte; there he was better at ease, the ayre was better for hym there than at Landreches, howebeit, he was sore sicke and feble; yet he purveyed his men to serve the kyng. So his company, and the lorde of Montigny, the lorde of Useryn,[1] sir Vyllaynes[2] of saynt Martyne, sir Valleraunce of Oustyen,[3] capitayne of Remorentyne, and other knightes and squiers, avaunsed forwarde to serve the kynge.

Howe thenglysshmen and Flemynges made dyvers assautes before Ipre.

Tidynges came to the siege before Ipre to the bysshoppe of Norwyche, to sir Hugh Caurell, and to the Englysshmen, howe the Frenche kynge was comynge to them, with mo than twentie thousande men of armes, knightes and squiers, and mo than threscore thousande of other peple. These wordes so multyplyed in the hoost, tyll at last they founde it trewe: in the beginnyng they wolde scant beleve it, but than it was said playnly howe the king wolde come and fight with them as they lay at their siege: and they had marveyle, whan they knewe howe the duke of Bretayne was coming agaynst them. Than they toke counsayle togyder, to determyne what they shulde do. And all thynges consydered, they sawe well howe they were of no puyssaunce to abyde the kyng: than they sayd, it was best that Peter de Boyse, Peter de Myrt, and the Gauntoyse, shulde returne to the towne of Gaunt, and the Englysshmen to Bergues, and to Burborke, and so to abyde in their garysons, without that some puyssaunce come out of Englande, as kyng Richarde himselfe to passe the see, or els some of his uncles, and therupon to take better advyse. This counsayle was upholden, and every man dyslodged; they of Gaunt drewe to their towne, and the Englisshemen went towarde Bergues, and Burbourke, and so entred into suche garysons as they had

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[1] *Vieuvy.*

[2] *Guillaume.*

[3] *Donstienne.*

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Howe thenglysshmen and Flemynges made dyvers assautes before Ipre.

before conquered. The same day that the Englysshmen departed from the siege, there came to them sir Thomas[1] Percy, sonne to the erle of Northumberlande; he came out of Spruce. And whan he was a lytell fro thens, it was shewed hym for certayne, that the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of Englande, shulde fight togyder in the marchesse of Flaunders or Arthoyse, puyssaunce agaynst puyssaunce, wherof the knight had great joye, and hadde great desyre to be at that journey. He was as thane xl. dayes journey from thens, but he made suche hast that he rode it in fourtene dayes, but he left all his people and baggage behynde hym. And he rode so fast without chaungyng of his horse, and with hym no mo but his page, that he came to the towne of Gaunt in the sayd space, whiche tourned to hym a great valyantnesse.

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Howe the duke Frederyke of Bavyer aryved in the Frenche kynges hoost; and howe therle Guy of Bloyse and his men came to Arras; and howe the kynges vowarde toke Cassell.

TIDYNGES came to the Frenche kyng as he lay at Arras, howe the Englysshmen were departed fro the siege, and the Gauntoyse in lykewise, and every man departed to theyr holdes. Than the kyng was counsailed to make hast and to folowe them, to thentent they shulde nat scape: and so he departed fro Arras, and went to Mount saynt Eloy, a fayre abbey, and there he taryed foure dayes, abyding tyll the duke of Berry was come; styll people gadered thider fro all parties. And than it was reported by the constable and marshals, and by sir Guyssharde erle Dolphyn, mayster of the crosbowes, howe that the kyng had ther mo than a hundred thousande men. Than the kyng departed fro Mount saynt Eloy, and toke his way to saynt Omers, and came to Ayre, wherof the vycount of Meaulx was capitayne. And there the kyng taryed two dayes, and alwayes styll aproched men of warre:

[1] *Henry.*

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Howe the duke Frederyke of Bavyer aryved in the Frenchekynges hoost.

and the constable and they of the vowarde were on before, and loged at the towne of Mount Cassell: and so the kynge came to saynt Omers, and there abode and taryed for his people that came from all parties. And whane duke Frederyke of Bavyere came to the hoost, the great barownes of Fraunce went and mette with hym to do hym honour, bycause he came fro so farre a countrey to serve the kynge. The kyng made hym great chere, and gave hym great thankes for his comynge, and lodged hym all the voiage after as nere to his person as myght be. In the kynges hoost there were to the nombre of thre hundred thousand[1] horses, wherfore it was greatly to be marveyled howe provisyon myght be had to suffyce suche an hoost; howebeit, somtyme they lacked, and somtyme they had great habundaunce.

The erle Guy of Bloyse, beynge at Beaumont in Heynault, though it were so that he was nat in good helthe, for the longe malady that he was in, ymagyned in himself that it shulde nat be honorable for him to lye styll, and so many great lordes beynge in the felde, and also he was sent for, he was one of the chiefe apoynted to the reregarde. Therfore he thought it were better for hym to go forthe and putte hymselfe at the pleasure of God, than to abyde behynde, and that men shulde suppose in him any cowardnes. This gentyll knight went forthe, but he coude in no wyse endure to ryde, therfore he was caryed in a horse lytter, and so toke leave of the lady his wyfe, and of Loys his sonne. Dyvers of his counsell were agaynst his voyage, bycause the season was very hote for a sicke man; but every man that herde spekyng therof, reputed in hym a great valyantnesse. And with hym departed out of Heynault, the lorde of Sanzest,[1] the lorde of Hanselles,[2] sir Gerarde of Warryers,[3] sir Thomas of Dystre,[4] the lorde of Donstrenent,[5] sir Johan of Guyseuell,[6] who was made knight the same vyage, and dyvers other. So thus this erle passed by Chambrey,[7] and so came to Arras; and the more he rode and traveyled, the better he had his helth. His owne men were before with the kyng; and whan they herde howe their lorde was comynge, they came and mette hym: and so than he was to the nombre of foure hundred speares; and provisyon ever folowed after hym out of Heynaulte great plentie.

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[1] *thre thousand* P.

[1] *Havré.*

[2] *Sanzeille.*

[3] *Waziers.*

[4] *Diest.*

[5] *Donstienne.*

[6] *Glisuelle.*

[7] *Cambray.*

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Howe the duke Frederyke of Bavyer aryved in the Frenche kynges hoost.

Nowe lette us speke of the kynge.

The Frenche kyng so spedde in his journey, that he came to saynt Omers, and there rested, and refresshed hym and his vowarde. The constable and the marshals went towarde Mount Cassell, that the Englysshmen kepte; they assayled the towne and wanne it with assaute, and all that were within slayne; suche as scaped wente to Bergues, where as sir Hughe Caurell[1] was, and with hym thre thousande Englysshmen; but the bysshoppe of Norwiche was gone to Gravelynge, the soner to be at Calys, if nede were: all the countrey about Cassell was brent and pylled by thenglysshmen. And the Frenche kyng departed fro saynt Omers, and lay at an abbey called Rayvombergues,[2] and ther rested all that Friday. The Saturday in the mornyng the vowarde, the constable, and the marshals, the lorde of Coucy, and a great nombre of good men of armes, went to the castell of Trughen,[3] where ther were a thre hundred men of armes, that kepte it all that season. And there the Frenchmen made a great and a sharpe assaut, and the Englysshmen that were within defended themselfe marveylously; howbeit, by pure dedes of armes the castell was conquered, and all that were within slayne, for the constable wolde take none to mercy. And in the base court ther was founde the fayrest white horse that might be sene, the whiche was presented to the constable, and he sende him incontynent to the kyng; the horse pleased so the kyng in suche wyse, that he rode theron the Sonday all day. Than came therle of Bloys into the hoost, he was of the reregarde, as he was the yere before at the batayle of Rosebeque: therle of Ewe, therle of Harcourt, the lorde of Chatellon, and the lorde Fere, all these in his company: and styll aproched men of warr on all sydes. The season was clere and fayre, or els there wolde have ben moche a do, ther was suche a nombre of men and horses.

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[1] *Calverley.*

[2] *Ravensberghe.*

[3] *Drinkham.*

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Howe thenglisshmen after the sege of Ipre were withdrawen into the towne of Bergues; and howe they departed thens and went to Burborke, whan they sawe the kynges puissance.

IN the towne of Bergues, whiche was closed with nothing but with pales and small dikes, thenglisshmen were gone thider, save the bysshop of Norwich, who was at Graveling sore abasshed, and repented hym that he had made that vyage, for he sawe well he was likely to forsake his conquestes with great blame; and also in that he had before sayd and vaunted, howe and the kynge came to reyse the siege before Ipre, he wolde abyde and fight with hym and all his puissance, which wordes were spred abrode thrughout all the realme of France. And than he saw well howe he was fayne sodenly to departe fro the sege, for his puissance was nat able to resyst agaynst the Frenche kynges puyssance, which he thought shulde turne to his great blame; and also thenglysshmen beynge in Calys sayd howe they had right yvell enployed the Popes money. And to say the trouthe, the duke of Lancastre, beyng in Englande, who had by the bysshopes journey lost his vyage into Portyngale, was nothyng sorie that the mater went as it dyde. For whan sir Wyllyam Wynsore sent to them as they lay at the sege, and offred them newe ayde and confort, the bysshop, sir Thomas Tryvet and sir Wyllyam Helmon answered and said, howe they had men ynowe, and wolde have no mo, to fight with the Frenche kyng and all the might of Fraunce. But sir Hugh Caurell, who had sene more of suche maters than all thother, spake alwayes to the contrarie, for he sayd to the bysshop, and to thother, whan thoffre was made them out of Englande for more ayde, What wyll ye do sirs, ye wyll trust to moche in your owne puyssaunce: why shulde we refuce the confort of our company whan it is offred to us, and the realme of Englande wolde we had it; paradventure a day maye fall that we shall repent it. But his wordes

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coulde nat be herde, but ever they sayd, they had men ynowe. So thus the mater went, so that at length they lost more than they wan.

Whan sir Hughe Caurell was withdrawen to Bergues, he founde ther with the Englysshe archers, mo than foure thousande. Than sir Hughe sayd, Let us kepe this towne, it is strong ynough, and we are people ynowe to kepe it; I thynke within fyve or sixe dayes, we shall have confort out of Englande, for they of Englande knowe by this tyme what case we be in. And every man sayde they were content. Than they ordred the towne and their company, and sette every man to his defence to kepe the walles and the gates: they caused all the women and chyldren to drawe into a churche, and nat to departe thens. The French kynge, beyng at Rayvombergues, understode howe the Englysshemen were withdrawen into the towne of Bergues. Than he toke counsayle, and it was determyned to go thyder, and that the constable and marshall shulde go first, and lye in a wynge on the farther syde of the towne; and than the kyng, the duke of Berrey, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Burbone and their companyes shulde folowe; and than the erle of Bloyes, and the erle of Ewe, and the reregarde, shulde go on another wynge of the towne, and so close the Englysshmen rounde about: this purpose was holden. The kynge departed fro Rayvombergues, and all his people ordred in the felde. It was great beautie to beholde shynynge agaynst the sonne, to baners, penons, and clere bassenettes, and so great nombre of people, that the eye of man coude nat nombre them: their speares semed a great thicke wode. Thus they rode in four batayls towarde Bergues: and about the hour of thre, an heraude of Englande entred into the towne, and he had passed through the Frenche army by sufferaunce. He came to sir Hughe Caurell, and sir Hughe demaunded of hym a high, that every man herde hym: Heraude, fro whens comyst thou? Sir, quod the heraude, I come fro the Frenche hoost, wher I have sene the moost fayrest syght of men of armes, and the greattest nombre that ever I sawe: I trowe ther is no kynge can assemble so many toguyder agayne. These goodly men of armes, quod sir Hughe, what nombre doest thou call them of? Sir,

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quod he, they are well xxvi. thousande men of armes, the moost goodlyest men and best armed that can be devised. Ah, quod sir Hugh Caurell, who was sore displeased with those wordes, thou art well made to forge a gret lye; I knowe well thou lyest falsely, for I have often sene the assemblies of Fraunce, but they were never yet founde togider xxvi. thousand, nor yet scant sixe M. of good men of armes. Therwith the watchman of the towne sowned his trumpet, for the kynges vowarde was comyng to passe by the towne walles. Than sir Hughe sayd to suche knightes and squyers as were about hym, Let us go and se these xxvi. thousande men of armes, they are comyng, I here, by oure watchman. So than they went to the walles, and leaned out and behelde the kynges vowarde passynge forby the towne, in the whiche warde there were xv. C. speares, the constable, and the marshals, the maister of the crosbowes, the lorde Coucy: and after them the duke of Bretayne, therle of Flaunders, and therle of saint Poule, and with them about a xv. C. speares. Than sir Hugh Caurell, wenyng to have sene the hole army of Fraunce, sayd, Beholde if I said true or nat, yonder ye may se the xxvi. M. men of armes; if they be thre M. they be x. M.; let us go to dyner, for as yet I have nat sene no nombre that shulde cause us to leave the towne; this heraude wolde abasshe us well if we wolde beleve him. The heraude was ashamed, but yet he sayd, Sir, ye have sene as yet no more but the vowarde; the kyng and his uncles are as yet behynde, and all their puyssaunce, and behynde them is the reregarde, wher as there is mo than two thousande speares; and sir, all this shall ye se within this four houres, if ye wyll tary to se it. Sir Hugh Caurell made no force at his wordes, but went to his lodgynge and sayd, I have sene all togyder: and so sat downe to his dyner. And as he sat, the watche began again to blowe as sore as he coude. Than sir Hugh rose fro the table, and went to the walles to se what it was; ther he sawe comyng the kyng and his uncles, and duke Frederyke, the duke of Lorayne, therle of Savoy, the dolphyn of Auvergne, the erle of Marche, and there companyes. In this gret batayle ther was well a xvi. M. speares. Than sir Hugh Caurell thought himselfe desceyved, and sayd, The heralde sayd truely, I

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was in the wrong to blame him; let us go hens lepe upon our horses, let us save our bodies and our goodes, it is nat good here to abyde: I never sawe so moche before of the state of Fraunce: I never sawe so many men togyder before, as I se yonder in the vowarde and myddell warde, and yet I am sure ther is a reregarde behynde. Than he departed fro the walles and went to his logyng. And so they trussed all their baggages, and mounted on their horses without makyng of any noyse, and opyned the gate towarde Burbourke, and so departed, and ledde with them all their pyllage. But if the Frenchmen had taken good hede, they might have ben before them, but they knewe it nat of a long tyme, they were first nere at Burborke. Sir Hugh Caurell, ryght sore dyspleased, tourned his horse and taryed tyll his company were come togyder, and than he sayd to sir Thomas Tryvet, and to other that were present, Sirs, by my faythe we have made this season a shamefull journey; there issued out of Englande never a more unhappye armye. Ye have wrought at your pleasur, and have beleved the bysshoppe of Norwiche, who thought to have flyen or he had wynges: nowe we may se the honourable ende that we must abyde. All this viage my wordes might nat be beleved, what soever I sayd. Yonder nowe we may se Burburc: if any of you wyll go thyder ye may, but as for me I wyll go to Gravelynge, and so to Calais, for I se well we be nat men suffycient to fyght with the armye of Fraunce. Some of the Englysshe knightes, who knewe right well that he sayd trouthe, answered and sayde, Sir, a Goddesse name, we wyll go to Bourbourke, and abyde there suche adventure as God wyll sende us. And so sir Hughe Caurell departed fro them, and they entred into Burbourcke.

The Frenche kynge was anone certifyed that thenglysshmen were departed out of Bergues and gone to Bourborke, and lefte Bergues clene voyde: than the gates of the towne were sette opyn, and the kynge entred, and all suche as wolde. The first that entred founde great pyllage, whiche the Englysshmen coude nat cary away: the ladyes of the towne were saved and sent to saynt Omers, but the men were nere hande all slayne. And so the towne of Bergues was set a fyre, and the kyng departed bycause of the fyre, and went and lodged in a vyllage therby. This was on a Friday; and the lordes lodged abrode in the feldes as well as they might; they were happy the season was so fayr and drie; for if it had bene colde and wete, they shulde full yvell agone any farther to gette any forage. It was marveyle howe the forage was gette for so many horse, for there were mo than thre hundred thousande. It was great wonder howe such an hoost myght be vitayled. But the Saturday whan they came before Bourborke, they determyned to close in all the Englisshmen, and to assayle the towne in trust to wyn it: specially the Bretons had great desyre to assayle the towne, for the great pyllage that they trusted to fynde therin.

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Howe thenglisshmen after the sege of Ipre were withdrawen into the towne of Bergues.

CAP. CCCCXXXIX

Howe the Frenche kyng with all his hoost came to Burborke, and of the order of the Englysshmen within the towne; and howe Fraunces Atreman wan Andwarpe.

ON the Saturday in the mornyng it was right faire and clere, the host prepared themselfe to come before Burbourcke. The vowarde, the duke of Bretayne, the erle of Flaunders, therle of saint Poule, the constable of Fraunce, and thre thousande speares, passed forby the walles of the towne, and taryed on the other syde ryght agaynst the kynges host, wher was the moost goodlyst men of armes that coude be ymagined. Thentent of the lordes was to assayle the towne: there were baners and penons wavyng with the wynde, and every lorde with his men under his owne baner. The lordes of Fraunce shewed ther gret honoure and richesse. There was the lorde of Coucy in great estate; he hadde coursers trapped and barded with the auncyent armes of Coucy, and with other suche as he bare thane; and hymselfe on a goodly courser, ridynge in and out, settynge his men in array; every man that sawe hym praysed him for his goodly behavour. So ther every lorde shewed their estate: there was made the same day mo

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than four hundred knightes, and the heraldes nombred the knightes that were there, to a nyne M.; there were in nombre a xxiiii. M. men of armes knightes and squyers.

Thenglysshmen that were in the towne of Burbourc, and sawe the Frenche kynges puissance, they hoped well to have an assaut, of the which they were right well conforted. But in that they sawe themselfe enclosed in the towne, which was closed but with palis, they were nat therof well assured; howbeit, lyke men of good confort and great corage, they ordred their people about the towne. The lorde Beaumont, who was an erle in Englande, called Henry, with a C. men of armes and thre C. archers, kept one warde; syr Wyllyam Helmon, with as many men, kept another; sir John of Newcastell, with the Gascons, kept another; and the lorde Ferres of Englande kept another warde, with xl. men of armes and as many archers; so that thus the towne was set with men rounde about. Sir Mathue Reedman, sir Wyllyam Ferinton, and sir Nicholas Tracton,[1] with two C. men of armes and as many archers, kept the place before the mynster: also they ordayned a certayne nombre of men to take hede for fyre, and to quenche it if nede were, without disordringe of any of their wardes; for thenglisshmen douted the fyre, bycause the towne was than moost parte all the houses covered with strawe. Thus in this estate were the Englysshmen.

Nowe shall I shewe you of an highe enterprese that Fraunces Atreman[2] dyde the same proper Friday at night, that the Frenche kynge passed by Bergues, and howe he wanne the towne of Andwarpe.[3]

Fraunces Atreman, Peter de Boyse, Peter de Myrt, and the capitayns of Gaunte, whan they retourned fro the siege fro Ipre and came to Gaunte, they studyed night and daye howe they might do any domage to their enemyes. Than Fraunces Atreman understode howe the capitayne of Andewarpe, sir Gylbert of Lienghein,[4] was nat within the towne, nor no menne of warre, but howe they were all with the kyng in his army, for the erle of Flaunders had sende for them; wherfore Fraunces thought well that the towne of Andewarpe was but easly kept, and howe the dikes towarde the medowes agaynst theym were as than drie, for the water

[1] *Drayton.*

[2] *Ackerman.*

[3] *Audenarde.*

[4] *Leeuwerghem.*

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had bene let out for the fysshe that was therin, so that one might easely go with a drie fote to the walles of the towne, and by ladders to entre into the towne: the spyes of Gaunt had brought this worde to Fraunces Atreman. They of Andwarpe were as than in no feare of them of Gaunt, but in a maner had forgoten them. Whan Fraunces Atreman was justely enformed howe it was, he came to Peter de Boyse and sayd, Peter, thus in this case is the towne of Andwarpe at this tyme; I wyll adventure to gette it, and to scale it by night; ther was never tyme so good as is nowe, for the capitayne therof and the men of warre are nowe with the Frenche kynge in the fronters of saynt Omers, and they are in feare of no body. Peter soone agreed to his purpose, and said, If ye may come to your entent, there was never man dyde suche a dede to have prayse. I cannat tell, quod Fraunces, what wyll happe; my courage is good, for my herte gyveth me that we shall have this same night Andwarpe. Than Fraunces chase out a foure hundred men, in whom he had best truste, and so departed fro Gaunte in the evenyng, and toke the way towarde Andewarpe. This was in the moneth of Septembre, whan nightes be of a resonable length, and the wether fayre and clere. And so about mydnight they came to the medowes of Andewarpe, and had scalynge ladders redy with them: and as they passed by the maresse, there was a woman of the towne gaderynge grasse for her kene; she hydde herselfe whan she herde noyse of men comyng that way. She herde them well speke, and knewe well howe they were Gauntoyse comyng towarde the towne to scale it; she sawe well the ladders. This woman was sore abasshed, and at last sayd to herselfe, I wyll go to Andwarpe and shewe all that I have herde and sene to the wache menne of the towne: and so leyd downe all her baggage, and toke a prevy way that she knewe, and stale to the towne or the Gauntoyse came ther, and than she called. And at last one that went on the walles fro gate to gate herde her and sayd, What art thou? I am, quod she, a poore woman; I say to you, herby is a certayne nombre of Gauntoyse; I have sene them; they bringe with them ladders to steale this towne if they can. Nowe I have gyven you warnyng, I wyll retourne agayne; for if they mete with me, I am but deed. Thus the poore woman departed, and the man was abasshed, and thought to abyde styll to se if the woman sayd trouthe or nat. The Gauntoyse, who right prively dyde their enterprise, made no noyse nor hadde no trumpette, but the noyse of their langage. Than Fraunces Atreman sent foure of his company on before, and sayde, Go your way secretely without any wordes or coughhynge to the towne walles, and harken above and beneth if ye can parceyve any thynge. And so they dyde; and Fraunces and his companye abode styll in the marisshe, and stode styll nere where as the woman was. She sawe them well, and herde what they sayde, but they sawe nat her. These forsayd four men went to the dykes and behelde the walles, and sawe nor herde nothyng. Lo, ye may se what yvell adventure fell to them within; for if they had fortuned to have had but a candell lyght, that the Gauntoyse might have sene it, they durst nat have come ther; for than they wolde have thought that there hadde ben good watche made.

These four men returned agayne to Frances Atreman, and sayde, Sir, we can se nor here no maner of thynge. I thynke well, quoth Fraunces; I trowe the watche hath made theyr tourne, and are nowe gone to their rest: let us go this hyghe way towarde the gate, and than entre lowe downe into the dykes. The poore woman where as she laye privelyherde all these wordes: than she went agayne to the wall, and came to the man that watched there, and shewed hym as she dyde before, and declared all that she had sene and herde, and counsayled hym to go to the gate to se howe it was kept; For surely, quoth she, shortly ye shall here of the Gauntoyse; I wyll go my way; I dare no lengar abyde: I have shewed you all that I have sene and herde: do nowe as ye lyst, for I wyll come no more this nyght. And so the good poore woman departed. And the man remembred her wordes and wente to the gate, where he founde the watchmen playenge at dyse, and sayd to them, Sirs, have ye surelye closed your gates and barryers? There was a woman came right nowe to me, and shewed me thus and thus, as ye have herde before. They answered and sayd, All is safe ynoughe. In an yvell tyme of the night that woman is come hyder to trouble us. It is kene and calves are broken lose, and she

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weneth the noyse be Gauntoyse: I warrant you they have no lyste to come hyder. In the meane season whyle they were thus talkynge, Fraunces Atreman and his company were come and entred the dykes, wherin there was no water; and there they brake downe a certayne of the pales before the wall, and so rered up their ladders and entred into the towne, and went streight to the market place, without sownynge of any noyse tyll they came thyder. And there they founde a knight called sir John Florence of Hulle,[1] who was lyeutenant under the capitayne of the towne; and he kepte there the standynge watche, with a xxx. men in harnesse with hym. And as soone as the Gauntoise were entred into the place, they cryed, Gaunt, Gaunt, and strake at the watche; and the sayde knyght was slayne and all his company. Thus the towne of Andwarpe was taken.

CAP. CCCCXL

Howe they of Andwarpe were put out of the towne, and none abode there but Gauntoyse; and howe Amergot Marsell toke the castell of Marquell, in Auverne, and howe it was gyven up by composycion for fyve thousande frankes to the erle Dolphyn of Auvergne.

SUCHE as were aslepe in theyr beddes in Andewarpe were sore abasshed whan they herd that cry, and saw their towne taken, and coude nat remedy it; for the Gauntoyse brake up their houses by force, and slewe them without any defence makyng, they were taken so sodenly: wherfore there was no recovery, therfore every man saved himselfe that might best. The men fledde out of their houses all naked, and lept over the walles, and left all behynde them, and waded throughe the dykes and waters about the towne. The ryche men bare nothyng away with them, for they were happy that might save themselfe alyve. Ther was the same night a great nombre slayne in the towne and drowned in the dykes and waters. Thus it fortuned of

[1] *Heule.*

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this adventure. And in the mornynge, whan the Gauntoyse sawe howe they were lordes of the towne, than they put all women and chyldren out of the towne naked, in their shertes and smockes, or in the worst rayment they had, and so they went to Tourney: and suche as were escaped, some went to Mount, to Achacondent,[1] to Valencennes, and to Tourney. Tidynges came to many places howe Andwarpe was taken, wherof they of Gaunt were greatly rejoysed, and sayd, howe Fraunces Atreman had achyved a great and an highe enterprise, whiche ought to tourne to his great valur and prayse. Thus Fraunces Atreman abode capitayne of Andwarpe, and wanne there great riches and great provisyon, which came well to poynt for the towne of Gaunt, as whete, otes, and wyne, the whiche they of the towne had gadered togyder out of Fraunce, Flaunders, and Turney. But all that was of Heynalte was saved, they toke nothyng therof but that they payed for.

In the same season ther fell nere suche a lyke adventure in Auvergne, where as Englysshmen helde dyvers castels, marchyng on the lande of the erle Dolphyn, and of the bysshop of saynt Fleure and of Cleremont. And bycause they that were there in garyson knewe well howe all the countre was voyde of men of warre, and howe that the lordes and knightes therof, or at leest moost parte of them were with the kyng in his voyage in Flaunders, therfore they thought they wolde assay to steale and to scale some towne or fortresse. And so it happed that Amargot Marsell, capitayne of Aloyse, a right strong castell within a myle of saynt Fleure, toke a xxx. of his company, and rode covertly towarde the lande of therle Dolphyn. And his entent was, to assay to take by stelthe the castell of Marquell,[2] wherby the erle Dolphyn beareth his armes. And so he came thyder throughe the wodes, and taryed in a lytell woode nere to the castell tyll the sonne went downe, and that all the beestes and men of the castell were entred in; and in the meane season that the capitayne, called Grandon Buyssell,[3] satte at supper, the Englysshmen, redy apparelled to do their enterprise, dressed up their ladders, and entred into the castell at their ease. They of the castell were walkyng beneth in the courte, and whan they sawe their

[1] *à Ath, à Condet.*

[2] *Mercoeur.*

[3] *Buffiel.*

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enemyes on the walles, they cryed Treason, Treason. And whan the capitayne herde that, he thought there was no remedy but to save himselfe by a prevy way that he knewe, whiche went out of his chambre into the great towre, whiche was cheife defence of all the castell. He drewe thyder, and toke the keyes with hym and closed himselfe in the towre whyle that Amergotte entended to other thynges. And whan they sawe that the capitayne was scaped into the towre, whiche was to strong to be wonne by them, than they sayd they hadde done nothyng, and repented them that they were entred, for they were enclosed within the castell, and coude nat get out agayne at the gate. Than Amergotte went to the towre to speke with the capitayne, and sayd to hym, Grandon, delyver me the keyes of the gate of the castell, and I promyse the we shall departe hens without doyng of any more hurt. No, quoth Grandon, but ye wyll lede away my catell, wherin I have great trust. Gyve me thy hande, quod Amergot, and I shall swere to the by my faythe, that thou shalt have no domage. Than the folysshe capitayne putte out his hande at a lytell wyndowe, to thentent that he shulde swere to hym: and as soone as Amergotte had his hande in his, he drewe it to hym and streyned hym sore, and drewe out his dagger and sware that without he wolde delyver all the keyes to him, he wolde nayle fast his hande to the gate. Whan Grandon sawe hymselfe in that case, he was sore abasshed, and nat without a cause, for he sawe well that Amergot wolde nayle fast his hande to the gate, without he delyvered the keyes; and so he delyvered them with the other hande, for they were nere hym. Nowe, quod Amergotte to his company, have I natte well disceyved this foole? I shall lerne well such deedes.[1] Thane they opyned the towre, and so were maysters therof, and put the capitayne and all they that were within, clene out, and dyde them no more hurt of their bodyes.

Tidynges came to the erle Dolphyns wyfe, who laye in a castell in a good towne called Zaydes,[2] but a lytell myle thens, howe the castell of Marquell was taken by the Englysshmen. The lady was sore abasshed, bycause her lorde was nat in the countre. She sende to the knightes and squyers of the countre to come to ayde her to conquere agayne the

[1] *J'en prenderoye bien assès de si fais.*

[2] *Ardes.*

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castell. Knightes and squyers came anone to the lady, and layde siege to the castell; but the Englysshmen made no force therof, and so helde it fyftene dayes. Thane the lady fell in treatie with them, and a composycion was taken: and so Amergot departed, and had fyve thousande frankes, and than retourned to his owne garysone agayne. In lykewise they of Calvylcell,[1] wherof Peter de Brenoise[2] was capitayne, and dyde moche hurt about Auvergne and Lymosyn: the Englysshmen the same tyme helde in the fronters and lymyties of Auvergne, of Quercy, and of Lymosyn mo than threscore stronge castels; so that they might go and come fro forteresse to fortresse tyll they came to Burdeux. And the fortres that dyde moost hurt was Vantatoure, one of the strongest castels of the worlde, and chiefe capitayne therof was a Bretone, called Geffray Testenoyre: this was a cruell man, and had pytie of no man; for as soone he wolde put to dethe a knight or a squyer as a vyllayne, for he sette by no body: he was so feared of his men, that none durst displease hym. He hadde with hym a foure hundred companyons in his wages, and well and truely he payed them fro moneth to moneth: he helde the countre about hym in peace and in subjectyon; none durst ryde in his countre, he was so feared and douted. He had all maner of purveyaunce about hym, no man of the worlde coude have better; as clothe of Brusels and of Normandy, of peltre ware and of mercery, and of all other thynges necessarie; he solde it to his people, and abated it on their wages. Also he had to sell all provisyon, as yron, steele, leddar, spyce, and of all other thynges as plentyfull as thoughe it hadde bene at Parys: and somtyme he moved warre as well to the Englysshmen as to the Frenchmen, to the entent to be the more redouted. The castell of Vantatour was ever purveyed of all thynges to abyde a siege, and it shulde endure sevyn yere.

Nowe lette us retourne to the busynesse of Flaunders.

[1] *Chalusset.*

[2] *Perrot le Béarnais.*

CAP. CCCCXLI

Howe the Frenche kynge assayled Burbourke, and howe he ordayned that whosoever brought thyder a fagotte shulde have a blanke.

THE Saturday, as is said before, the Frenche kyng came before Burbourke; there was never sene a goodlyer army, and every man redy apparelled to assaut the towne, with great courage and wyll. And they sayd, the towne shulde nat long endure agaynst them; howebeit, first it cost them many of their men. Some had great marveile why they went nat incontynent to the saut; some said agayne, that the duke of Bretayne, and the erle of Flaunders, who were on the farther syde of the towne, were in treatie with the Englysshmen to yelde up the towne without any assaut. The Bretons, Burgonyons, Normayns, Almayns, and other people, who thought surely that within the towne was great pyllage and profyte for them, yf they might wynne the towne byforce, wherfore they were sore displeased that they went nat streyght wayes to the assaute; some scrymysshed at the barryers without any commaundement or ordynaunce of the constable or marshalles. The mater multiplyed in suche wyse, that the Frenchemen shotte fyre into the towne, so that there was fyre in mo than in xl. places, so that they myght se the flame and smoke in every parte of the hoost. Than begane the crye and assaut, and there was in the formast front sir Wyllyam of Namure, and his company, who valyantly dyde assayle; there was done many a feate of armes: the assaylantes with great courage and wyll entred into the dykes, some to the knees in water and myre, and came and shotte and fought at the pales with thenglysshmen, who defended theymselfe as well as any men myght do; and it was nede for them so to do: they within had so moche to do, that they wyste nat well what to do. They were assayled on every syde; and styll brent the houses of the towne, whiche abasshed the Englysshmen moost of any thyng: but for all that they went nat fro their wardes, but abode styll at their defences; and sir

Howe the Frenchekynge assayled Burbourke.

Mathue Reedman, and sir Nycholas Traicton, and suche as were stablysshed in the towne, they dyde as moche as they myght to quenche the fyre; but the wether was so fayre, and the season so drie, that the houses flamed. And for certayne, if the assaute had begon soner the same Saturday, and that the night hadde nat so soone come, they had wonne the towne by assaut, but it behoved them to cease the assaut, bycause of the nyght. Of sir Wyllyam Namures company there were a xxxvi. sore hurt and slayne; and of them of the hoost, as the heraldes reported, there were slayne and hurte mo than fyve hundred. Than ceased the assaut bicause of the night, and the Frenchmen drewe to their lodgynges and entended to their hurte people, and to bury the deed. And it was sayd in the hoost that the next day in the mornyng, they wolde newe agayne assaut the towne, sayeng, surely how they wolde wynne it, and that it shulde nat endure agaynst them. The Englysshmen all that nyght entended to repayre their pales whiche were broken, and to quenche the fyre in the towne; so they sawe themselfe, all thynges consydered, in a harde case, for they sawe well they were closed in rounde about, so that they coude in no wyse flye out.

And on the Sonday in the mornyng, after the kynge had herde masse, there was a crye made in the host, that whosoever brought a fagot before the kynges tent, he shulde have a blanke of Fraunce, and as many fagottes as many blankes, to thentent to caste into the dykes for men to passe to the pales, and on the Monday to gyve assaute. Than there was good makyng of fagottes, and bringynge of theym before the kynges tent, so that within a whyle there was a great stacke of them. So thus they drave of the Sonday without any assaut: and some said the same Sonday, that the duke of Bretayne, who was on the farther syde of the towne, fell in treatie with thenglysshemen, for they sawe well what case they were in. He counsayled them to yelde up the towne, savynge their bodyes and goodes, to the whiche counsayle they were gladde to folowe, and desyred the duke for Goddessake and gentylnesse that he wolde helpe to make a treatie for them. And for that cause, the Sonday the duke sende to the kyng, and to his uncles, to his counsayle, to

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the constable, and to therle of saynt Poule, that they shulde helpe to make this treatie, and to counsayle the kyng to take the fortresse as they were offred; for as to assayle theym, it shulde cost the kynge moche of his people, and as for Bourbourke, it wolde be harde to wynne, for therin were a fewe poore menne of warre that wolde defende themselfe to the dethe. The kyng and his uncles, bycause the duke of Bretayne spake for them, sayd, he wolde here their treaty with a good wyll. So thus the Sonday passed all in peace, and as it was said, in the evenyng, on assuraunce, Johan of Newcastell, Gascone, and Raymonette of saynt Marke[1] came to the lodgynge of sir Guy de la Tremoyle, to sporte them, and taryed there all night. And on the Monday in the mornynge they retourned to Bourburke; and at their departure sir Guy sayde to them, Sirs, or it be night, ye shall be my prisoners. Sir, quod they, we had rather be yours than a poorer knyghtes. The same evenyng tidynges came to the hoost howe Andwarp was taken by stelthe, wherwith the capitayne therof was sore displeased bycause he was ther, the whiche was losse of the towne, but he was excused bycause the erle of Flaunders had sende for hym. The same Sonday at night the erle Blois kept the watche, wenynge to assayle the towne in the mornynge.

On the Monday in the mornyng there was a crye made, that no man shulde be so hardy to make any assaute to the towne tyll they were commaunded. Whan this crye was publysshed throughe the hoost, every man ceased; and some ymagined that the Englisshmen shulde departe by some treatie, sithe they were commaunded nat to assayle the towne. And at noone there yssued out of the towne suche as shulde comune for the treatie, sir Wyllyam Helman, sir Thomas Tryvette, sir Nicholas Traicton, sir Mathue Reedman, and to the nombre of xiiii. knyghtes and squyers; and the duke of Bretayne, the constable of France and the erle of saynt Poule brought them into the kynges tent. The kyng was gladde to se them, for as than he hadde sene but a fewe Englisshmen, except sir Peter Courtney, who had ben before at Paris to do dedes of armes with sir Guy de la Tremoyle, but the same tyme the kynge and his counsayle

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[1] *Saint Marsan.*

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agreed them so, that they fought nat toguyder. And bycause that in tyme passed great renome and brute ran, howe that the Englysshmen were valyant in armes, therfore the yonge kyng was gladde to se them, and their treatie aveyled moche the better. Thus this Monday they were in the kynges tent; and with the kyng ther was the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Burbone, the duke of Bretaygne, the erle of Flaunders, and the constable of Fraunce, and no mo. The duke of Bretayne toke great payne in this treatie; so at last they concluded that they shulde departe fro Burbourke, and leave the towne of Gravelynge, and to take with them as moche as they coude cary of their owne. Of this treatie dyvers Bretons, Frenchmen, Normayns, and Burgonyons were sore displeased, for they had hoped to have had parte of their goodes; but they fayled of their ententes, for the kyng wolde have it thus, as is sayd before. After this treatie, these knightes toke leave of the kyng, and of his uncles, of the duke of Bretayne, of the erle of Flaunders, and of the constable. Than therle of saint Poule toke and had theym to supper in his lodgynge, and made them right good chere, and after supper he conveyed them to the gates of the towne, wherof they thanked hym greatly.

CAP. CCCCXLII

Of the miracles that were done in the towne of Burbourke. And howe sir Thomas Trivet, and sir Wylliam Helman, Englysshmen, were putte in prisone for the domage of Fraunce.

THE Tuisday all the day they ordered all their busynesse, and shodde their horses, and stuffed their males, wherof they had great plentie. The Wednisday in the mornynge they trussed, and toke their way, and passed by saveconduct thorough the kynges hoost. The Bretons were sore displeased whan they sawe them departe with suche baggage, and suche as abode behynde dyde hurt ynoughe. Thus the Englysshmen departed and

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went to Gravelyng, and there rested; and on the Thursday in the mornyng they departed, and set fyre in the towne, and brent it clene up, and so came to Calais, and all their pyllage, and there taryed for the wynde to have passed to retourne into Englande. The Thursday in the mornyng, the Frenche kyng entred into Burburke, and all the lordes and ther companyes. Than the Bretons began to pyll and robbe the towne, and left nothynge in the towne, nor in the churche of saynt Johans, in the whiche churche a vyllayne among other lept upon the auter, and wolde have taken away a stone out of a crowne on the heed of an ymage of Our Lady: but the ymage tourned away fro him. This was a true thynge, and the vyllayne fell fro the auter and dyed a shamefull dethe. Many men sawe this myracle; and after that ther came another that wolde have done the same, but than all the belles in the church rang without any helpe of mannes handes, nor also they coude nat be ronge, for the ropes were tyed up alofte. For these myracles the churche was moche visyted of all the people, and the kynge gave to the same ymage of Our Lady a great gyfte, and so dyde all the lordes. The same day ther was offred and gyven well to the valure of thre thousande frankes: the next day they dislodged. The kyng gave leave to every man to departe, and the kyng thanked them that were of farre countreis, and specially the duke of Bavyer, bycause he was come to serve hym so farre of, and also the erle of Savoy. So thus every lorde drewe to their owne; and than the kyng retourned; but the duke of Burgoyne taryed a lytell behynde with the erle of Flaunders, to set his busynesse in good order, and taryed at saynt Omers. The lorde of Coucy,[1] Normayns, and divers other knightes and squiers of Poictou, of Vymewe, and of Picardy, entred into Gravelynge, whan the Englysshmen had lefte it, and newe repayred it, and made it a countre garyson agaynst Calays, and lytell and lytell peopled agayne the countre of Furneys, of Donkyrke, of Disqueme, and of Newporte, the whiche was all lost before; but than they conquered it newe agayne.

Ye may knowe well that the duke of Lancastre was nothynge dyspleased that the bysshoppe of Norwyches armye spedde no better than it dyde; for by reason of that

[1] *Torcy.*

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army, he lost his viage into Spayne and Portyngale. And whan these Englysshe knightes were retourned into Englande, they were sore taken up with the Comens; they sayde to them howe they had right yvell quyted themselfe in their vyage, whan they had so fayre a begynnynge in Flaunders, and conquered nat the hole countre. And specially sir Thomas Tryvet, and sir Wyllyam Helman, were moost blamed; as for sir Hughe Caurell, there was no faute layde to his charge, nother by the kyng nor his counsayle, nor by the Comons, for it was well knowen that if his counsayle might have bene beleved, they had spedde better than they dyde to their honoures. And so it was layde to the two other knightes howe they had solde Burborke and Gravelynge to the Frenche kyng, so that all the realme was sore moved agaynst them, so that they were in parell of their lyves; and they were commaunded by the kyng into prison to the towre of London. And while they were in prison the Comons apeased; and whan they were delyvered out of prison, they were bounde to the kyng to be at his wyll and pleasure. Than ther was put forthe a treatie to be had bytwene the Englysshmen and Frenchmen; and they of Gaunt were comprised in the treatie, wherwith therle of Flaunders was sore displeased; howbeit, he coude nat amende it.

At the departynge out of Burborke, the duke of Bretayne abode styll at saynt Omers with the erle of Flaunders his cosyn, and wolde gladlye have sene that a good peace or a longe truse might have ben had, bytwene the Frenche kyng his naturall lorde, and the kyng of Englande. And to set forwarde the mater, the Monday whan the Englisshmen were with the kyng in his tent, he moved the mater to some of them; and they promysed hym that assoone as they came in Englande to the kyng they wolde speke to hym, to his uncles, and to his counsayle, of that mater. And so after to shewe that he was wyllyng to bring the mater to a good ende, he sent into England two knightes of his owne good assuraunce, as the lorde of Housey, and the lorde of Maylly; and they dyde so moche that the duke of Lancastre, and the erle of Buckyngham his brother, the bysshoppe of Suffolke, sir Johan of Hollande, brother to the kyng, sir Thomas Percy, and

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other of the kynges counsayle, shulde come to Calays, havyng full puyssaunce and authoryte of the kyng and of the realme to make peace, or to ordayne a treuse at their pleasure. And on the other parte there shulde come to Boloyne, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgoyne, the bysshoppe of Laon, and the chaunceler of France, havyng also full authorite fro the Frenche king, his counsayle and realme, to take peace with the Englysshmen, or to take truse suche as they coude agre upon. And so whan all these parties were come to Calys and to Boloyne, they taryed a lytell or they met, for the counsayle of Spaygne that shulde come thyder, for the Frenchemen wolde make no treatie without the Spanyerdes were enclosed therin; finally there came fro the kynge of Spayne a bysshop, a dyacre, and two knightes. Than it was advysed by all the parties, bycause they thought it no suretie for the Frenchemen to come to Calais, nor the Englysshmen to come to Boloyne, therfore it was ordayned that ther comunyng shulde be in the mydway bytwene the sayde townes, in a lytell vyllage, where ther was a churche called Abolyng;[1] thyder came all these parties, and dyvers dayes ther they met. And there was the duke of Bretayne, and the erle of Flaunders, and there in the felde was pyght up the great tent of Bruges; and the erle of Flaunders made a dyner in the same tent, to the duke of Lancastre, to therle of Buckyngham, and to the other lordes of Englande: ther was great estate holden on bothe parties. But all thynges consydred, they coude fynde no meanes to have a peace, for the Frenchmen wolde have had agayne Guynes, Calays, and all the fortresses that thenglysshmen helde on that syde of the see to the ryver of Garon, as well in Normandy, Bretayne, Poictou, Xaynton, as in Rochell; to the whiche thenglysshmen wolde in no wyse agre, and specially Guynes, Calys, Chierburge, nor Brest, in Bretayne. They were comunyng on this treaty more than thre wekes, every day, the lordes or els some of their counsayle.

The same season there dyed in the duchy of Lusenburgh, and in the towne of Lusenburgh, the gentyll and joly duke Vincelyns of Boem, duke of Lusenburgh and of Brabant, who had ben in his tyme fresshe, sage, amorous, and hardy. And whan he dyed, it was sayd that the most highe prince and grettest lynage and moost noble of blode was deed; God have his soule. And he was buryed in the abbey of Vauclere, besyde Luzenburgh: and my lady Jane, duches of Brabant, was as than wydowe, and never after was maryed. Of the dethe of this noble duke, suche as knewe hym were right sorie.

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[1] *Lelinghen.*

CAP. CCCCXLIII

Howe the lordes of Englande and Fraunce were assembled togyder to make a peace, whiche by them coude nat be done; and howe Loyes, erle of Flaunders dyed, and of his obsequy.

NOWE let us retourne to their assemble that was bytwene thenglisshe lordes and the Frenche, bytwene Calays and Boloyne; whiche treaty coude never come to none effect of peace nor profyte for the one partie nor other. Some sayd, the erle of Flaunders was in a great defaut therof, for he wolde in no wyse have them of Gaunt comprised in any treatie, wherwith thenglysshmen were displeased; wherfor the treatie spedde the worse. For ther was great promyse made that no peace shulde be made without the Gauntoyse were comprised therin: this they had sworne at Calays; therefore this brake the treatie: finally, ther coude be made no peace that shulde seme good to any of the parties. Than they fell to treat for a truse, and therupon their treatie proceded. Therle of Flaunders wolde gladly that they of Gaunt shulde have ben out of the truse, but the Englysshmen wolde in no wyse consent therto, but that Gaunt shulde be comprised in the truse, and that every partye shulde syt styll with that he hath, and no partie to rendre up any fortresse to other. And for all that this treatie was thus bytwene Calays and Boloyne, the Gauntoyse of the garyson of Andwarpe came and brent the subbarbes of Tourney, and retourned savely agayne to Andwarpe. And in the feest of Christmas the Gauntoyse gadered up the rentes parteyning to the lorde of Tourney,[1] wherwith he was right sore displeased, and sware a great othe, that whatsoever treatie was

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[1] *Escornay.*

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made bytwene Flanders and the Gauntoyse, he wolde never entende to no peace, but alwayes to make them the grettest warre that he coude. For he sayd, they toke fro hym his herytage ; wherfore he wyste natte howe to lyve, without his frendes of Brabant and Heynalt had ayded hym, the Gauntoyse had so distroyed his herytage.

These treaties that were thus bytwene Boloyne and Calys, bytwene the lordes of Englande and of Fraunce, was concluded with moche ado that a truse shulde be had bytwene the Frenche kyng and the kyng of Englande, and all their adherentes and alyes ; that is to say, on the Frenche kynges parte, all Spayne, Galyce, and Castell, and all in them enclosed, as well by water as by lande, and also the realme of Scotlande : and the Frenche kyng, as soone as he may, to signifie this truse to the kyng of Scottes and to the barons of Scotlande ; and they that shulde go on that message to have saveconduct to go and come through the realme of Englande. Also on thenglysshe parte, ther was comprised all his adherentes and alyes, in whatsoever partie they were in : and they of Gaunt were expressly named and enclosed in this truse, wherof therle of Flaunders was sore displeased : and this truse to endur to the feest of saynt Michell, in the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC.lxxxiiii., and than these parties to retourne agayne to the same place, or els other for them, havyng full puyssaunce to apease the sayd realmes. Of all these thynges there were letters autentyke and instrumentes publyke writen and sealed to holde and accomplysshe this truse and poyntment. The lordes sware nat to breke it in no poynt. Thus this counsayle brake up ; the Frenchmen retourned into Fraunce, and thenglysshmen to Calys ; the duke of Bretayne retourned than into his owne countre, and therle of Flaunders to saynt Omers, and ther a sickenesse toke hym, wherof he dyed : and it was ordayned that he shulde be entred in the churche of Oure Lady in Lysle. This erle of Flaunders dyed the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.lxxxiii. the xx. day of January, and he was brought to an abbey besyde Lysle ; and in lykewise the countesse his wyfe, who dyed a fyve yere before that in the countie of Rethes, was brought thyder also, and bothe toguyder buryed in the churche of saynt Peter in Lysle.

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Nowe I shall shewe you thordynaunce that was had at his buryeng, and of his conveyeng into Lysle.

Here foloweth the ordynaunce of the buryeng of therle of Flaunders and of the countesse his wyfe, whose bodyes were brought to an abbey besyde Lysle. And whan he entred into Lysle, a great nombre of lordes of Fraunce, of Flaunders, of Heynalt, and of Brabant were redy in the evenynge of the obsequy at the gate of the sicke people, and so brought the bodyes through the towne to the churche of saynt Peter, and they were armed for the warre and the squiers that ledde them. First, ther was sir John of Helwyn moost next to the body, and he was ledde by Angurant of Velomy[1] and by Roger of Lespyre. The lorde of Markdevant was led by Marquemene and by Johan Espyre; the lorde of Sausse ledde by Fretyn and sir John of Molyn; the lorde of Mauves ledde by Geffray Denoyle and Henry of Vaquery.[2]

Item, ther folowed suche as were ordayned for the convoy. Sir Peter of Baylleule next to the body before sir John of Molyn, ledde of sir Johan of Quynhen and of Haubeken the Marshall;[3] sir Sohyre of Gaunt before sir Peter of Baylleule, ledde of Guyot of Lompre and of Johan Loys;[4] the lorde Bretencourt,[5] ledde of Hyart of Quynhen and of Mychell de la Quare.[6]

After folowed the baners of the bere: and first, sir Fraunces of Hasurquene;[7] sir Goussayn le Savage before; sir Lancelot the Parson before sir Gousayne; sir John de la Hell before sir Lancelot.

Than folowed they that bare the baners of the bere and of the convoy.[8] Sir Mathewe of Humyers before sir Johan de Helles; the lorde Aveaux[9] also before sir Mathue; sir Tyrchelart de la Bare before the said lorde of Aveaux; and sir Johan of Parys before Tyrchelart.

Item, herafter foloweth the names of them that ayded to beare the body fro the gate of the sicke folkes throughe the towne of Lysle to the church of saynt Peter. First, sir John de Vyen, admyrall of Fraunce, on the ryght hande, and the lorde of Guystell on the lyft hande, sir Valerant of Ranevall also on the right syde, and the chatellayne of Disquenyue on the left syde, the lorde Distenoy[10] on the right syde, and sir Aunsell of Salyns on the lyfte syde.

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[1] *Walenne.*

[2] *le seigneur de Marcq devant le seigneur de Halluwyn, mené de Henri de l'Aubiel et de Jehan de Gommer; le seigneur de Masmines devant le seigneur de Marcq, mené de Jehan de l'Espière et Sansset de Fretin; messire Jehan dou Molin devant le seigneur de Masmines, mené de Godefroid de Noyelle et de Henry de le Vacquerie.*

[3] *Lambekin Le Marescal.*

[4] *Leonis.*

[5] *le seigneur de Béthencourt devant Messire Sohier de Gand.*

[6] *Barre.*

[7] *Haveskerke.*

[8] *tournoy.*

[9] *Abiaux.*

[10] *Escornay.*

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Howe the lordes of Englande and Fraunce were assembled togyder to make a peace.

Herafter foloweth the barons that ayded to beare the body of the countesse of Flaunders fro the gate of saynt Leder to the churche of saynt Peter. First, the lorde of Sully on the right syde, and the lorde of Chatellone on the lyfte syde; sir Guy of Pontayle, marshall of Burgoyne, on the right syde, and sir Guy of Guystels on the lyft; and than sir Henry[1] at the right corner, and the chatellayne of Furnes at the lyft corner.

Here foloweth the ordynaunces of the day of the obsequy, done in the churche of saynt Peter of Lisle; the names of them that were ther, and of suche squiers as helde the sheldes all the masse to the offrynge.

The duke of Burgoyne was first alone, and the first shelde borne before hym; and the shelde was sustayned with the lorde of Ranevall, the lorde de la Gonese,[2] Labequen de la Coutre, and Johan de Pountaliers, brother to the marshall of Burgoyne. And than the seconde shelde before the lorde Johan of Arthoyse, erle of Ewe, and sir Philyppe de Bare, the shelde was holden by Valerant de la Sale and Lesquaus Denekyn:[3] than the erle of Marche and sir Phylyppe Darthoise, and the shelde holden by Gyllon de la Bret and by Robyn of Florigny: and after, sir Robert de Namure and sir Wyllyam de Namur, his nephue, the shelde was borne by Chaux Bernarde[4] and Gerarde Destrevayle.

Item for the sheldes of convoy;[5] the lorde Dangyen, and by hym sir Johan of Namure, the shelde was holden of Ayllert Pouchees and Henry of Moncy: than next was sir Ewe of Chastellon and the lorde of Fere, the shelde holden by John of Helwyn and Edwarde of Castren: and after was the lorde Dantoyne and the lorde of Guystels, the shelde sustayned by Trystram of Landres[6] and Johan du Beart: and than was the lorde of Morieumes and the lorde of Sully, the shelde holden by Fresinguy and Dames of Bucy.

Item, the names of them that offred the coursers of warre; first, the lorde of Chatellon and sir Symon de la Layne, bayly of Heynalt, the lordes afote, and the horse armed and covered: for the seconde, sir Valerant of Ranevall and the cathelayne of Disquemade: for the thyrde, sir Hewe of Meuleun[7] and the lorde Daucy: the fourth, the lorde of Brunell[8] and the lorde of Brumeu.[9]

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[1] *d'Antoing.*

[2] *Gruthuse.*

[3] *l'Esclave d'Annequin.*

[4] *Campbernard.*

[5] *tournoy.*

[6] *Lambres.*

[7] *Melun.*

[8] *Briffeuil.*

[9] *Brimeu.*

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Howe the lordes of Englande and Fraunce were assembled togyder to make a peace.

Here foloweth those that offred the coursers of convoy: First, sir Henry Dantoygne and sir Gerarde of Guystels: the seconde, the lorde of Montigny and the lorde of Rasenghien: the thyrde, the lorde de la Haurade[1] and the chatelayne of Furnes: the fourthe, the lorde of Fagumelles and sir Roulande de la Clycque.[2]

Here foloweth the names of them that offred the glayves of warre. First the lorde admyrall of Fraunce; and the lorde of Rary[3] the seconde; the marshall of Burgoyne the thyrde; the lorde of saynt Pye the fourthe.[4]

Here foloweth suche as offred the swerdes of convoy. First, sir Wyllyam of Ponthue: the ii. sir Wyllyam de Tremoile; the thirde, the chatelayne of Ipre: the iiii. sir Guy de Hancourt.[5]

Item, the names of them that offred the helmes of warre. First, the lorde of Maylly:[6] the seconde, sir Wyllyam de Hornes and sir Ansell de Salyns: the thyrde, sir Johan Doppeyn[7] and the chatelayn of saynt Omers: the iiii. sir Guy de Guystels and the Galoys Daunoy.

Item for the helmes of convoy. First, sir Joise de Hallayn and sir Olyver de Gussy: the ii. the lorde of Dysobeque:[8] the thyrde, the lorde de Lalayne: the fourthe, sir Trystram de Boys and sir Johan of Jumont.

The names of them that offred the baners of warre. First, the lorde of Lystrevayle: the ii. sir Leoncell Dareynes: the thyrde, sir Gyles de la Goneuse:[9] the iiii. sir John de Lysolom.[10]

Item, for the baners of convoy. Firste, sir Orenges of Rely: the seconde, sir Rafe Alayne: the thyrde, sir Johan Disquenyue: the iiii. sir Vyllayns de la Clycque.[11]

The names of them, that after the obsequy done, layde the body of the erle in the erthe. Sir John de Vyen, admyrall of Fraunce, the lorde of Guystell, sir Valerant of Ranevall, the chatelayne of Disquenyue, the lorde of Ray, and sir Ansell of Salyns.

The names of them that layd the countesse body in the erthe. Sir Guy de la Tremoyle, the lorde of Chatellon, the seneshall of Burgoyn, the lorde Gerarde of Guystels, sir Henry Dantoygne, and the chatellon of Furnes.

And all suche as entred into the churche of saynt Peter

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[1] *Hamede.*

[2] *Clyte.*

[3] *Ray.*

[4] *the lord of* P.

[5] *Honcourt.*

[6] *le seigneur de Villers, et dalés lui le seigneur de Mailli.*

[7] *d'Ophem.*

[8] *pour le second le seigneur de la Capelle et le seigneur de Mornay; pour le tierch, le seigneur de Dicquebecq et le seigneur de Lalaing.*

[9] *Gruthuse.*

[10] *Linseillon.*

[11] *Guillaume de la Clyte.*

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Howe the lordes of Englande and Fraunce were assembled togyder to make a peace.

in the evenyng were at the offyce in the day at masse, as well the knightes armed as those that bare the baners, and also the squyers that led the horses.

Item, there were that went with the bodyes of the erle and of the countesse through the towne of Lysle to the churche of saynt Peter to the nombre of four hundred men, all in blacke, every man bearyng a torche; and they helde the same torches the nexte day all the masse tyme; and they were all marchantes of good townes or officers of his house. And tharchbysshop of Rayns sang the masse, acompanyed with the bysshop of Parys, the bysshop of Turney, the bysshop of Cambrey, the bysshop of Arras, and with them v. abbottes.

Item, there was also in the churche duryng the obsequy vii. C. candels or therabout, every taper conteyning in weyght i. li. of waxe. And on the trayle of the herse ther were fyve baners; in the myddes the baner of Flaunders, on the right syde the baner of Arthoys, on the lyfte syde the baner of Burgoyne, the iiii. the baner of Newers, the v. of Rethell. The trayle on the one syde was poudred with the scochyns of the armes of Flaunders; and on the lyft syde of the lady, the scochyns of Flaunders and of Brabant. And downe along in the mynster ther were ii. hundred and xxvi. candels, lyke unto them of the herse. Ther was nother lady nor damosell but the governours wyfe of Lysle. Ther was a great dyner, and the costes of all the knightes and squiers were borne quyte for the nyght and day of the obsequy; and they had all blacke gownes. And whan all this was done, every man returned to their owne. And the duke of Burgoyne left in the garysons of Flaunders knightes and squyers; for all the truse that was taken bytwene Englande and Fraunce, for all that every man toke hede to his charge. And the lady his wyfe taryed styll for a season in Arthoyse.

CAP. CCCCXLIIII

Howe the erle of Northumberlande, the erle of Notyngham, and the Englysshmen made a jorney into Scotlande; and of the ambassadours of Fraunce that were sende into Scotlande, to notify the truse that was taken bytwene Englande and Fraunce.

YE have well herde here before how the lordes of France, whan they made the truse with Englysshmen, they were charged at their departing to signify the truse to them of Scotlande, to the entent that no hurt shulde be done bytwene them of Englande nor Scotlande. Howebeit, to saye the trouthe, they of Fraunce dyde nat their dilygence in that mater as they ought to have done; for they shulde have sende incontynent, but they dyde nat. I thynke the let therof was bycause of the great busynesse that the duke of Burgoyne had for the obsequy of his father in lawe, therle of Flaunders, as ye have herde here before. Also they thought full lytell that the Englysshmen wolde have done as they dyde; for anone after Ester, the erle of Northumberlande, the erle of Notyngham, and the barons of the northe countre, made an army of two thousande speares and sixe thousande archers, and passed by Rosebourge, and entred into Scotlande, and began to brinne the countre and the lande of therle Duglas and of the lorde of Lynsey, and left nothyng unbrent to Edenborowe. The lordes and knyghtes of Scotlande was nothyng ware of this journey, and toke the mater in great dispyte, sayeng howe they wolde amende it to their powers. For they said, as they herde reported, they shulde have had truse with the Englysshmen; howebeit, they were nat warned therof, wherfore they knewe well the warr was opyn. Ye wotte well tidynges wyll sprede anon abrode, wherby it was shortely knowen in Flaunders, and specially at Scluse, by marchantes that came out of the realme of Scotlande, howe thenglysshmen were entred into Scotlande, and howe that kynge

CAP. CCCCXLIIII

Howe the erles of Northumberlande and Notyngham and the Englysshmen made a jorney into Scotlande.

Robert of Scotlande and the lordes of the realme dyde somon their people to assemble to fight with thenglysshmen; also it was knowen in Fraunce that the Englysshmen were in the felde, and the Scottes also, and that in short tyme they were likely to mete. The dukes of Berrey and of Burgoyne, and the counsayle of France, whan they understode these tidynges, they sayd they had folysshly done in that they had nat sende worde of the treuse into Scotlande betymes, as they had promysed to do. Than it was ordayned that sir Hamart de Marse shulde go into Scotlande, who was a sage and a discrete knight, sir Peter Framell,[1] and a sergiant of armes, who was of the nacyon of the Scottes, called Janequyn Champenoyse; he went bicause he knewe the langage and the countre.

In the meane season that these ambassadours ordayned themselfe to go into Scotlande, the Englysshmen overran the countre of Scotlande: ther was the same tyme at Scluse men of war of Fraunce, that lay styll and slept and wyst nat what to do, for the truse bytwene Englande and Flanders styll endured. And they herde howe thenglysshemen and Scottes made warre eche with other; and it was sayd at Scluse for certayne, that hastely ther shulde be batayle bytwene them. There was sir Geffray of Charney, sir John of Plasy,[2] sir Hughe of Boloyne,[3] sir Sayng[4] of Vyllers, sir Garnere of Leborne,[5] sir Garnere of Gussanguyn,[6] sir Oden of Metyn,[7] sir Robert of Campyhen, Jakes of Mountfort, John of Helvyn,[8] John of Mellez,[9] Michell de la Bare, and Gyllam Gobert; they were a xxx. men of armes, knightes and squyers. They made promyse togyder to go and adventure their bodyes; and they wyst nat wher better to enploy their season than in the realme of Scotlande. And so they departed fro Scluse, and toke a shyp and left their horses behynde them, for danger of the see and for the long jorney. The maryners knewe well they coude nat arryve at the haven of Edenborowe, at Donbare, nor at non of those havyns nere, for thenglisshe army was as well by see as by lande: and the Englysshmen were lordes and maisters of the first portes of Scotlande, bycause their provisyon might folowe them by see. In this season the Frenche ambassadours came into Englande to go to Scotland, and the kyng and

[1] *Fresnell.*

[2] *Blaisi.*

[3] *Boulant.*

[4] *Sauvage.*

[5] *Le Borgne de Montaillier.*

[6] *Quensegnich.*

[7] *Montin.*

[8] *Halewyn.*

[9] *Nielle.*

CAP. CCCCXLIIII

Howe the erles of Northumberlande and Notyngham and the Englysshmen made a jorney into Scotlande.

his uncles made them great chere, and the first day somwhat dissimuled with them to delay the tyme, bicause their men were makyng war in Scotlande. And whan they understode that their men hadde done their enterprise, and that they retourned agayne into Englande, than they let the Frenche ambassadours departe, and gave them saveconduct to passe through the realme into Scotlande, and made townes and castels to be opyned agaynst their comynge. So they departed and went towarde Scotlande.

So long these men of warre that went fro Scluse sayled by the see, costyng Holande and Englande, eschewyng the parels of the see for encountryng of thenglysshmen, that at last they aryved in Scotlande, at a lytell porte called Monstres.[1] And whan the Scottes that dwelt in the towne knew howe they were Frenchemen, that were come to exercise dedes of armes, they made them good chere, and dyde helpe to get them all that they neded. And whan these knightes and squyers had refresshed them there two dayes, and had lerned tidynges, they departed and rode on hakeneis, and came to Dondem,[2] and so fro thens to saint Johans,[3] a good towne in Scotlande, on the ryver of Tare;[4] and there is a good havyn to sayle whyder a man wyll. And whan they were come thyder, they understode howe the Englysshmen were withdrawen, and howe the kynge of Scottes and his lordes were at Edenborowe at a counsayle. Than they ordayned that sir Garnyer of Cuissangyn and Mychaell de la Bare shulde go to Edenborowe to speke with the kyng and his counsayle, to knowe what they shulde do; at leest, to shewe theym the good wyll that they had to come out of Flaunders into Scotlande; and sir Geffray de Charney and the other wolde abyde there tyll they had worde agayne. And as they ordayned so it was done, and so they departed and went to Edenborowe, wher the kyng was, and therle Duglas, called James, for his father Wyllyam was newly disceased. There was also the erle of Moret,[5] therle of Orkeney, the lorde of Versey,[6] the lorde of Lynde,[7] the lorde of Surlant,[8] and sixe bretherne of therle of Orkenes,[9] all knightes: these lordes of Scotlande made good cher to the knightes of France. Than sir Garnyer shewed to the kyng and to the barons of Scotlande thentencyon of his companions, and the cause of their comynge into the realme. Than the ambassadours of Fraunce came thyder, sir Hemart de Percy,[1] sir Peter Framell, and Janequyn Champenoise; and they brought the truse that was devysed bytwene France and Englande. But the Scottes helde agaynst it, and sayd, howe they came to late, and that they wolde have no truse, bycause thenglysshmen in that season had done them moche hurt. And thus while the king and the knightes were at difference, the erle Duglas and therle Moret, the chyldren of Lindsey, and dyvers other knightes and squiers of Scotlande, desyringe to be armed, helde a secrete counsayle togyder in the churche of Edenborowe. And the knightes of Fraunce were sent for to them, as sir Michaell de la Bare and sir Garnyer, desyring them to go to their companyons, and to shewe them their entent, and to kepe their purpose secrete. So these two knightes returned to saynt Johans towne, and shewed their company all that they had herde and sene.

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[1] *Montrose.*

[2] *Dundee.*

[3] *Perth.*

[4] *Tay.*

[5] *Moray.*

[6] *Sir Robert Erskine.*

[7] *Lindsey.*

[8] *Sutherland.*

[9] *li signeur de Lindesée qui estoient vi. frère et tous chevaliers.*

CAP. CCCCXLIIII Howe the erles of Northumberlande and Notyngham and the Englysshmen made a jorney into Scotlande.

CAP. CCCCXLV

Howe the barons and knightes of Scotlande and they of Fraunce made apoyntment to entre into the realme of Englande, without the knowlege of the kyng of Scottes, who was at Edenborowe.

OF these tidinges sir Geffray de Charney and the other knyghtes and squiers greatly rejoysed, and so departed thens and came to Edenborowe, and made no knowlege of that they shulde do. They had nat bene ther two dayes but that the erle Duglas sende for them to come to his castell of Alquest,[2] and sent to them horses, and so they came to him the next day. And incontynent he brought them to a certayne place, wher the Scottes assembled; and so in thre dayes they were mo than xv. thousande a horsebacke, armed after the usage of their countre. Than they sayd they wolde make a journey into Englande, and reveng their hurtes and domages that had

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[1] *Marse.*

[2] *Dalkeith.*

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Howe the barons and knightes of Scotlande and Fraunce made apoyntment to entre into Englande.

ben done to them. So they went forthe and passed forestes and woodes of their countre, and entred into Northumberlande into the lande of the lorde Percy, and there they began to brinne, to robbe, and to steale; and than retourned by the lande of therle of Notyngham and the lorde Moubray, and dyde there moche hurt, and passed by Rosebourge. But they taryed nat there, bycause they had great pyllage with them, as well of prisoners as of catell; and so retourned without daunger into their countre agayne, for the Englysshmen were all withdrawen and coude nat so soone agayne assemble toguyder to fyght with the Scottes. Therfore it behoved them to beare that brunt, for they had gyven before suche another to the Scottes.

Of this journey the kynge of Scottes myght ryght well excuse hymselfe, for of the assemble nor of their departyng he knewe nothyng; and thoughe he had knowen therof he coulde natte have let it whan they were ones onwarde. For all these jorneys that was thus made, bothe into Scotlande and into Englande, there abode styll with kyng Robert sir Hamarde de Marse and sir Peter Framell, bycause they wolde be layde in no faut to breke the truse that was taken bytwene Englande, Fraunce, and Castell. The kynge of Scottes and the ambassadours of Fraunce sende an heraude of armes into Englande; and whan he was come before the kyng of Englande and his uncles, he founde the countre sore moved to ryde agayne into Scotlande. The duke of Lancastre and the erle of Cambridge, who desyred greatly in that yere to go into Portyngale and into Castell, or els one of them, with a great puyssaunce of menne of armes, for they helde themselfe heryters therof by ryght of their wyves children of Castell, to renewe the war bytwene the kynge of Portyngale and the kyng of Castell; for as than kyng Ferando was deed, and the Portyngales had crowned dan Johan, a bastarde brother, a valyaunt man, who desyred nothynge but warre with the Spanyerdes, so he myght have alyaunce with the Englysshemen, and their confort and ayde; therfore the duke of Lancastre dyde with his frendes as moche as he might, that there shulde be none assembly to go into Scotlande. Also it was sayde playnly, howe the kynge of Scottes denyed the knightes of Scotlande and of

Fraunce to make any rode into Englande; and in that they dyd the contrary was against his wyll or knowlege.

Howe the barons and knightes of Scotlande and Fraunce made apoyntment to entre into Englande.

Whan the Scottysshe heraude was come to the kynge of Englande and to his uncles, well instructed of that he shuld say and do, he kneled downe before the kynge, and requyred that he might be herde, as an heraude of the kyng of Scottes, to do his message. The kyng was content. Ther he shewed wherfore he was sende, singulerly fro the kynge and fro the ambassadours of Fraunce, in excusyng them; sayeng, howe the kynge of Scottes mekely receyved the messangers of the Frenche kynges, and alwayes entended to kepe the trewse, bothe he and all his. Howbeit, some of the marches of his realme, as the erle Duglas, the erle de la Mare his uncle, sir Archembale, sir Rame, sir Peter, sir Wyllyam, and sir Thomas Duglas, and all the bretherne of Lyndsey, and they of Ramsey, and sir Wyllyam Asweton, these wolde never agre to the truse: sayeng howe the Englysshmen had done in their lande great hurt and domage, whiche was ryght sore displesant to them and to their frendes, and sayd howe they wolde be revenged whan they might. And whan these lordes assembled them togyder to go into Englande as they dyde, they never made the king nor his counsayle prevy therof; for they knewe well if they had, they wolde never have consented therto. Howbeit, they say playnly in Scotlande, that the firste incydent and occasyon of this warre moved firste by you; for they saye howe your grace and your counsayle knewe right well of the truse that was taken bothe by lande and by water. Also they say, howe the Frenche ambassadours, whane they passed this way, were let by you of their comyng into Scotlande; ye drave them forthe with pleasure and solace, so that they taryed over longe, wherby this myschiefe is fallen bytwene Englande and Scotlande; and so under the shadowe of dissymulacyon these thynges are done. But my redouted soverayne lorde the kynge of Scottes and his counsayle, and the ambassadours of Fraunce that are with hym, excuseth themselfe, and wyll do at all tymes, that this last journey that the lordes and knightes of Scotlande made into Englande was unknowen to them, and that they were ignorant therof. And to addresse and reforme all these thynges, and to bring them into good estate, I am

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Howe the barons and knightes of Scotlande and Fraunce made apoyntment to entre into Englande.

charged to say to you, that they desyre your grace to entende to kepe and observe the truse taken beyonde the see, by the high and noble discrecyon of counsayle, bothe of the Frenche kynges and yours; and to confyrme the same truse to endure the sayd terme with my soveraygne lorde the kyng of Scottes, and he and his noble counsayle to confyrme the same on his parte, to be upholden and kept; and of this please it your grace to gyve me answere. The kyng of Englande and his uncles well understode the heraude: than the duke of Lancastre sayd howe he shulde be answered. Than they made hym tary at London for his answere.

CAP. CCCCXLVI

Howe the truse taken bitwene Englande and Fraunce was publisshed in Englande and in Scotlande.

AT thende of two dayes the heraulde was answered by sir Symon Bulle,[1] chamberlayne with the king, and so the mater was set at a good poynt. For to say the trouth, all thynges consydered, the lordes of Englande that had bene beyonde the see and toke the truse, dyde nat honorably to consent to sende their men to overron Scotlande, seyng they knewe the truse was taken: the best excuse that they coulde make was, howe they were nat bounde to sende worde therof to the Scottes, but that the Frenchemen were bounde thereto. So than it was sayd to the heraude, that in the name of God he was welcome, and howe that it was thentencyon of the kynge of Englande, of his uncles, and of their counsayle, that all that they had sworne and promysed to do, they wolde in no wyse breke it, but wolde confyrme it to the best of their powers; for in that hath ben done to the contrarie, they that had moost done had moost lost. Of all this the haraulde desyred to have writyng, to thentent he might be beleved. There was gyven hym great gyftes, so that he was well content, and thanked the kyng and the lordes, and so departed fro London and returned into Scotlande, where the messangers of Fraunce were styll taryeng for his answere, desyring to knowe howe the Englysshmen

[1] *Burley.*

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Howe the truse taken bitwene Englande and Fraunce was publisshed in Englande and in Scotlande.

wolde do. And whan it was knowen what answere the king of Englande and his uncles had made by their letters sealed, they were than greatly contented and rejoysed. Thus endured the trewse for a yere bytwene Englande and Scotlande, and was publysshed throughe bothe realmes for the more suretie. And the ambassadours of Fraunce retourned into their countre, and passed throughe Englande safely without parell, and shewed the Frenche king and his uncles at their returnyng howe they had spedde, and the lettes that they founde in the journey, and so shewed all the case, as ye have herde before.

Whan sir Geffray de Charney and the knightes and squiers of the realme of Fraunce, suche as had bene in Scotlande, sawe that there was peace bytwene Englande and Scotlande, than they tooke leave of the lordes of Scotlande, and specially of the erle Duglas and the erle of Moret, who had kepte them ryght good company. And they of Scotlande sayd unto them at their departynge, Sirs, ye have sene the maner and condycion of our countre, howbeit, ye have nat sene all our puyssaunce: knowe for certayne, that Scotlande is the lande in all the worlde that the Englysshmen dout moost; for we may, as ye have sene, entre into Englande at oure ease, and ryde farre into the countre without daunger of the see; so that and yf we were men ynowe, we might do them moche more hurt than we do. Wherfore, sirs, and ye wolde shewe this to suche knightes and squyers as wolde avaunce themselfe to get honoure, and to come into this countre to seke dedes of armes, we thinke they shulde do a gret feate; for if we had but a thousande speares of knightes and squyers of Fraunce with our people that we have in this countre, we shulde do suche a dede in Englande, that it shulde be spoken of xl. yere after. Sirs, we desyre you remembre this whan ye come into Fraunce. They answered and sayd, they wolde nat fayle to do it, for it was a mater nat to be forgoten. So thus they departed and toke the see, and thought to have sayled to Scluse; howebeit, the wynde was contrarie to them whane they were on the see, so that they were fayne to take lande in Zelande, in a towne called Vorell.[1] Than they thoght they were in savegarde, but it was nat so; for the Normayns but a lytell before had overron the countre therabout, and done to the Zelanders great domage; wherfore these knightes and

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[1] *Briel.*

CAP. CCCCXLVI

Howe the truse taken bitwene Englande and Fraunce was publisshed in Englande and in Scotlande.

squiers of Fraunce were in great daunger, for while this brute was thus in the towne, their shyppe was entred, their cofers broken, and their armure taken, and they all in great parell to be slayne.

The same daye there was in the towne a squyer of the erle of Bloyes, called Jacob Grasyns;[1] he dyde helpe to ayde the Frenchemen as moche as he might. He spake to the maysters of the towne, and dyde so moche by his langage, that parte of their goodes was restored agayne to them; and to bring them out of the parell and daunger that he sawe they were in, for he knewe well the people of the towne were sore moved agaynst them, and were in mynde to ly in waite for them on the see, and to execute that purpose they had warned other townes by, the sayde squyer shewed them what daunger they were in, and the countre was sore moved agaynst them; but he sayd, for the love of the kyng and for thonour of the realme of Fraunce, he wolde ordeyne some remedy for them. Than he went to a maryner and hyred a shippe, to go wher as pleased hym with his company, sayeng howe he wolde sayle to Dondrest.[2] So the maryner made covynaunt with him, and so he entred into the shyppe, and all the sayde Frenchmen with hym: and so first the maryner set his course to Dondrest. Whane Jacob sawe his tyme, than he sayd to the mariners, Sirs, take hede what I say: I have hyred this shyppe for this viage, to sayle whyder as me lyst; therfore tourne your sayle towarde Streneghen,[3] for I wyll sayle thyder. The maryners wolde nat agre therto, but sayd, Sir, ye sayd ye wolde sayle to Dondrest, and thyder wyll we bringe you, but to none other place. Than Jacob sayd, Marke well what I say: do as I commaunde you, or els ye shal dye therfore. Than the maryners durst no more stryve: it lay nat in their powers; so they tourned the helme and sayle, and sayled toward the towne of Streneghen, and came thyder without any parell. The towne belonged to the erle of Bloyes, and there they refresshed them, and so departed at their pleasure, and retourned into their countre by Brabant and by Heynalt. Jacob dyde them this servyce, a squyer of Guyes, the erle of Bloyes.

Whane sir Geffray of Charney and sir Johan of Blassey, and the knightes and squyers that had bene in Scotlande,

[1] *qui s'apelloit Jacos, gracieux homme.*

[2] *Dordrecht.*

[3] *Schoonhovc.*

were retourned into Fraunce, they were enquyred of the tidynges of Scotlande. There they shewed all that they had herde and sene, and shewed the myndes of the barons and knightes of Scotlande. Sir Johan of Vyen, admyrall of Fraunce, spake with sir Geffray of Charney, and he shewed him all as ye have herde before. Than the admyrall advysed well, and so dyde other barons of Fraunce, howe they might have a fayre entre into Englande by Scotlande; also they knewe well that naturally the Scottes loved nat the Englysshmen. Sir Amery of Marse confyrmed the same; sayeng, howe he was desyred of the kynge of Scottes and by his counsayle to shewe the same to the Frenche kynge and to his counsayle. So thus the Frenchmen had an ymaginacyon that the truse ones expyred, they wolde sende a great puyssaunce into Scotlande to wast parte of Englande. This purpose was concluded by the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne, who had as than the governynge of the realme, but they kept it secrete.

Howe the truse taken bitwene Englande and Fraunce was publisshed in Englande and in Scotlande.

CAP. CCCCXLVII

How the lorde of Destornay made his assemble to wynne agayne Andwarpe, and howe by his policye he wanne it.

YE have herde here before howe Fraunces Atremanne in the meane tyme whyle the Frenche king was in his journey in Flaunders toke by stelthe the towne of Andewarpe; wherof they of Tourney and of other townes therabout were sore dismayde, for the garyson there, before the truse was taken, dyde moche domage in the countre of Turnesyn, and specially all the landes of the lorde of Destornay[1] was in their obeysaunce. And at the feest of Christenmas they gadered up the rentes, as capons, and other thynges, in his townes, wherwith he was sore displeased, and his servauntes and frendes. He sayd, that whatsoever truse or respyte of warre was taken bytwene Englande, Fraunce, and Flaunders, he wolde in no wyse kepe truse with the Gauntoise, for they had done him so moche hurt, that he was nat able to beare it, but in a maner undone therby. So

[1] *d'Escornay.*

CAP. CCCCXLVII

How the lorde of Destornay made his assemble to wynne agayne Andwarpe.

thus this lorde of Destornay dyde cast his advyce to get agayne Andwarpe, and atchived his entent by the ayde of some knightes and squyers of France, of Flaunders, and of Heynalte, who helped hym to his purpose. Yet whan he sende for them there were many that knewe nothyng what he wolde do. This chaunce happed the xvii. day of May. The lorde of Destornay knewe by his spyes that Fraunces Atreman was as than in Gaunt, and nat in Andwarpe; for he trusted so on the truse bitwene them and Fraunce, that he feared nothyng, whiche was a great folly; for he tooke nat so good hede to Andwarpe as he shulde have done, as ye shall her after.

The lorde of Destornay made an assemble of foure hundred knyghtes and squyers, good men of armes, and so he came into the wode of Lart[1] agaynst the gate towarde Grauntmount, right nere to the gate of Andwarpe; and with hym there was sir Johan of Molyn,[2] sir Jakes de la Tremoyle,[3] sir Gylbert,[4] sir Johan Cacqlan, sir Roulande Despyre, sir Blaynchard de Calonne, and the lorde of Destripouylle,[5] who was ther made knight. I shall shewe you now the maner howe they of Andwarpe were disceyved. They toke two cartes laded with vitayle, and four carters in gray cotes, harnessed underneth, right hardy and adventurous felowes; so they came and drave their cartes before Andwarpe, and shewed the watchmen howe they had brought provisyon out of Heynault to vitayle the towne. The watchemen thought nothyng but good, and so lette downe the portcolyse: than the carters prively losed the horses fro the cart. The watchmen sayd, Sirs, why drive you nat forthe your cartes. And the watchemen toke the forehorses by the heed and drewe them forthe, and so they passed in, and the cartes abode styll in the gate and on the bridge. Thane the watchmen sawe well they were betrayed, and began to fight with the carters, who defended themselfe right well, for they were well armed under their cotes. And so they slewe two of the watchmen, and incontynent they were rescued, for the lorde of Destornay and his company pursewed fast after, and entred into the towne. Than the watchmen fledde into the towne, and cryed Treason, Treason; but or the towne was reysed, the men of armes were entred, and slewe all that they encountred that made any defence, and so cryed, The towne is wonne. Thus Andwarpe was taken agayne, and there were of the Gauntoyse slayne and drowned a thre hundred; and there was founde great richesse parteyning to Fraunces Atreman; it was sayd it amounted to a fyftene thousande frankes.

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[1] *Edelaere.*

[2] *Meulen.*

[3] *Lichtervelde.*

[4] *de Leeuwerghem.*

[5] *Axpoele.*

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How the lorde of Destornay made his assemble to wynne agayne Andwarpe.

These tidynges were sone knowen in dyvers places, howe Andwarpe was taken the truse duryng, by the Frenchmen; and specially they of Gaunt were sore displeased therwith, as it was reason, for it touched them right nere. Than they toke counsayle togyder, and determyned to sende to the duke of Burgoyne, shewyng hym howe in the assuraunce of peace Andwarpe had ben taken fro hym, desyring him that it might be restored agayne, or els the truse was broken. So they sende to hym; but the duke excused hym, and sayd, that he medled nothynge with that mater, and so prayed God to helpe them, for he sayd, he knewe nothyng of the lorde Destornayes enterprise. But he sayd, he wolde write to hym with a good wyll, and so he dyde, commaundynge hym to rendre agayne Andwarpe to the Gauntoyse, seyeng, howe it was nat honourable to take any towne, castell, or fortresse duryng the peace. The lorde of Destornay answered to the dukes letter, and sayd to the messangers, Sirs, alwayes the garysone of Andwarpe hath made me warre, bothe in the warr season and in peace tyme, and hath taken fro me myne herytage; and as for me, I never agreed to be at peace with them: thus I have taken Andwarpe by good feate of warre, and I purpose to kepe it as my proper herytage, tyll Flanders and Gaunt be all one; for I have nothyng els, for all is lost by the warre. So thus the mater abode, the Gauntoyse coude get nothyng els. Of the yvell kepynge of Andwarpe Fraunces Atreman was sore blamed, and specially of the lorde of Harsels,[1] so that there were great and heynous wordes bytwene them. Fraunces sayde, howe he had done better service to Gaunt than ever he dyde. Their langage multiplyed so farr, that eche of them belyed other with foule wordes; and anone after the lorde of Harsels was slayne: some sayd it was by the meanes of Frances Atreman and Peter de Boyse, for envy. The same season the Gauntoyse made a request to the kyng of Englande, to have some

[1] *Herzeele.*

noble man of his blode to be governoure of Gaunt. So the kyng and his counsayle sende to Gaunt a valyant knyght and ryght sage, to have the governyng of Gaunt; he was called sir Johan Bourchyer; he had the governynge of Gaunte more than a yere and an halfe.

CAP. CCCCXLVIII

Howe the duke of Anjou dyed in a castell besyde Naples: and howe the quene of Cicyle was counsayled to go to the Pope.

YE have herde here before howe the duke of Anjowe wrote hymselfe kyng of Cicyle and Hierusalem, and went to Puyle,[1] and to Calabre, and conquered all the countre to Naples: but the Neapolytans wolde never tourne to his parte, but they ever sustayned and helde with sir Charles de la Payx. The duke of Anjou abode in this vyage thre yeres, whiche was a great cost and charge. Though a man be never so riche, men of armes and warre wasteth all: for he that wyll have servyce of men of warre, they must be payed truely their wages, or els they wyll do nothynge aveylable; certaynly this sayde journey cost the duke of Anjou so moche, that it canne nat be well estemed. And they that wasted and confounded moost of his richesse was the erle of Savoy and the Savosyns; howebeit, the erle of Savoy and a great parte of his company dyed in this viage, whiche was great pytie, so that the duke of Anjowe began to waxe feble, bothe of men and of money. And for those two causes he sende for socoure into Fraunce to his two bretherne, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Burgoyne, desyring them nat to fayle him at his nede, but to socour hym with men and money; and so they sayd they wolde. Than they advysed what men were mete to be sende on that voyage; and all thynges consydred, they ymagined that they coude not sende a better, nor one that knewe better all men of warre, thane the gentyll lorde of Coucy, and with hym the lorde Danghien, erle of Conversant, whiche erledome is in Puylle. These two lordes were desyred by the kyng, and

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[1] *Apulia.*

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Howe the duke of Anjou dyed in a castell besyde Naples.

by his uncles, to take on them that journey, to the whiche they wyllingly agreed, and thought it was for them right honorable. And so they made them redy, and went forthe as sone as they myght with their men of warre; but whan they were come to Avignon, and intended to their besynes, and made their men to passe forthe, tydinges than came to them howe the duke of Anjou was deed in a castell besyde Napoles. Whan the lorde of Coucy harde the tydinges, he wente no farther forth, for he sawe well than that his voyage was broken; but the lorde Conversant passed forthe farther, for he had moche a do in his countrey, in Puylle, and in Conversant. Tydinges was knowen anon in Fraunce of the dethe of the duke of Anjou. So thus the dethe of the kyng of Cicyle was passed over as well as it might be.

Whan the duches of Anjowe, beynge at Angers, harde of the dethe of her lorde and husbande, ye may well beleve she was sore discomforted. And as sone as the erle Bloys, who was his cosyn germayne, knewe that the duke was deed, he departed fro Blois with all his trayne, and came to his cosyn to Angers, and helde hym with her in comfortynge and counsayling her to the best of his power. Than she came into Fraunce, writyng herselfe quene of Napoles, of Cicyle, of Puylle, of Calabre, and of Hierusalem, to speke with the kyng, the duke of Berrey, and the duke of Burgoyne, to have counsayle and comforte of them, and brought with her her two sonnes, Loys and Charles. The lady was counsayled of the nobles of Fraunce and of her blode, that she shulde go to Avignon to the Pope, and promyse him the possessyon of the erldome of Provence, whiche lande parteyned to the kyng of Cicyle. The lady beleved their counsayle, and ordeyned herselfe to go to Avignon, and to leade with her her eldest sonne Loyes, who was thane called kynge by succession of his father. But these maters were nat oversone accomplysshed, as I shall devyse to you.

All this wynter the Frenchmen ordeyned to sende into Scotlande an armye, to trowble the realme of Englande. The truce bytwene Fraunce and Englande was relonged, and all their adherentes, fro Mighelmas to the first day of May. There was great provysion bothe by lande and by see. The entent of the counsayle of Fraunce was, that the

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Howe the duke of Anjou dyed in a castell besyde Naples.

next somer they wolde make Englande great warre on all sydes, and the admyrall of Fraunce to go into Scotlande with two thousande speares, knyghtes and squiers; and the duke of Burbone, and the erle de la Marche, with other two thousande, to go and conquere certayne castels holden by the Englisshmen, whiche ryght sore traveyled the countrey. And the Frenche kyng caused a great nombre of axes to be made in Picardy, and in Haynalt, to serve for the voyage into Scotlande; and in Arthoyse, at Lysle, at Doway, and at Turney, there was moche bysquet made and other provysion alonge the see syde, fro Harflewe to Sluse, whiche was the princypall haven, where they thought to take shippynge.

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Howe the lady of Brabant caused to be called a counsayle, wherat there was the duke of Burgoyn, the duke Aubert, and she, in the cytie of Cambray, to treat for the mariage of their chyldren.

THE duches of Brabant beyng a wydow, for the duke Wyncelent of Boesme was deed, for whose deth she had great sorowe at her harte, lay at Brusels, and it greatly displeased her, the trowble that she sawe in Flaunders, and gladly she wolde have made a peace and she might, for she understode that the Gauntoyse dayly fortifyed themselfe, by reason of the Englisshmen, who promysed them great comforte. Also she sawe well her nefewe, the duke of Burgoyne, who shulde be by right enherytoure of Flaunders, and one of the greattest enherytours of the worlde as thane likely to be, was sore troubled by the Gauntoyse; also she sawe well that the duke Aubert chefe of Heynault, and the duches his wyfe, had fayre chyldren togyder, two sonnes and doughters as than unmaryed ; also she knewe that the duke of Lancastre was in treaty of maryage for Philyppe his doughter, had by the lady Blaunche his first wyfe, and the eldest sonne of duke Aubert, who shoulde be right enherytour to the erledome of Haynault, of Holande, and of

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Zelande. And so the sayd lady douted that if there were alyaunce made bytwene Englande and Haynaulte, that the Frenchemen wolde have indygnacion therat, and so therby the joly countre of Haynalt, outher covertly or openly, suche as shulde passe out of Fraunce into Flaunders, comynge or goyng, shulde be sore trobled and greved. And the rather, bycause that duke Aubert, by the meanes of the Holanders and Zelanders, suche as be marchyng on the see syde, dyd comforte dayly the Gauntoyse in dyvers maners; wherof the duke of Burgoyne and his counsayle were well infourmed therof, wherfore he loved duke Auberte never the better, and yet he was therof nothyng gylty: for as for the Holanders and Zelanders, the warre of Flaunders touched them nothynge, they wolde nat therfore defende their marchaundyses to rynne. The sayd good lady consideryng all these thynges and parels that myght ensewe, she advysed to bringe these two dukes togyder, the duke of Burgoyne, and the duke Aubert, and that she wolde be the meane to treate bytwene them; also she thought to entreat the duke of Burgoyne, that the Gauntoyse myght come to mercy. So this lady on this advyse and ymaginacyon wolde nat let it slepe, but set clerkes and messangers awarke, and she dyd so moche bytwene these two dukes, that there was a day assygned to mete at Cambray, they and their counsayls; howbeit, bothe dukes knewe nat the full entent why this lady caused that counsayle. To this counsayle acordyng as they had promysed, in the moneth of January, about the xii. day, there came to the cytie of Cambray the duke of Burgoyne, the duke Aubert, and their counsayls, and the duches of Brabant, who opened to them all the mater, why they were there assembled. First, she shewed to the duke of Burgoyne howe he was a great lorde, and lykely to be, and howe he had fayre chyldren, and howe that he shulde be happy to bestowe them well and nobly, and to the moost avauntage for him and his countrey, saynge howe as than in her opynion she knewe no place so metely for them as the countrey of Haynalt, Holande, and Zelande, to bringe their countreys to a perfyte peace, and to gyve feare and doute to their enemyes. For fayre nephewe, quoth she, I knowe for trouthe that the duke of Lancastre is right puyssant in

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Englande, and dothe that he can that his doughter were maryed to Wyllyam of Heynalt, your sone and heyre; and sir, I had rather se the profyt of you and of your chyldren, than of the Englysshemen. Fayre aunt, quod the duke, I thanke you, I beleve you well: I am content and ye canne bringe it aboute, to let my doughter Margarete be maryed to the heyre of Haynalt. Than the lady went fro one parte to the other to treat for this maryage. The duke Aubert, to whome these tydinges were newe, answered right curtesly, and sayd, howe he hadde there as than no counsayle, suche as he wolde have. What counsayle wolde ye have, quod the duches, or what want you to do well, and to bringe your countrey in peace? I lacke my wyfe, quoth the duke, and without her I wyll do nothyng in this mater, for she hathe as moche parte of my chyldren as I; also fayre aunt, it is metely that the nobles of the countrey be enfourmed therof. Well, quoth the duches, I pray God all be for the best. And than she thought at their departinge to desyre them to mete agayne in the same place in Lent tyme, and to bringe their wyves and their counsayls with them: this lady dyde all this so secretly that fewe folkes knewe wherfore the counsayle was. Thus the two dukes departed fro Cambray; the duke of Burgoyne went to the cytie of Arras, where as the lady his wyfe was, and the duke Aubert returned into Holande, where as the lady his wyfe was. And the duches of Brabant retourned into her countrey: and ever secretly she wrote and sent to eyther party, and tooke great payne to bringe agayne these lordes and their wyves into the cytie of Cambray, for greatly she desyred this mariage to be confyrmed, for to bringe in unite and concorde Flaunders, Brabant, and Haynalt, togyder.

So moche dyd this good lady, that she and the sayd dukes, their wyves and counsayls, came agayne to Cambray, and ther was done great honoure, for eche of them enforsed themselfe to do honoure eche to other. There was the duches Margarete of Burgoyn, and the duches Margaret of Heynault, who helde sore in this treaty, saynge, that if her sonne shulde mary Margarete of Burgoyne, she wolde also that her doughter shulde mary John of Burgoyne, and so to make a crosse maryage, wherby shulde be the more conjunc-

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How the lady of Brabant caused to be called a counsayle.

tion of love, and so two of the chyldren of Burgoyne shulde be maryed into one howse. The duke of Burgoyne thought it was ynough to mary his doughter, and excused Johan his sonne, saynge howe he was to yonge of age to be maryed; for the duke of Burgoyne had ymaginacion to mary John his sonne with Katheryne of Fraunce, suster to his nephewe the French kyng. So thus on this poynt the treaty was lyke to have fayled, for the duches of Baviers sayd howe there shulde be made no maryage of any of her chyldren, without they were both maryed; alwayes she helde this purpose, ther coude no man breke her therof. The duches of Brabant hadde great payne to go fro the one to the other, and to bringe the treaty toguyder; so moche she dyd alegynge and shewynge so good reasons, specially to the duke and duches of Burgoyn, that finally they went through, and concluded that the sonne and doughter of the duke of Burgoyne shulde be maryed to the sonne and doughter of the duke Aubert of Baviers. And the let of the mater fyve dayes before, was for a mater that the duke of Burgoyns counsayle feared, for they understode that duke Aubert had nat bene in trewe possession of Heynalt, but in possibylite therof, for as than lyved erle Willyam of Haynault his brother, and lay sore sycke at Quesnoy, the whiche erle myght recover and overlyve duke Aubert his brother: and if he so dyd, they thought clerely and feared greatly, that his other bretherne shulde have the governynge of Haynault, and the chyldren of duke Aubert to be put clene out. For this dought they made a delay in this maryage the space of fyve dayes, tyll at last it was clerely knowen that duke Aubert hadde no mo bretherne but the erle of Haynault, so that he coulde nat put the herytage fro duke Aubertes chyldren. Whane these thynges were knowen, there was thane no lenger delay, but these maryages were sworne and covenaunted, that Willyam of Haynalt shulde have in maryage Margaret of Burgoyne, and Johan of Burgoyne to have to his wyfe Margarete of Haynault, and that all these shulde retourne to Cambray, to parforme the solempnisacion of these maryages, at the utas of Ester than next after, in the yere of our Lorde a thousande thre hundred fourscore and fyve.

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Howe the Frenche kynge, and the lordes of Fraunce, and of Heynalt, made their provisyon to be at Cambray. And of the message of the duke of Lancastre, sent to the erle of Haynalt. And of the maryages of the chyldren of Haynalt and Burgoyne.

THUS every man departed fro Cambray, and the duke of Burgoyne returned into Fraunce to the king, and the duches his wyfe returned to Arras: the duke Aubert and the duches his wyfe retourned to the towne of Quesnoy, in Haynalt, and the lady of Brabant into her countrey. Than warkmen were sette awarke to make redy lodgynges in the cytie of Cambray, and men were sent thyder to make provisyon, so great and so costly, that it was marveyle to consydre. This feast was cryed and publysshed abrode to be holden at Cambray the weke after the utas of Easter. Whan the Frenche kyng was enfourmed of this besynes, he sayd he wolde be at the maryages of his cosyns, and so he sent to Cambray the stewardes of his howse to make provisyon for him acordyng. The bysshopes palays was taken up for the duke of Burgoyne, and his provisyon made there; howbeit, they were fayne to delyver it up for the kyng. Than carpenters and masons were set awarke in the palays to make it after astate royall, whiche warke as yet apereth, for before this feast it was nat in remembraunce of man, nor harde of two hundred yere before, so great a feast and solempnyte as was than aparelled. For the lordes to make them fresshe and gorgious and to exalte their estates, spared no more money than it had fallen fro the clowdes, and every man helped other.

Tidynges of these mariages came to Englande. The duke of Lancastre, who alwayes hoped that Willyam of Haynalt shulde have had to his wyfe his doughter, at leest he was borne so in hande, he was right pensyve and sore troubled with those newes: and whane he had well ymagined to

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knowe the trouthe therof, he sent certayne persons of his howse to Gaunt, to speke with duke Auberte. And whane these messangers came to Gaunt, there they founde sir John Bourchier, and the aldermen of Gaunt, Peter du Boyse, and Fraunses Atreman, who made them right good chere, and so ther they taryed two dayes; and fro thence they went to Mons in Heynalt, and so to Quesnoy, and there they came to the duke, and he and the duches and his children receyved them goodly, for the honour of the duke of Lancastre, and made them good chere; and in lykewise so dyd the lorde of Gouvinghen.[1] Than the mayster of the byenge of the wolles of Englande spake first, after he hadde delyvered his letters of credence and recommaunded the duke of Lancastre to the duke Auberte his cosyn, and than he spake of other thynges as he was charged to do. And amonge other thynges, he demaunded of duke Auberte, as I was enfourmed, if it were his entent to perceyver in the maryage with the chyldren of the duke of Burgoyne. With those wordes the duke a lytell chaunged colour, and sayd, Ye sir, truely by my faythe, wherfore do you demaunde. Sir, quoth he, I demaunde it bycause the duke of Lancastre hathe alwayes hoped untyll this tyme, that my lady Philyp his doughter, shulde have had my lorde Willyam your sonne. Thane the duke sayd, Companyon, say to my cosyn that whan soever he mary his chyldren, I shall nat marveyle, nor be dismayed therat: no more he hath to do to take any care for the maryenge of any of my children, nor whether I wyll mary them or nat, nor whan, nor to whome; this was the answere that thenglisshmen had of duke Aubert. So thus they toke their leave and departed, and went the same nyght to Valencennes, and the next day to Gaunt. Of them I can tell no more, but I thynke they retourned into Englande.

Whan Easter came as than acounted, a thousande thre hundred fourscore and fyve yeres of our Lorde, the Frenche king, the duke of Burgoyne, the duke of Burbon, the duke Aubert, the duches his wyfe, the duches of Brabant, the duches of Burgoyne, sir Willyam and sir John of Namure, came to Cambray; the kynge went to the palys that was his lodgynge, and every man drewe to their lodgynges; ye may well beleve and knowe that where the Frenche kynge was, and

[1] *Gommegnies.*

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where as there was many noble princes, and great ladyes, there was great and noble chivalry. The king entred the Monday at none, and all lordes and ladyes met him without the towne, and so he was conveyed with trompettes, and great plenty of mynstrels, and so brought to the palys. The same Monday in the presence and before all the great lordes, was renewed the covenauntes of maryages, and Wyllyam Dorset[1] shulde have the countye of Ostrevant; the lady Margaret his wyfe was endowed with the lande of Acque,[2] in Brabant; and the duke of Burgoyn gave his doughter a hundred thousande frankes; thus they made their porcyons. The Tuysday at the hour of Masse, they were wedded in the cathedrale churche of Our Lady of Cambray, with great solempnyte; the bysshoppe of Cambray dyd the observaunce, who was called Johan, borne of Brucels. At the dyner ther was shewed moche noblenes; the kyng caused the two lordes and the two ladyes newly maryed to syt at his table, and other lordes served. There sate at dyner the constable of Fraunce, and the marshall of Fraunce: sir Guy de la Tremoyle and sir Wyllyam de Namure served, and so dyd dyvers other great lordes of Fraunce. In fyve hundred yere before there was nat sene suche a solempnite in Cambray. And after dyner knyghtes and squiers were armed to just, and so they justed in the markette place xl. knightes of the one syde. The yonge kyng Charles justed with a knight of Heynalt, called sir Nycholas Espinoit. So these justes were nobly contynued, and a yonge knyght of Haynalt had the price, called sir Johan of Destrenne,[3] besyde Beawmont in Haynalt: this knyght justed greatly to the pleasure of the lordes and ladyes. He had for his prise a gyrdell set with precyous stones, gyven hym by the duches of Burgoyne from her owne wast: the admyrall of Fraunce and sir Guy de la Tremoyle dyd present it to him. Thus in great revell they contynued all that weke, and on the Friday, after dyner, the kyng toke leave of the lordes and ladyes, and they of him, and so departed fro Cambray: and also the dukes and duchesses departed, and the duches of Burgoyn brought Margaret of Haynalt, her doughter, to Arras, and the lady of Haynalt brought the lady Margarete of Burgoyne to Quesnoy. Thus passed forthe this besynes.

[1] *d'Ostrevant.*

[2] *Ath.*

[3] *Donstienne.*

CAP. CCCCLI

Howe the duke of Berrey ensured his doughter to the sonne of therle of Bloyse. And howe therle of Marche, and the duke of Burbon, made their somons to entre into Lymosin.

THE same season there was trety of maryage, bytwene Loys of Bloys, son to therle Guy of Bloys and the lady Mary, doughter to duke Johan of Berry. And so the erle of Bloys well acompanyed with lordes and ladyes, brought his doughter to Bergues[1] in Berrey, where the duke and duches were redy to abyde for them, who ryght nobly receyved them and all their company. And there was confyrmed the assurance of that maryage, and the archebysshop of Bergues ensured them togyder in the presence of many lordes and ladyes; howbeit, they were natte wedded as than, for they were bothe very yonge. So ther was great feest, revelyng, and daunsyng; and so at last therle and the countesse retourned to their countre, and their sonne with them, and the lady abode styll with the duches her mother in Barrey, in a fayre castell besyde Bergues, called Mehune, on the ryver of Yure.[2] The same season the duke of Berry went into Auvergne and Languedocke, and so to Avignon, to se pope Clement. And it was ordayned that the duke of Burbone, and therle of Marche, with two thousande men of armes, shulde go into Lymosyn, to delyver that countre fro all the Englysshmen and theves that robbed and pylled the countre. For in Poictou, and in Xaynton, they had as than certayne fortresses, whiche dyde moche domage to the countre, wherof complayntes came to the heryng of the duke of Berrey, who was in mynde to remedy it. And he had desyred the duke of Burbone his cosyn, that in any wyse whan he were come into Limosyn and Xaynton, that he shulde conquere the garyson of Bertuell; for that was the forteresse that dyde moost hurt in that countre; and the duke of Burbone promysed hym so to do. And he hadde made his somons at Molins in Burbonoyse, to be there the first daye of June: and so thyder drewe at that tyme all

[1] *Bourges.*

[2] *Yèvre.*

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maner of men of warre. The duke of Burbone had with hym a gentyll squyer called Johan Bone Launce, he was mayster and capitayne of his men of warre; certaynly the squyer was well worthy to have suche a charge. And the erle of Marche, who shulde be in company with the duke of Burbone, made his somons at the cytie of Toures.

The same season there came to Scluse in Flaunders all suche men of warre as were apoynted to passe the see into Scotlande, with sir Johan of Vyen, admyrall of Fraunce, and he shulde have with hym a thousande speares, knightes and squiers; and I beleve well they were all there, for they had great desyre to go, in so moche that some that were nat desyred advaunsed themselfe to go in that voyage with the admyrall. All their shyppyng was redy apparelled at Scluse, and they caryed with them harnesse for xii. hundred men of armes; they had taken that harnesse out of the castell of Beauty, besyde Parys: the harnesse was parteyning to the Parisyens, the whiche they were caused to bring to the sayd castell in the tyme of their rebellion. In the admyrals company there were a great nombre of good men of warr. And their entensyon was to delyver the sayd harnesse to the knyghtes and men of Scotlande, bycause sir Geffray de Charney had enformed the kynges counsayle, howe the men in Scotlande were but easely harnessed. I shall name unto you parte of them of Fraunce that wente into Scotlande the same season. First, sir Johan of Vyen, admyrall of Fraunce, the erle of Graunt Pre, the lordes of Verdnay, of saynt Crouse, and of Mountbury, sir Geffray of Charney, sir Wyllyam of Vyen, sir Jaques of Vyen, the lorde Despaigny, sir Gerard of Burbone, the lorde of Hetz,[1] sir Floromonde of Quissy, the lorde of Marny,[2] sir Valerant of Raynevall, the lorde of Beausaige, the lorde of Vaynbrayne,[3] the lorde of Rynoll,[4] the baron[5] Dury,[6] the lorde of Coucy, sir Percyvall Danevall, the lorde Ferrers, the lorde of Fountaygnes, sir Braquet of Braquemont, the lorde of Grauntcourt, the lorde of Landon, Breton, sir Guy la Parson, sir Wyllyam de Couroux,[7] sir Johan de Hangyers, sir Henry de Vyncelyn, cosyn to the great maister of Pruce, and divers other good knightes whiche I can nat all name, so that they were to the nombre of a thousande speares, knightes and

[1] *Heez.*

[2] *Moreuil.*

[3] *Wavrin.*

[4] *Riveri.*

[5] *the* om. P.

[6] *Ivery.*

[7] *Corroy.*

squyers, besyde crosbowes and other varlettes; they had gode wynde and a fayre season on the see, the wether was fayre, it was in the moneth of May. That tyme the truse bytwene Englande and Fraunce was expyred, and bitwene the Gauntoyse and Flemynges lykewise, for as it semed than, every parte desyred warre. Knyghtes and squiers desyred greatly to go in the voyage to Scotlande, for they thought by the ayde of the Scottes to have a fayre journey agaynst their enemyes in Englande. Thenglysshmen who were enfourmed of their comynge loked for theym every day.

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Howe the duke of Berrey ensured his doughter to the sonne of therle of Bloyse.

Thus endeth the first volume of sir Johan Froissart, of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaunders, and other places adjoynyng. Translated out of Frenche into our maternall Englysshe tonge: by Johan Bourchier, knight, lorde Berners. At the commaundement of our moost highe redouted soveraygne lorde kyng Henry the viii. kynge of Englande and of Fraunce, and hygh defender of the Christen faithe, etc. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace. And ended the xxviii. day of January, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxiii.

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